서울시의 부패방지를 위한 시민 중심적 프로그램의 도입

Citizen-Centered Programs for Controlling Corruption in the Seoul Metropolitan Government

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ABSTRACT

부정부패문제가 국가의 핵심과제중의 하나이지만 최근 몇 년 동안 별로 개선되지 않고 있다. 국제투명성기구가 발표한 한국의 부패수준은 아직도 40위권에서 맴돌고 있다. 지방자치단체에서는 민선자치단체장 출범이후 부패문제를 해결하기 위하여 다양한 노력이 경주되기는 하고 있지만, 아직도 주민들은 부패문제가 여전히 심각하다고 판단하는 듯하다. 본 논문은 서울특별시에서 민선자치단체장, 특히 민선2기인 고건시정하에서의 부패방지를 위해 도입한 정책사례를 중심으로 살펴보고 있다. 이러한 정책의 핵심은 과거의 공급자(공무원) 중심의 시각과는 달리 시민중심적 시각에서 부패문제를 해결하려는 접근방법을 시도하고 있다는 점이 특징적이다. 이러한 정책들로서는 반부패지수조사(ACI), OPEN 시스템, 부조리신고옴서제도 등이다. 이들 정책들은 모두 시정과 관련하여 직접 시민들이 경험한 행정서비스를 토대로 하여 시민중심적 시각에서 부패문제에 대한 의견을 수렴·측정하고 평가한다. 평가결과 반부패지수조사와 부조리신고옴서제도 도입 후 상당한 개선의 효과가 있는 것으로 나타나고 있다. OPEN 시스템은 민원과 관련하여 모든 정보를 공개함으로서 행정의 투명성을 높이고 시민편의적 시각에서 행정서비스를 제공함으로서 부패문제가 발생하고 있는 근원을 없애고자 하는 제도이다. OPEN 시스템 도입이후 주민들의 반응은 매우 긍정적인 것으로 평가되고 있다. 이와 같이 서울시에서 부패문제를 해결하기 위한 여러 정책들은 기본적으로 시민중심적 시각에서 접근하고 있으며, 이는 최근에 행정학자들 사이에서 주장되고 있는 가브넌스시정과 그 맥을 같이 하고 있다고 볼 수 있다.

I. Introduction

This paper presents a case study of a reform measure to combat corruption adopted by the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) based on the citizen-centered programs or local governance. Governance can be defined as a democratically organized system of guidanceor steering by which people collectively act to enhance their welfare, meet common needs and promote social justice. The system of governance is also multi-sectoral, in which the public, private and the third sector (joint part between public sector and private sector) work together.

Local governance is about identity, a sense of place, community building, participation in strategic local choice, collective responsibility for the local area and the like. It concerns the citizen, the family, the neighborhood (Sproats, 1999: 244). The current reforms in local governance have focused on customers/clients, management techniques and models, and public opinions. In order to enable a move from local government to local governance, a countervailing focus must be added to each of these. Countervailing the customer/client must be the citizen.

In recent times officials in the public sector have been encouraged to treat citizensas customers and clients. Leaders or governors strive to build customer-oriented or customer-friendly administrativecultures. A recent study of the relationship between citizen participation and governance found that in those civic communities marked by active participation in public affairs, citizens "expect their government to follow high standards, and they willingly keep the rules that they have imposed on themselves" (Pope, 1999: 29). In this context, this paper focuses on analyzing programs for curbing corruption in the Seoul Metropolitan Government.

II. From Supplier-Oriented Service to Citizen/Client-Oriented Service in the SMG

Since the Local Autonomy Act was revised in 1988, Korea has changed from a centralized system to a decentralized system. In particular, elected governors and

mayors since 1955 have rapidly changed the operational system of local government from a bureaucratic government to a customer-oriented government. Governors and mayors are following public opinion.

This brought a new paradigm in the local government as shown in Figure 1. The paradigm changed from a supplier-oriented government to a client-oriented government from 1995. But the client-oriented government until now has mainly been directed by the leader's enforcement; that is, most public officials are not familiar with the new paradigm. So the process of paradigm shift in the future will take on the following pattern: i)from supplier-oriented government to client-oriented government by governor's enforcement ii)from client-oriented government to citizen-initiate government (Choi, 2001: 32). Of course, ideal type is citizen-initiative public service system based on the local governance. Although we do not know when it will be arrive, the sooner, the better.

A client-oriented government and a citizen-initiated government have different meanings. According to Tom Dewar, clients are people who are dependent upon and controlled by the leading figures inthe government. Clients are people who understand themselves in terms of their deficiencies and wait for others to act on their behalf. On the other hand, citizens are people who understand their own problems in their own terms. Citizens perceive their relationship to one another and they believe in their capacity to act (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993: 51-52). In other words, the former has a passive meaning, while the latter has a positive meaning.[1]

The Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG), under its second elected mayor (Kun Goh),has adopted a pioneering approach to administrative services by highlighting the principle that citizens are the customers and proprietors of those services. In order to promote a customer-oriented administration that provides services from the perspective of the customers, the SMG concluded that customers, or the citizens, should be given the first opportunity to select and evaluate administrative services. Based on this conception, the city introduced an Online Procedures ENhancement for civil applications (OPEN), Anti-Corruption Index (ACI), Corruption Report Card to the Mayor (CRC), Citizen Ombudsman System (COS) and Citizen Evaluation System (CES). This paper deals with ACI, OPEN and CRC because they are familiar with controlling corruption.

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[1] Dewar argued that good citizens make strong communities, but good clients make bad citizens.

<Figure 1> Relationship between suppliers and clients in public service during different time periods in Seoul
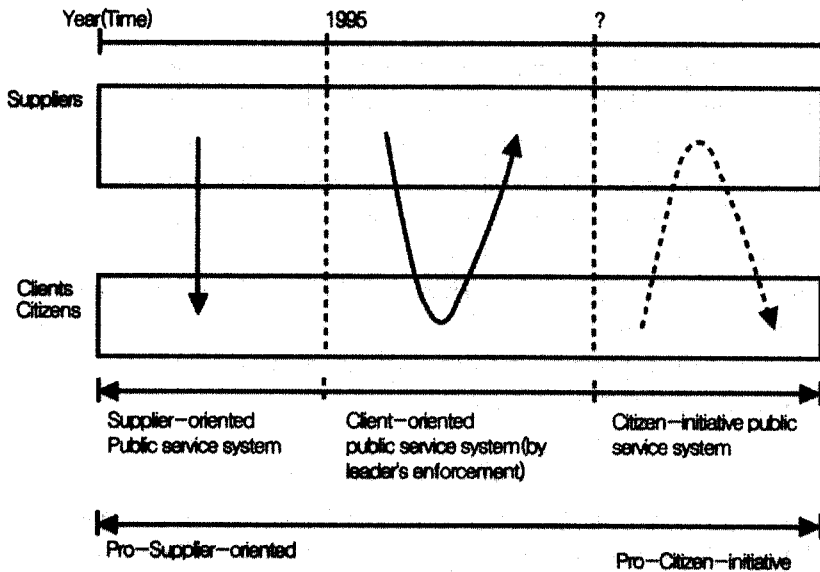
The key issues for preventing corruption in Seoul Metropolitan Government are 'closeness to citizen' and 'openness to citizen'. 'Openness to citizens' plays an important role in establishing a clean local government. The Korean government enacted "The Government Information Disclosure Act" to make a transparent and democratic government. Also, Barbour argues that 'closeness to citizen' is (Barbour, 1985: 2):

Treating citizens and clients with respect and consideration;

Listening carefully, especially when comments are negative;

Providing a variety of ways for citizens to express their opinions and make suggestions;

Being responsive to citizen requests;

Informing citizens in advance of major issues, projects, or proposed actions;

Training employees on how to carry out their citizen contact responsibilities.

III. Citizen-Centered Programs for Controlling Corruption in the SMG

1. Background for Making Anti-Corruption Programs

In many countries today, corruption must be confronted as a matter of urgency, and often as a prelude to economic growth. Corruption isdetrimental both socially and economically whenever and wherever it occurs, without regard to the state of a country's development. The corruption reports unfolding in our newspapers on a daily basis clearly demonstrate that corruption is increasing and that it is not exclusively a problem of developing countries.

Pope argues that an analysis of the failure of past efforts has identified a number of causes, including the following (Pope, 1999: 15):

Reforms have relied too much on the law, which is anuncertain instrument in trying to change the way people behave, or too much on enforcement, which leads to repression, apparent abuses of power and the emergence of another corrupt regime;

Reforms tend to overlook those at the top and focus only on the smaller fry, the assumption being that those at the top either do not need reform or that they would be openly hostile towards anyone who attempted it. As a result, the law is seen as being applied unevenly and unfairly;

Reforms do not have a specific and achievable focus and so fail to deliver any real change to the public.

Since the early 1990s, the Korean government has pursued reforms in all aspects of the public management system with the aim of achieving "a clean and small, but stronger government" and "a democratic and efficient administrative system". In particular, the Kim Dae-Jung Government employed the values of democracy and the market economy. The present economic crisis can be solved by economic stimulation through government change such as regulatory reform as well as the private sector restructuring.

The Korean government also wantsto set up a "client-oriented government". The government established the 'Presidential Committee for Administrative Reform' to eliminate inefficiency and undesired functions. At the same time, public officials and ordinary citizens alike were encouraged to suggest ways to improve public

administration and cut back on expenditure. In addition to this, the 'Public Grievances Commission', a Korean version ofOmbudsman, was set up to handle complaints raised by citizens for their just settlement. This Commission is said to have made a considerable contribution to the fast and fair settlement of all disputes involving citizens and government organizations.

Above all,the critical issue of the government is to make a "clean government". The reform in the public sector was spearheaded by a campaign to achieve a clean government through eradication of corruption and improprieties. As part of the campaign, the government enforced on both high-ranking public officials and candidates for elected public offices the registration and disclosure of their assets. In an effort to systematically attack corruption, the government created the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, consisting mainly of prominent scholars and civic activists, under the Board of Audit and Inspection in 1995. The Commission has contributed to uncovering improprieties and irregularities in the areas of taxation and the issuing of various permits.

Nevertheless, something still seems to have gone wrong. Why is corruption rearing its ugly head in more and more ways? Pope argues that the answer lies in the lack of transparency and accountability on the part of public integrity systems. The TI (transparency international)[2] Source Book concentrates on the administrative side rather than the political per se, focusing on the activities of individuals who, in their positions as public officials - as policy-makers or as administrators - control various activities or decisions (Pope, 1999: 3). In this context, this paper focuses on the 'client-oriented public service' and 'openness to citizens' for the eradication of corruption in the Seoul Metropolitan Government.[3] In other words, the paradigm for service delivery is changing from a supply-oriented system to a client-oriented system.

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2) Transparency International (TI) is active as an international movement in more than 100 countries and in the international area. The National Chapters are at the heart of the global anti-corruption movement. They are actively designing national anti-corruption strategies. They do this by lobbying their government, by informing the media and bringing together people worried about corruption in their country.

3) Transparency International (TI) recently published its 2000 Corruption Perceptions Index. This is the most comprehensive index of perceptions of corruption ever published by the global anti-corruption organization, ranking 101 countries. Korea in this year got the score 4.0 which is ranked as 48.

2. Anti-Corruption Index (ACI)

Corruption and improprieties are now recognized as major threats to the productivity of public services, and are emerging as a concern in the reform of public management. This is more than a moral question and involves an estimation of the economic and financial costs of corruption. It is difficult to target because of the continued strength of patron-client institutions in many social systems. Western experience seems to show that the elimination of corruption in public life is related to the development of effective mechanisms of managerial techniques, and institutions of administrative accountability: as 'good governance' expands, corruption will recede.[4]

1) What is ACI?

Defined simply, corruption is the misuse of public power for private profit. However, definitions of corruption and its impact will vary. One cannot assume that corruption always means the same thing or has the same impact or motivation. This paper assumes that ACI as the first of its kind in Koreameans transparency degree regarding public services in the Seoul Metropolitan Government. The Seoul Development Institute developed an 'Anti-Corruption Index(ACI)' to assessthe five areas most susceptible to corruption in 1999. The ACI is designed to assess the level of integrity of the city's departments and autonomous districts. The goal of the ACI[5] is to provide data on the extensive degree of anti-corruption in public services. This is a means of enhancing the understanding of the levels of corruption from one agency to another, from one period to the next, etc. ACI relates to perceptions rather than to real phenomena; it has to be considered whether such perceptions improve our understanding of what real levels of corruption may be. Even though actual levels of corruption cannot be determined directly, perceptions may be all we have to guide us.

2) What is Structure and Meaning for ACI Measurement?

As shown in Figure 2, the ACI consists of two factors: 'corruption level' and 'factors inducing corruption'. The former consists of 'frequency of corruption occurrence',

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4) Refer to: (http://www.transparency.de /activities/integrity-pact.html).

5) The City of Seoul has investigated perception index (citizen satisfaction survey) to 6 sectors such as bus, subway, water supply, waste collection, public health, and civil applications services in 1999.

'amount of monetary corruption' and 'increase/decrease in corruption level'. The latter consists of three factors: 'administrative system', 'administrative control' and 'social & organizational environment'. The ACI focuses on corruption in the public sector and assumes corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain. It makes no effort to reflect private sector fraud. So the surveys used in compiling ACI tend to ask question in line with the misuse of public power for private benefits. The scores used range from 100 (agency considered as virtually corruption-free), up to as close to 0 (agency considered as almost totally corrupt)[6] as perceived by clients, customers, and citizens. ACI's score is an assessment of the anti-corruption levels in 5 sectors such as firefighting, sanitation, housing and architecture (building permits and inspections), construction work, and taxation services. Although the score is a perfect score (100), it does not mean that there haven't been any incidents of corruption recorded in the agency. This implies that the agency achieves the best score as a good indicator in corruption problems.

<Figure 2> The measurement structure of ACI

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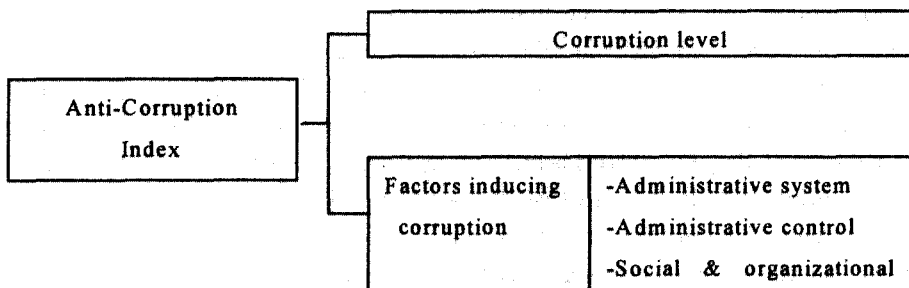
6) On the other hand, the CPI's scores used range from 10(country perceived as virtually corruption-free), down to close to 0 (country perceived as almost totally corrupt). The CPI does not measure corruption, but it measures perceptions of corruption. It is an assessment of the anti-corruption level as perceived by clients, customers, citizens and the general public. Denmark acquired a perfect 10.0 for 3 years from 1997 to 1999. Even though Denmark scores a perfect 10.0 this does not mean that there haven't been any incidents of corruption recorded in the country in the years. The fact that Denmark obtains such an excellent score must be seen as a good indicator of its overall standing (http://www.gwdg.de/~ uwvw/Q&A.html).

3) What is the System of Indicators for ACI Measurement?

The evaluation system of the ACI is comprised of the evaluation items and indicators. As shown in Table 1, there are 12 indicators for ACI measurement. 'Corruption level' consists of three indicators: 'the frequency of corruption occurrence', 'the amount of monetary corruption', and 'increase/decrease in corruption level'. Administrative system consists of three items: 'administrative procedure', 'availability of information', and 'administrative regulation'. Administrative control includes 'raising of objections' and 'external monitoring'. Social and organizational culture consists of 3 indicators: 'acceptance of bribery offered', 'organizational culture', and 'tolerance of corruption'.

<Table 1> Measurement indicators of ACI

Area		Item	Indicator
Corruption level		Frequency of Corruption occurrence	-Frequency of bribery offered in the past year
		Amount of monetary corruption	-Average amount of bribery offered in the past year
		Increase/decrease in corruption level	-Evaluation of increase/decrease in corrupt practices compared with the past
Factors inducing Corruption	Administrative System	Administrative procedure	-Complexity of administrative procedures -Fairness of administrative procedures
		Availability of information	-Adequacy of disclosing administrative information
		Administrative regulation	-Asking for unnecessary documents of conditions
	Administrative Control	Raising of objections	-Ease of raising objections
		External monitoring	-External monitoring system by citizens or NGOs
	Social & Organizational Culture	Acceptance of bribery offered	-Effectiveness of bribe on the treatment of applications
		Organizational culture	-Tolerance of corruption within the organization
		Tolerance of corruption	-Social tolerance of corruption

4) Anti-Corruption Index Survey

Marking a first in Korea, in 1999, Gallup Korea was entrusted with conducting the survey for the Anti-Corruption Index. In 2000, seven different fields were surveyed including the 5 civil affairs fields of sanitation, taxation, housing & architecture, construction work, and firefighting which were surveyed in 1999, as well as an additional two fields in civil affairs, transportation administration and park & landscape. The organizations on which Gallup Korea polled included 25 autonomous districts.

The level of integrity as perceived by citizens was surveyed through the questionnaire, a weighted value was added to the result, and scores were calculated with a maximum score being 100 points. The weighted value reflected the results of the survey of the staff involved with handling corruption in the Prime Minister's Office, citizen evaluation groups, civil organizations and other specialists, as well as the directors of audit and inspection in the autonomous districts.

The survey was conducted by telephone, involving 11,525 citizens who had filed for permits and approvals in the 7 civil affairs fields in the past year (3,166 in sanitation, 1,821 in taxation, 1,619 in housing and architecture, 558 in construction, 2,089 in fire prevention and control, 1,937 in transportation and 335 in park and landscape).

5) The Effects and Policy Implications of the ACI[7]

The effectiveness of the ACI in Seoul shows a similar pattern with the case of New South Wales (NSW). The effectiveness of ACI is empirically confirmed as very positive in NSW. For example, since 1990, all New South Wales (NSW) state public sector organizations in Australia are required to develop and implement strategies to prevent corruption and improprieties. In a 1994 ICAC survey of NSW public sector employees' attitudes on corruption, nearly 75% of the respondents agreed that people who report corruption are likely to suffer for it, but fewer than 5% thought that people who report corruption are just troublemakers. One of the merits of the ACI is that it can compare anti-corruption performance from year-to-year or from

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7) TI explains the effectiveness of CPI as follows. Since its inception in 1995, the CPI has served the constructive purpose of stimulating public debate about corruption. In some countries it has also led to substantive anti-corruption reform. It needs to be emphasized, though, that it can take some time for these actions to influence international perceptions, and be consequently reflected in the CPI. (http://www.gwdg.de/-uwvw/FD1988. html)

agency-to-agency. Each year's index of the ACI is seen as the result of the level of corruption each year.[8]

As shown in Table 2, the overall average of the anti-corruption index in the 7 fields in 2000 were 68.3 points, up 4.3 points over the previous year. Firefighting scored the highest at 72.8, followed by sanitation at 68.9 points, housing and architecture at 65.9 points, and taxation at 65.8 points. The transportation administration and park & landscape, which were newly installed in 2000, scored 69.1 points and 67.0 points, respectively.

⟨Table 2⟩ Results of the Survey on the Anti-Corruption Index by sector in 1999 & 2000

Category	Average	Sanitation	Taxation	Housing & Architecture	Construction Work	Firefighting	Trans-portation Adminis-tration	Park & Landscape
2000	68.3	68.9	65.8	65.9	68.3	72.8	69.1	67
1999	64.0	67.5	63.6	60.8	58.7	69.5	-	-
Increase/ decrease	+4.3	+1.4	+2.2	+5.1	+9.6	+3.3	-	-

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government, Reinventing Seoul City Government, 2001, p.31

The survey findings show 48.6 % of thecitizens who had filed for approvals and permits responded that corrupt practices had decreased compared to the previous year. Citizens who had the experienceof offering bribes and gifts to public servants also dropped to 6.7% in 2000 from 7.9% in 1999. The introduction of the Anti-Corruption Index has thus led each organization and department to improve the level of integrity.

Table 3 shows the results of ACI which surveyed by group in 1999 and 2000. It is interesting in comparing with 3 groups (high-score group; 1-5, middle-score group; 6-20, low-score group; 21-25) between 1999 and 2000. That is, low-score group in 1999 changed into high-score group in 2000. In other words, the deviation across groups declined remarkably from 1999 to 2000 for each and every sector. The average ACI of Group 3 increased from 59.6 to 68.1, by 8.5 points, whereas that of Group 1

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8) On the other hand, the CPI incorporates as many reliable and up-to-date sources as possible. Accordingly, one of the drawbacks to this approach is that year-to-year comparisons of a country's score do not only result from a changing perception of a country's performance but also from a changing sample and methodology. TI stresses that each year's CPI index must be seen as the result of the sum of all reputable sources available at that time. Comparisons with the views collected in previous years can be misleading. (http://www.gwdg.de/~uwvw/FD1988.html)

rather decreased slightly. A similar pattern exists for the results by sector as well. Also, the diminishing deviation means that ward (Gu) officesat the bottom made sincere efforts against corruption while those at top, encouraged by the 1999 ACI results, were relatively off guard. This is a phenomenon frequently observed when performance is measured and compared across units. If this scenario holds true, the diminishing deviation in the ACI score across a group over time is a good signal that the ACI actually works.

<Table 3> Comparison of the ACI's scores by group in 1999 and 2000

Area	Group	ACI Scores		
		2000(A)	1999(B)	A−B
Total	Average	68.3	64.01	+4.3
	Group 1 in '99(ranks 1-5): high	68.7	69.8	−1.1
	Group 2 in '99(ranks 6-20): middle	68.2	64.2	+4.0
	Group 3 in '99(ranks 21-25): low	68.1	59.6	+8.5
Sanitation	Average	68.9	67.5	+1.4
	Group 1 in '99: high	68.7	72.7	−4.0
	Group 2 in '99: middle	68.5	67.3	+1.2
	Group 3 in '99: low	69.8	64.9	+4.9
Taxation	Average	65.8	63.6	+2.2
	Group 1 in '99: high	66.6	72.3	−5.7
	Group 2 in '99: middle	65.7	64.2	+1.5
	Group 3 in '99: low	65.5	58.4	+7.1
Housing & Architecture	Average	65.9	60.8	+5.1
	Group 1 in '99: high	67.1	65.5	+1.6
	Group 2 in '99: middle	66.2	60.9	+5.3
	Group 3 in '99: low	64.7	56.2	+8.5
Construction work	Average	68.3	58.7	+9.6
	Group 1 in '99: high	67.0	64.8	+2.2
	Group 2 in '99: middle	68.3	59.3	+9.0
	Group 3 in '99: low	68.1	52.7	+15.4
	Arm's-length agencies	70.4	58.0	+12.4
Fire prevention	Average	72.8	69.5	+3.3
	Group 1 in '99: high	74.0	73.8	+0.2
	Group 2 in '99: middle	72.5	69.3	+3.2
	Group 3 in '99: low	72.5	65.9	+6.3

Source: Choi, Byung-Dae. Anti-corruption newsletter. Seoul Institute for ransparency (SIT): Seoul City University. 2002.2. p.5

3. Program on the Online Procedures Enhancement for Civil Application (OPEN)[9]
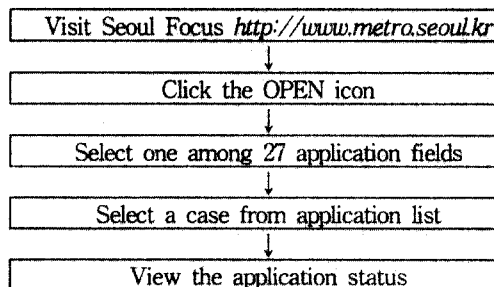
1) Meaning of OPEN System

TI Source Book argues that openness is a critical point to prevent corruption. Public officials should be as open as possible about all the decisions and actions that they take. They should give reasons for their decisions and restrict information only when the wider public interest clearly demandsit (Pope, 1999: 16).

Sunshine is the best disinfectant. The City of Seoul has developed an Internet online system that makes completely open and transparent those administrative practices vulnerable to corruption. This system is called OPEN (On-line Procedures ENhancement for civil applications). It was developed to achieve transparency in the city's administration by preventing unnecessary delays or unjust civil affairs on the part of civil servants. Among many of the civil transactions handled by the Seoul Metropolitan Government, this Web-based system allows citizens to monitor applications for permits of approvals where corruptions is most likely to occur and to raise questions in the event any irregularities are detected.

2) Operation of OPEN System

(1) How does OPEN serve citizens?

<Figure 3> Tracking Application

Visit Seoul Focus *http://www.metro.seoul.kr*
↓
Click the OPEN icon
↓
Select one among 27 application fields
↓
Select a case from application list
↓
View the application status

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9) This program was evaluated as the best practice presentation in the 9th International Anti-Corruption Conference on October 14, 1999(Durban, South Africa). Refer to OPEN(*Online Procedures ENhancement for Civil Applications*), Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1999

<Table 4> Building Permits & Inspections: A Project of Enlarging Business and
Neighborhood Facilities

Title:	Occupancy Approval	
Location:	165, Nonhyon-dong Kangnam-ku, Seoul	
Transaction Procedures	Construction-Review Application	Completed(03/25/2000)
	Review by the Architecture Committee	Completed(03/25/2000)
	Building Permit Application	Completed(04/07/2000)
	Building Permit	Completed(04/16/2000)
	Construction Beginning Notification	Completed(05/25/2000)
	Occupancy Approval Application	Completed(06/12/2000)
	Occupancy Approval	Completed(06/16/2000)
Transaction Status	Staff in Charge(06/12/2000)→Junior Official(06/16/2000)→ Director of Architecture Division(06/16/2000)	

Description:	Occupancy Approval
	1. Date of Approval: June 16, 2000
	2. Object of Approval:
	     Same as specified in application
	3. Further Requirements
	  According to the Building Code, Article 26, property owners are required to properly maintain the property, as specified in a building permit and an occupancy approval.
	  Property owners are responsible for paying Acquisition Tax to the tax division in the district office(Kangnam-gu) within 30 days after an occupancy approval is issued.
	  Property owners are required to pay Registration Tax at the tax division in the district office(Kangnam-gu) before applying for a structure registration.
	  Property owners are required to apply for a structure registration at the district's registry office(Kangnam-gu) within 60 days after an occupancy approval is issued.	

Place for Reference:	Architecture Division	
Department:	Architecture Division, Kangnam-gu Office	
Staff in Charge:	Won-Jae Lee	Telephone:	02-510-1390
Date of Entry:	06/16/2000	Last Modified	06/16/2000 18:58:52

Sources: http://www.metro.seoul.kr and Seoul Metropolitan Government (2001). *Online Procedures Enhancement for Civil Applications*. p.5.

As soon as a citizen files an application for a building permit, for example, the government staff in charge will post the details of the received application on the OPEN site. Using a computer connected to the Internet, whether at home, work, or at the nearest district or ward office, the citizen can learn at real time whether the application has been received properly, who is currently handling and reviewing the

case, when the permit is expected to be granted, and if it is returned, then for what reasons. Figure 3 shows the procedures of tracking application. Also, an example is shown as a reference in the case of building permits and inspection (refer to Table 4).

(2) How was OPEN initiated?

The following provides a brief summary of the development procedures of OPEN for those who plan to introduce the system.

① Selection of the civil transactions to be published

On February 1, 1999 a review team was composed of staff members experienced in audit and inspection to determine which cases must be made open to the public. Through discussions with the relevant city departments,the team analyzed the entire civil applications for permits of approvals by title, processing procedures, corruption-prone factors, and types of irregularities. The 26 fields for civil applications finally selected to be published on the Web are those that most frequently cause irregularities, those that cause inconvenience to citizens due the complexity of the processing procedure, and those whose publication is expected to block requests for concessions.

② Organization of task force team for OPEN development and its process

The OPEN Development Team consists of 3 persons in charge of analyzing the cases and 9 program developers. Based on their past records, the government staff in charge of permit processing, approval, and inspection gave briefings on the details including the characteristics and objectives of the cases. The development team held discussions on which of the details to make public and the method of such disclosure. System designing was made simultaneously with the case analysis, which involved categorizing the application cases, analyzing each case into its procedures, and designing a flow chart.

Standardized data entry formats were designed for the city staff to easily process the data. While protecting the individual's privacy, the system focused on meeting

citizens' needs for information by providing a specification of each case to be published, which includes handling procedures, required paperwork, and related documents, and the search function. The system was also designed to include information on the city department in charge, staff in charge, the telephone number, as well as when and how the filing will be processed.

③ Training of personnel in charge

A total of 1,360 employees in 485 city departments dealing with applications were trained in computer rooms to operate the system and add and change the data. Following training, IDs and passwords were assigned to allow each individual trainee to make entries in his or her department.
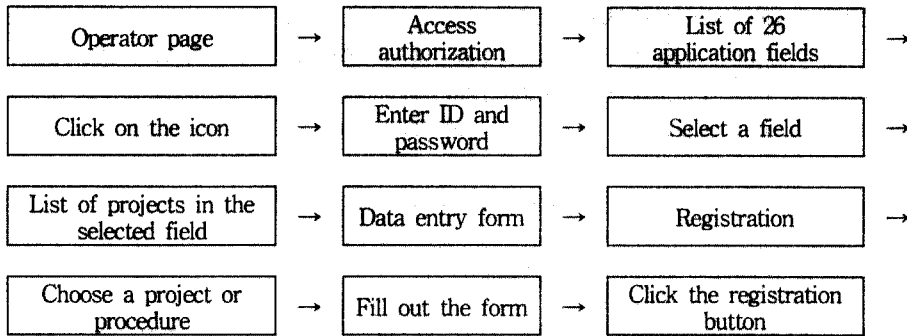
(3) Management of the OPEN site

① How to make entries

To post an application case on the OPEN site, one must select the Operator Page from the menu. Type in the ID and password on the Access Authorization Page, and click the OK button. A notice for operators will be displayed. Click the OK button at the bottom of the page. Select one from a list of application fields linked respectively to the Data Entry Form. A list of application cased in the selected field will be displayed. To update an application case, click on the Project Registration button at the bottom. For registration of a new project, type in the name of the project, name of the applicant, telephone number, details of the application handing and Scheduled processes. After filling out the entry form, click on the Project Registration button to complete the process.

② Data Entry

The procedures of data entry are shown in Figure 4.

<Figure 4> Procedures of data entry

Operator page	→	Access authorization	→	List of 26 application fields	→
Click on the icon	→	Enter ID and password	→	Select a field	→
List of projects in the selected field	→	Data entry form	→	Registration	→
Choose a project or procedure	→	Fill out the form	→	Click the registration button	

③ Monitoring delays in application handling

In order for citizens to easily confirm through the Internet the current status of the civil applications for permits of approvals they have filed and whether they are being unnecessarily delayed, the expected date when the next procedure would start is listed for each stage of handling the applications. Staff responsible for audit and inspection can check whether the expected date has elapsed for a specific procedure and urge the department in charge of the date entry to explain the reason for the delay to the document presented on the OPEN site, to correct the expected date of the next procedure, and if the data entry has not been made, although the following procedure is being processed or has already been processed, to instantly update the data.
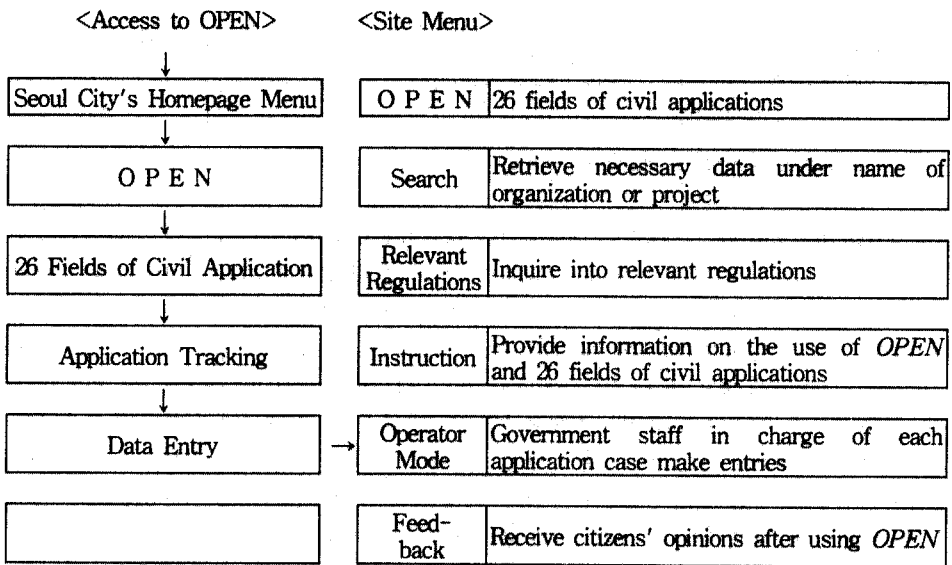
④ Monitoring delays in data entry

The OPEN system is designed to check any delays in entries by comparing the entry date with the actual date on which the approval of an application is given in each of the review stages from the city official in charge to the director, then to the director-general

⑤ Access to OPEN

The procedures of access to OPEN are shown in Figure 5.

Along with OPEN, the City of Seoul is in the process of introducing an Anti-Corruption Index (ACI). As mentioned earlier, the city plans to evaluate the level of integrity of each administrative unit or agency and make the result public at the end of each year. Whereas Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index(CPI) is derived from seven international opinion polls, Seoul's ACI is calculated on the basis of opinion polls of those who actually submitted civil applications.

<Figure 5> Procedures of access to OPEN

<Access to OPEN>		<Site Menu>	
Seoul City's Homepage Menu		O P E N	26 fields of civil applications
O P E N		Search	Retrieve necessary data under name of organization or project
26 Fields of Civil Application		Relevant Regulations	Inquire into relevant regulations
Application Tracking		Instruction	Provide information on the use of *OPEN* and 26 fields of civil applications
Data Entry	→	Operator Mode	Government staff in charge of each application case make entries
		Feed-back	Receive citizens' opinions after using *OPEN*

3) Effects and Policy Implications of the OPEN System[10]

To analyze the effects of the OPEN system on anti-corruption and other aspects of city management, a questionnaire survey was conducted of city officials and the citizens who have experience of filing civil applications. The analysis was made of a total of 2,189 civil servants working in the whole range of city and ward(Gu) offices. The survey of Seoul citizens was based on telephone research. The telephone research

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10) Refer to: Seoul Metropolitan Government, A study on the Effectiveness of Anti-Corruption Policy in Seoul Metropolitan Government : the Case of the OPEN System (Executive Summary). 2001

was carried out in 500 citizens who filed civil applications to the Seoul City and each ward in March and April of 2001 and have a knowledge of the OPEN system.

(1) Results of the Questionnaire Survey: Overall

Though the OPEN system is a major vehicle to enhance the level of transparency and to eradicate the illegality and corruption, the OPEN system has a large and various impact on citizens and SMG. The success of reform is partly dependent on the responses of citizens whose evaluation is based on their subjective experience. Fortunately, citizen's general evaluation to the OPEN system was very favorable. Sixty-eight percent of citizens participated in the survey expressed that the OPEN system is beneficial to the citizen as well as to the city management. Citizen's evaluation implies that the OPEN system provides benefit without causing any addition cost to the citizens in the process of civil application. Disclosure of internal information through internet incurs the least amount of cost on the part of citizens who use the internet. In fact, it reduces the cost of acquiring information related to his or her own civil application as well as city management general.

(2) Anti-Corruption Effects

① Anti-corruption Effect: Citizens and Officials

In the survey, both officials and citizens had a positive opinion of the anti-corruption effects of the OPEN system, and the level of estimation by citizens was higher than that by city officials. 68 percent of citizens responded that illegality and corruption was a little or greatly reduced after the introduction of the OPEN system. 27.5% doesn't feel anydifference while mere 3.8% expressed that corruption was increased after the introduction of the OPEN system. It is safe to conclude that more than 2/3 of citizens agreed that corruption is reduced since the introduction of the OPEN system.

To the same question, about 45 percent of city officials participated in the survey answered a little or great reduction in illegality and corruption while about 50 percent of officials responded that the level of illegality and corruption is similar to the past. However, only 4.7% of city officials agreed that the corruption is increased since 1999.

The result of analysis shows that both officials and citizens had a positive opinion of the anti-corruption effects of the OPEN system.

② Anti-corruption Effect: Fields of Differences

The response of officials to the question of asking about the field with the greatest anti-corruption effect by the introduction of the OPEN system shows that the OPEN system has differential effects on corruption control across the field of civil application. According to the result of the survey, the OPEN system is very effective in controlling corruption in the field of housing, construction work and city planning while ineffective in areas of general administration, culture and tourism, and health.

The estimation of the OPEN system's anti-corruption effect shows relatively even distribution in 10 fields where the handling process of civil applications is now open to the public through the OPEN system. Among them, the fields that were estimated to have great anti-corruption effect are housing (29.8%), construction work (17%) and city planning (9.9%) which were recognized as those with high probability of illegality and corruption in the past. The results are very meaningful in that these areas are the ones with highest track record of corruption. On the contrary, to the question asking about the field with the least anti-corruption effect by the introduction of the OPEN system, general administration (16.8%), culture and tourism (15.7%), and health (12.4%) exhibit high scores.

③ Speed of Application Handling

To the question concerning the speedy processing of civil applications through the introduction of the OPEN system, it was found that citizens who actually experienced the system had a highly positive opinion. The result of survey shows that most civil applicants agree that the perceived processing time is reduced after the introduction of the OPEN system. 74.0% of applicants answered in the affirmative.

Before and after comparison of civil application-handling speed showed that there was about 10% improvement in application-handling speed after the introduction of the OPEN system. In the field of factory construction and outdoor advertisement, application-handling speed was improved 17% and 28% respectively after the

introduction of the OPEN system. The improvement in handling speed is not intended when the OPEN system was first developed. Increased level of monitoring may have influenced the speed of application handling.

④ Equity of Access to Administrative Services

Digital Divide is a new phenomenon, which describe the situation that accessibility to IT determines the level of quality one can get from new technology. This, in turn, determines the level of inequality society has. Availability of computer or internet access and ability to use these technologies are to critical factors that determine the level of access to the IT related public service. As a result, people without computers or ability to use them are not allowed to enjoy the benefits the OPEN system brings about.

Citizens think that the OPEN system has a positive impact on the equity of public service. 77% of citizens agreed that the OPEN system is fair to anyone and 17.3% that there are no substantial changes after the introduction. Only 5.1% responded that the fairness is damaged after the introduction of the OPEN system.

The response that the system is advantageous to computer users occupied the highest percentage in both officials and citizens. 41.2% of officials responded that it is advantageous to the persons able to use computers, while 36.2% of citizens agreed to it. About 29% of officials said that the system is a service equally provided for all citizens because information is made public, and the second largest 22.1% responded that it is comparatively favorable to ordinary people because citizens can know the result without visiting government offices. Similar distribution could be confirmed in citizens' responses.

The responses of officials and citizens mean that the OPEN system is advantageous to all classes of people, but computer users are mainly benefited. In other words, though one of the purposes of introducing the OPEN system is to increase public access to administrative services, the features of OPEN favor computer users. The persons who have difficulty in accessing or using computers of internet have the substantial problem in accessing the OPEN system.

(3) Cyber Audit Effect

SMG introduced cyber audit using the OPEN system. Unlike the conventional audit, cyber audit utilizes the information available on the OPEN system. It turned out that cyber audit was very effective. Using the information available on the web, Audit and Inspection Bureau(AIB) is able to monitor and defect unusual and undue behavior of civil servants and handling of civil application. In 1999 alone, 36 cases were detected and put to disciplinary measures.

There is another evidence that the corruption is actually reduced after the introduction of the OPEN system. AIB requests disciplinary punishment based on the regular and special audit and inspections. Statistics showed that three-year average before 1999 is 185 and the number of requests made in 2000 is 160. There was about 13.5% improvement. Though the interpretation may not be straightforward and need time for more data, we can guess that there is a positive sign of reduction in corruption after the introduction of the OPEN system.

3. Corruption Report Card to the Mayor (CRC)

1) Background

The Corruption Report Card to the Mayor is designed to elicit reports on cases of corruption from citizens who actually have pending civil applications. The city government, which introduced the system as part of its anti-corruption measures, sends those citizens a 'Corruption Report Card' on a monthly basis. The Mayor receives all the reports of corruption.

The Corruption Report Card to the Mayor was introduced in January of 1999 to eradicate corruption in the public office and establish a clear and transparent municipal government. A 'Corruption Report Card'is sent to those citizens who actually have pending civil applications in the five major civil affairs bureaus including public health, housing & architecture, taxation, construction and firefighting.

2) Contents

Underthis system, civil departments are to send a list of citizens who have had

complaints about civil affairs to an officer in charge of civil affairs investigation, by the 15th of every month. And then a response to the 'Corruption Report Card' is sent back to the citizens by the 30th of every month.

Received report cards are handled directly by the Mayor, who then orders investigations and then responds to the citizens about the results of their complaints. When the investigation proves that there is a problem, the Mayor issues appropriate penalties on each and every confirmed case of corruption, and provides a reward of ₩100,000~300,000 to the person who has reported the case according to set regulations.

The Mayor confirms the complaints himself, determining action and then finally notifying results to the reporter. Therefore, the 'Corruption Report Card to the Mayor'system has a prompt and direct effect on preventing grievances, which are connected directly to civic life. Because Corruption Reports to the Mayor are sent to all the officers in charge of civil affairs, all the citizens and related companies, this policy prevents officers and citizens from further corruption (Yun, 2001: 7).

3) Performance and Results

(1) A Quantitative Analysis of Accomplishments[11]

It is not easy to accurately determine the success of a policy case in a quantitative sense. This is more so for cases related to irregularities and corruption. The quantitative (transcendental) success of the 'Corruption Report Card to the Mayor (CRC)'which this study aims to approach may be measured largely according to the changes in the operational status of the system, the statistics on corruption in the areas of civil affairs administration of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, the Anti-Corruption Index and the status of civil affairs registered with the Audit and Inspection Bureau(AIB).

First, as regards the operational status and accomplishments, the data compiled from January of 1999 to December of 2001 shows the following: The total number of

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11) Refer to: Seoul Metropolitan Government. Evaluating the Effects of Municipal Reform through citizen Participation (summary). 2001

post cards sent out of distributed were 1,227,802. Among them, a total of 1,490 cards were received and processed. Breaking down the figure by sectors, 207 concerned reports on corruptive practices, 667 were related to difficulties in civil administrative affairs, 449 were regarding recommendations and 167 expressing appreciation. As for the measures imposed on those 200 public officials associated with corruption according to the processing by the Corruption Report Card as of October 31, 2001, 3 were dismissed from office, 4 were suspended from office, 1 was admonished, 102 underwent corrective training courses, 80 were reprimanded, 2 were charged, 2 were relieved of their posts, and 6 took retirement. As for financial actions taken, a total of 9.75 million Won (US$7,500) was collected including 730 thousand Won (US$560) in penalties, 3.84 million Won (US$2,950) in additional imposition, and 5 million Won (US$3,800) in restitution and negligence fines. Eleven payments have been made as reward for reporting corruption, totaling 1.7 million Won (US$1,300).

Second, taking a look at the statistics of corruption in the civil administrative affairs of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, the number of public officials subjected to disciplinary measures in the civil administrative affairs of the SMG from 1996 to 2001 was 157(1996) → 230(1997) → 253(1998) → 240(1999) → 99(2000) → 40(2001, as of Oct. 31). In particular, the significant reduction in the number of corruptive acts in 2000 and 2001 is presumed to have relevance with the 'Corruption Report Card to the Mayor'.

Third, as for the tracking of the trend of changes of the ACI, for which the Seoul Development Institute developed a model and Gallup Korea conducted surveys to determine, was implemented in 1999 and 2000. As for the trend of changes, the survey for 2000 rose by an average of 4.3 points than in 1999. Taking into consideration that all of the fields assessed are the areas with close relevance with the civil affairs administration (sanitation, taxation, fire prevention and control, construction work, housing & architecture), the rise in the ACI is evaluated to have relevance with the implementation of the 'Corruption Report Card to the Mayor'.

Fourth, an analysis of the civil applications registered with the Audit and Inspection Bureau (AIB) found that the civil affairs that were the subjects of the 'Corruption Report Card to the Mayor' implemented by the Seoul Metropolitan Government mostly consisted of civil administrative affairs and recommendationsrelated to the interested of

the citizens. These civil applications are similar in nature with the civil applications filed at the AIB. By making comparison with the civil applications filed with the AIB, the accomplishment of the participatory reform of the Seoul Metropolitan Government can be indirectly evaluated. During the past three years (1998 ~ 2000: refer to the Annual Report on Audit and Inspection), the number of civil application cases has declined from 3,922 cases(1998) to 3,357 cases(1999), and to 2,713 cases(2000).

(2) A Qualitative Analysis of Accomplishments

⟨Table 5⟩ Survey results of the 'Corruption Report Card to the Mayor'

N(Citizens : 179/188 , Public Officials : 470/531)

Survey / Frequency		Very High	High	Average	Low	Very Low	No Response
Improvement in Rootin out irregularities	citizens	30 (16.8%)	63 (35.2%)	32 (17.9%)	39 (21.8%)	11 (6.1%)	4 (2.2%)
	public officials	55 (11.7%)	157 (33.4%)	134 (28.5%)	97 (20.6%)	19 (4.0%)	8 (1.7%)
Interest and support after the implementation of system	citizens	32 (17.9%)	91 (50.8%)	43 (24.0%)	6 (3.4%)	2 (1.1%)	5 (2.8%)
	public officials	70 (14.9%)	248 (52.8%)	147 (31.3%)	0	1 (0.2%)	4 (0.9%)
Improvement in Participating in city affairs	citizens	24 (13.4%)	80 (44.7%)	47 (26.3%)	20 (11.2%)	4 (2.2%)	4 (2.2%)
	public officials	23 (4.9%)	179 (38.1%)	192 (40.9%)	60 (12.8%)	1 (0.2%)	15 (3.2%)
Improvement in securing fairness In administrative Process	citizens	15 (8.4%)	88 (49.2%)	55 (30.7%)	5 (2.8%)	2 (1.1%)	14 (7.8%)
	public officials	69 (14.7%)	270 (57.4%)	116 (24.7%)	3 (0.6%)	0	12 (2.6%)
Improvement in disclosing the process and outcome to the general public	citizens	15 (8.4%)	73 (40.8%)	67 (37.4%)	4 (2.2%)	4 (2.2%)	16 (8.9%)
	public officials	71 (15.1%)	287 (61.1%)	101 (21.5%)	0	0	11 (2.3%)
Satisfaction with the outcome of the administrative procedures	citizens	21 (11.7%)	45 (25.1%)	70 (39.1%)	23 (12.8%)	12 (6.7%)	8 (4.5%)
	public officials	41 (7.7%)	213 (40.1%)	175 (33.0%)	25 (4.7%)	3 (0.6%)	74 (13.9%)

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government. Evaluating the Effects of Municipal Reform through citizen Participation (summary). 2001.p.16.

Analysis of the survey results conducted in order to assess the satisfactory level of the citizens before and after the implementation of the system, the changes in the behavior of the public officials and citizens, fairness of the procedures, the degree of disclosure of the implementation procedures and results are summarized in Table 5. As shown in Table 5, regarding most of the items, both citizens and public officials noted improvements following the implementation of the system. Some of the noteworthy findings of the survey may be briefly summarized as follows:

First, in answering the question of how much this system contributed to rooting out irregularities, 52% of the citizens responded that the system was effective while 45.1 of the public officials replied that it was. More citizens were found to have highly rated this system. In the question of why this system was ineffective, many of the citizens replied that 'the result of the proceedings were mostly matter of formality or for showy purposes' while the public officials replied that 'due to lack of understanding on the part of the citizens regarding this system, participation is taking place just out of formality'.

Second, in the question about the attitudes of the citizens in participating in city governance, 58% of the citizens polled chose 'active participation' while 43% of the public officials picked 'active participation'. As for the reasons for not actively taking part in the city government, many of the citizens cited 'conservative attitudes of the public official in charge' while public officials polled cited 'lack of understanding on the partof the citizens regarding this system' as the reason. Both parties though the other was responsible for the shortcoming of the program.

Third, regarding the question on whether there has been any improvement in the procedural fairness of the system, 57.6% of the citizen respondents said that there was improvement while 72.1% of the public officials polled replied that there was improvement. In the question regarding the degree of disclosure on the implementation procedures and result of this system, 49.2% of the citizens said that there was improvement which show a great difference in opinions between the two parties. Such difference in opinions can be attributed to a lack of publicity regarding what kind of information can be disclosed and which cannot, by rule.

Fourth, in the question about the degree of satisfaction regarding the processing result of the 'Corruption Report Card to the Mayor', 36.8% of the citizens replied as

'satisfactory' while 47.8% of the public officials replied as satisfactory. Also, 39.1% for citizens and 36.8% for public officials of the respondents chose 'average'. Since by its nature this system deals with civil applications related to civil affairs, the responses of 'average' can be interpreted as a considerable improvement in the satisfactory level of the system. In the questionon the factors that have the greatest impact on the satisfactory level of the citizens, both parties citied 'promptness in handling the procedures / fair procedures and systematization' as the number one factor followed by 'the will of the citizens to participate' and 'professionalism and active attitudes of the public officials regarding their work'.

IV. Conclusion

As mentioned above, the Seoul Metropolitan Government offers a shining example of how citizen-centered programs can be used to combat corruption, improve the delivery of public services, and strengthen positive interactions between citizens and their government. Citizen-oriented system is participatory, transparent, and accountable. Citizen-centered system deals effectively with citizens' concerns and helps to make choices at all levels of the collectivity. It harnesses the energies of peopleengaged in addressing their concerns. The ultimate goal in pursuit of citizen-centered public service system is how the city can satisfy her people's desires effectively. Like this, a citizen-centered approach in public administration is a way to achieve local governance.

The anti-corruption programs have been developed to prevent corruption. The surveys and investigations for the ACI's measurement will play an important role in the future for the public sector of the Seoul Metropolitan Government. As theadoption of the 'OECD Convention on Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions' in November 1997 marked a tremendous step forward in the fight against bribery and corruption, the programs of ACI, OPEN and CRC will greatly contribute to tackle corruption problems in the Seoul Metropolitan Government. Citizens recognize that the ACI, OPEN and CRC play a majorrole as a critical tool in developing policies to curb corruption.

The Seoul City Government and its related organizations must regularly review and evaluate their programs on corruption prevention plans and strategies and make any necessary improvements or amendments. Policies and procedures should be regularly reviewed and updated to ensure that they are clear, include adequate accountability mechanism and be sufficiently corruption resistant. Just asthe Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) is a "poll of polls" drawing upon numerous distinct surveys of expert and general public views of the extent of corruption in many countries around the world, the ACI, OPEN and CRCwill be a "program of programs" to eradicate corruption and improprieties in the Seoul Metropolitan Government. In the days to come, these striking programs may be expected to serve as a springboard to stimulate other new ideas for great innovations not only for more effective corruption control but also for better governance for the city and beyond.

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