PUBLIC TRUST IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF REPUBLIC OF KOREA REVISITING TRUST ANTECEDENTS

By

MOON, Yeonkyung

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

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Committee in charge:

Professor Dong-Young KIM, Supervisor

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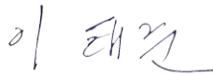
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ABSTRACT

PUBLIC TRUST IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF REPUBLIC OF KOREA REVISITING TRUST ANTECEDENTS

By

YeonKyung Moon

Despite the high quality of representative democracy and nation-wide structural reforms to transparency and openness in the Republic of Korea, public trust in National Assembly has scored the lowest level of all public institutions and is still worsening. In this paper investigates the reasons of low public trust in National Assembly and distinguishes which trust antecedents have caused the severe public distrust in it. Moreover, based on trust frameworks specifically tailored to current National Assembly, this paper aims to analyze three major trust antecedents (Competency, Benevolence, and Integrity) and corresponding trust antecedents in details. Following the 1:1 focus-group interviews and survey results, the effects of trust antecedents on public trust in National Assembly are examined.

Dedicated to my beloved parents,

KwangYeub Moon and JungAe Kim

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I. INTRODUCTION

Why is public trust in the National Assembly important? Under representative democracy in South Korea, the public elects the members of National Assembly. The National Assembly, with its 300 elected members, represents the public and makes laws/policies by reflecting public interests and opinions in the legislative process. Public trust in the National Assembly is important for the effective politics and for the successful performance of the National Assembly because it helps the National Assembly to build a responsive interaction and good communication with the public (Blind 2006, 3; Braithwaite and Levi 1998; Cho and Lim 2008, 216; Dahl 1971; Tonkiss et al. 2000; Misztal 1996). In other words, when the public distrusts the National Assembly, it would face the negative consequences of losing its legitimacy to create laws and to represent the public. For instance, people may not want to comply with the laws/policies that the National Assembly enacts, or people may lose interests in politics and do not want to participate in voting. Public trust in the National Assembly indicates the overall capacity[1] of the National Assembly (Levi and Stoker 2000; Miller and Listhaug 1999) and the level of democratic development in a nation (Jin 2013). In order to fully function as the legislative branch (Boynton et al. 1968; Yoo 2009, 126) and to develop the effectiveness of representative democracy in South Korea, public trust in the National Assembly must be strong.

However, Korean National Assembly is losing public trust among growing public skepticism and disappointment toward the actions of the National Assembly and of its members. According to academic journals, social surveys, and international index regarding the confidence level in the ROK, National Assembly has scored the lowest level of public trust across all public institutions and governmental agencies in South Korea (Korea

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[1] 'Overall capacity' means 'capability' and 'performance'.

Development Institute 2006; "Korean General Social Survey" 2013; S. Kim 2010, 802; Transparency International 2004; Yi and Jeong 2013, 12; Yoo 2009, 120-121). The National Assembly has constantly failed to satisfy public expectations (Yoo 2009) and it has been widely accepted as the symbol of corruption (Transparency International 2004). Yet, despite the public's continuous political apathy and distrust toward the National Assembly, it has shown a deplorably passive attitude to recover the public trust.

Earlier studies on public trust in Korea mainly focused on 'public trust in the government,' but there have been few studies on public trust for the National Assembly (Yi and Jeong 2013). Until very recently, public trust in the National Assembly has hardly been an independent research subject (Jin 2013) and even if it has been studied independently, scholars have applied government trust frameworks. However, including the National Assembly as a 'part' of extensive concept of government (Park et al. 2003), the generalized use of government frameworks has caused many researches to fail in demonstrating the difference between 'public trust in the government' and 'public trust in the National Assembly'. Since government trust frameworks are specifically tailored to the cases of central government and local municipalities (The Korean Institute of Legislative Studies, Inc (KILS) 2013, 16) and they do not properly distinguished the different roles, characteristics, and trust antecedents between the National Assembly and the government, these trust frameworks are inadequate to make an accurate public trust analysis for the National Assembly. For example, the National Assembly is the public representative while the government is the public administrator, and the role of the National Assembly is to create laws/policies, while the role of government is to implement the laws/policies made from the National Assembly. The roles between the two are related but clearly different. In order to achieve accurate analysis based on unbiased evaluation and constructive criticism (Lee et al. 2015, 202), public trust in National Assembly should be studied under public trust

frameworks customized to the case of National Assembly. Moreover, the effects and the relationships among trust antecedents should be studied in details.

1.1. Objective of Study

The objectives of this study are manifold. First of all, this paper is to find out why the National Assembly has reached the lowest level of public trust among all public institutions. Through the reviews on previous studies and background information of the National Assembly, this study will distinguish the major factors/trust antecedents causing low public trust in the National Assembly.

Secondly, this study will make a customized public trust framework and measure public trust in the National Assembly by using that framework. For the reasonable and practical research, the concept of public trust in the National Assembly will be studied under two aspects: public trust in institution itself and public trust in politicians. Moreover, this study will conduct focus-group interviews using targeted sampling and the mini-survey corresponding to the interview questions.

Lastly, this study will compare the relationships and the effects of trust antecedents. From demonstrating the effects of trust antecedents, this study will propose the customized solutions for low public trust in the National Assembly.

1.2. Research Questions

This paper intends to answer the following research questions;

1) If the conceptual frameworks need to be revised in order to better understand the problems of low public trust in the National Assembly, how should they be different from the old ones?

2) Why has National Assembly scored the lowest in public trust? What are the factors that have instigated it, and what else was missed/overlooked in the previous studies?

3) What are the solutions to increase the public trust in the National Assembly?

II. BACKGROUND: What Happened to the National Assembly?

The National Assembly is the legislative branch, where the public representatives create laws and policies for the common good of the people (H.Kim 2005; Ka 2007). Besides its primary role to produce laws and policies, the National Assembly also works for "public dispute resolution for the unification of society as a whole" (Han 2012, 47; Yoo 2009). It exists to serve the public and it is in the closest relationship with the public among all public institutions in the South Korea. Yet, the National Assembly today encounters a number of difficulties to maintain its kinship with the public due to significant damages from the waning public trust.

In 2014, for example, public trust in the National Assembly waned even more after the Sewol Ferry tragedy[2]. Therefore, when the National Assembly tried to mediate the situation and negotiate with the families of the Sewol Ferry victims, it had to face the strong distrust from the families as well. Despite the efforts of the National Assembly to create the Sewol laws, the families in the negotiation arrangements refused to endorse an agreement of both ruling and opposition parties. As National Assembly rejected their demand for authority to nominate the special investigation committee members, families' distrust in the National Assembly went even deeper, and no agreements were made during the 6 months of arrangements.

Likewise, low public trust in the National Assembly has led the public to doubt the roles and the decisions of the National Assembly. It has obstructed the National Assembly to enact the laws and to mediate the public disputes. Consequently, the power of National

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[2] According to Asan Institute for Policy Studies (July 24, 2014), there has been a significant change in the level of public trust in the National Assembly before and after the Sewol Ferry tragedy (April 16th, 2014). In a zero to ten scale (zero=zero trust, ten=fully trust), the result from April 15th, 2014 – one day before the tragedy – shows 3.1 confidence level while the result from April 30th, 2014 – after Sewol tragedy – shows 2.5 confidence level (the least trusted institution).

Assembly weakened since the two-way communication between the National Assembly and the public has decreased and public's political apathy toward the National Assembly worsened. Even though there have been a few attempts to recover public trust in the National Assembly along with the government initiatives regarding anti-corruption and transparency, things have not been improved much and the public trust level in the National Assembly still remains at the lowest.

Since the mid and late 2000s, the political and administrative trends in South Korea have headed toward anti-corruption/transparency reform[3] for the public trust restoration purpose (Government Information Agency 2008, 50-72). Starting from actively mobilizing the Korea Independent Commission Against Corruption (KICAC) (Transparency International 2006, 17-18) to building E-governance/E-democracy infrastructure and open source public share platform[4] (Ministry of Public Administration and Security 2011), South Korea has made countless efforts to fight against the corruption while investing many resources to raise the transparency and openness in all three branches (executive branch, legislative branch, and judiciary branch[5]). In case of the National Assembly, it has complied with Anti-Corruption Act and Public Service Ethics Act[6] to prevent the National Assembly

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[3] From Roh administration, transparency and public trust were considered as the major objectives of "participatory government" agenda. However, due to the incomplete result, this was transferred and revisited as the 'Government 3.0' initiative in the Madam Park administration. For more information regarding 'Government 3.0', see the website (http://www.gov30.go.kr) or (http://www.moi.go.kr/eng/sub/a03/Government30/screen.do).

[4] Open source public share platform is the core vision of 'Government 3.0' initiative that allows public to freely access to the government-own data in utilizing the E-governance infrastructure. However, in reality, there are not much of data opened for public share and South Korean was evaluated as the country with low public data share (Weekly Donga February 2016, 32-34).

[5] Compared to the executive branch and the legislative branch (where launched electronic system in the 2000s), the judiciary branch had a late launch of E-courts system in the early 2010s.

[6] Anti-Corruption Act has gone through many amendments since the mid-2000s and become Act on the Prevention of Corruption and the Establishment and Management of the Anti-Corruption and Civil Rights Commission today. Public Service Ethics Act is partially applied due to the fact that the National Assembly has its own Ethics Code for Members of National

from corruption, and has mobilized a special committee on ethics that is in charge of disciplinary actions on the members of National Assembly. For transparent and open legislative process, the National Assembly has launched the Korea's E-parliament system.

Figure 1. Confidence in Institutions
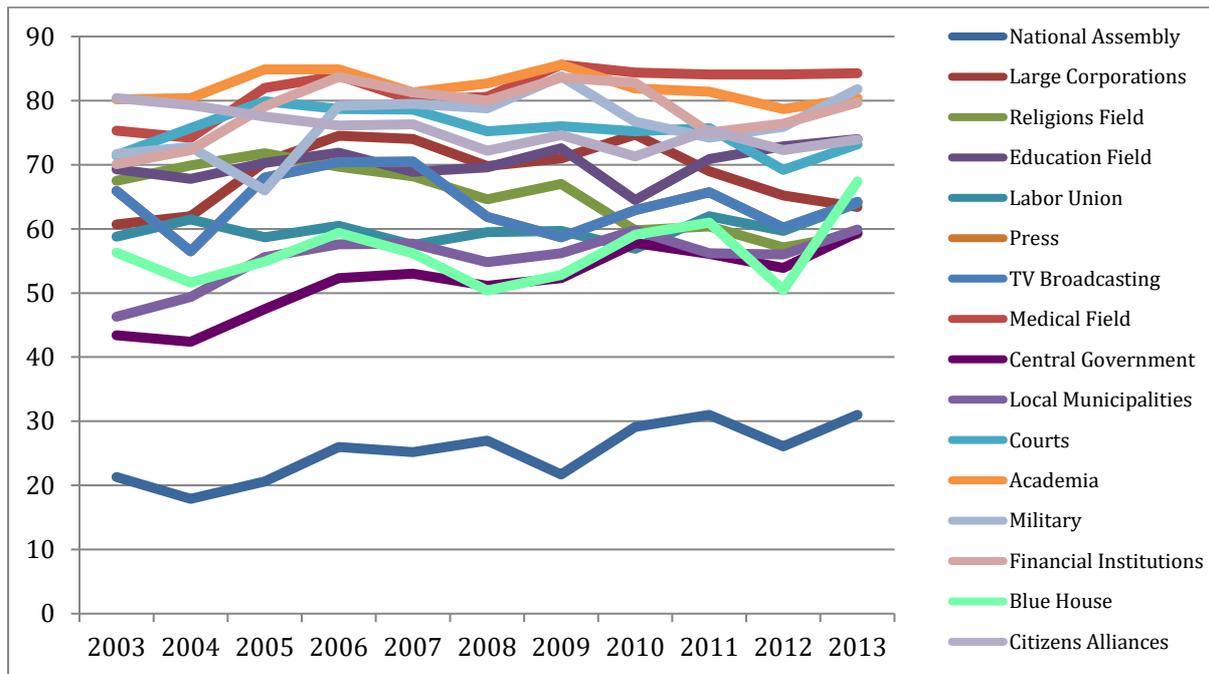
Source: "Korean General Social Survey" (annual)

However, despite the efforts described in the above, Figure 1 confirms that National Assembly has always been the least trusted institution. While the central government, the local municipalities have steadily belonged in the 50%–60% confidence range, the Blue House has shown the extreme increase in the 50%–70% range, and the courts have also remained at the 70%–80% confidence range. Nevertheless, the National Assembly has barely reached at 30%, as demonstrated by repetitions of slow increase and rapid decline.

Assembly. This Act requires public officials, including the members of National Assembly, register and disclose the properties owned.

2.1. Political deterioration in the National Assembly

According to Democracy Index 2014 and 2015 by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), South Korea has been degraded from the category of "full democracy" to the category of "flawed democracy." In the report, firstly, there were no changes at all – neither positive nor negative changes – shown in the four different indicators: functioning of government, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties (see Table 1 and Table 2). Even that, only the indicator of 'civil liberties' maintained scores in full democracy level (8–10) while others remained at flawed democracy level (6–7.9). Secondly, significant weaknesses were found in 'electoral process and pluralism' (Democracy Index 2015, 2016) as South Korea experienced a huge collapse of the opposition party from the defection of key members of National Assembly[7]. EIU analyzed that the defection "effectively split the opposition party's support base, rendering a majority win in the 2016 elections impossible" (26).

Table 1. 2014 Democracy Level of South Korea

2014	Rank	Overall Score	Electoral Process and Pluralism	Functioning of Government	Political Participation	Political Culture	Civil Liberties
South Korea	21	8.06	**9.17**	7.86	7.22	7.50	8.53

Source: Democracy Index 2014 by The Economist Intelligence Unit (2015)

Table 2. 2015 Democracy Level of South Korea

2015	Rank	Overall Score	Electoral Process and Pluralism	Functioning of Government	Political Participation	Political Culture	Civil Liberties
South Korea	22	7.97	**8.75**	7.86	7.22	7.50	8.53

Source: Democracy Index 2015 by The Economist Intelligence Unit (2016)

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[7] Ahn Cheol-Soo defected from the New Politics Alliance for Democracy (NPAD) – which he founded – and started new party (People's Party). Upon his departure, NPAD experienced an internal division and some fellow members followed his trace. NPAD after Ahn's leave changed its name to The Minjoo Party of Korea.

The decline drawn in electoral process and pluralism has clearly depicted that the repeated realignments of the opposition party created political turmoil in South Korea. Also, it has shown that the destruction of unity in the major opposition party intensified the low competency of National Assembly in the 19th National Assembly. In short, the results indicated fragility of the representative democracy in South Korea as well as incompetency of the National Assembly as the political center of the country. Democracy index has implied that the degradation into the category of 'flawed democracy' was not an unfortunate coincidental momentary outcome, but a result of serious deterioration of National Assembly (HanKyoreh December 2, 2010; HanKyoreh TV March 11, 2016).

In the recent terms, media have covered the headlines under the following topics: crippled operations, physical violence among political parties, criminal activities, abuse of power, and problems of benefits given to the members of National Assembly. Sharply criticizing the works of the National Assembly, the media – though a bit selective for negativity (Lee et al. 2015, 201) – have expressed concerns about the absence of democratic values and cooperative behaviors in the past legislative process (Newsis April 17, 2016).

The National Assembly in spite of years of efforts has remained stationary with the political disputes from party politics, political bureaucracy, and political immaturity. It became a political norm that members of National Assembly fight for their personal interests, re-election, and parties' interests (Han 2012, 51-60; Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 1995; Lee et al. 2015, 201; Ka 2009), instead of public's interests. Meanwhile, many important bills and legislations – ones that need urgent solutions – have been either suddenly cleared off from the table or pended for decision without promise (Newsis December 10, 2015). Behind the curtain of party politics and personal interests, legislative duties of the National Assembly have not been properly carried out.

The problem does not just stop at pended bills; redundant bills are also continually detected in the numerical values of productivity. In other words, bills are made with a 'wrong priority and misleading productivity': Productivity in numbers, not in quality [8]. As the members of National Assembly chase after false productivity, there has been an increasing number of 'recycled bills (The Fact July 6, 2012; The Korea Economic Daily February 15, 2016; Weekly Donga August 27, 2012). Following this tendency, the abuse of legislative power gets worse (Financial News December 6, 2015) with an increasing number of "voluntary withdrawal" of recycled bills (Naeil Newspaper May 15, 2014; Kukmin Daily April 24, 2009) as well as "self-rejection and abstention from voting"[9] (The Korea Economic Daily February 15, 2016) of the members of National Assembly. While all bills need signatures from (at least) 10 members of National Assembly for the bill proposal, it has been verified that serious redundancy in legislative process is the result of ignorant actions of the members of National Assembly. They are neglecting their primary duty of confirming the contents of bills (Weekly Donga August 27, 2012). Overall, the incompetency of the National Assembly is largely based on party politics and outcome-oriented culture. One can say what is happening in the National Assembly is no more than a political deterioration in its seemingly democratic rhetoric.

2.2. National Assembly in Search of Breakaway from Incompetency

The 18th National Assembly (2008-2012) is remembered as the "Animal-like National Assembly" [10] with many ugly scenes illustrating how immature the political culture of

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[8] "In the first month of 19th National Assembly, 66% (242 out of 372– except 6 unreleased bills) of bills were proved to be redundant. Moreover, 31% (113 bills) out of 242 redundant bills had the same contents matched 100%" (Asia Economy July 2, 2012).

[9] "Some members of National Assembly vote (or abstain) against the recycled bills 'they' proposed" (The Korea Economic Daily February 15, 2016).

[10] In Korean, it is called "Dongmul KukHeoi" (동물국회).

National Assembly was. Ruling party[11] frequently snatched the bills without a consent of the opposition party[12] (Hankyoreh April 25, 2012) and as a result, there were actual physical violence involved with chainsaw, hammer, axes, and even tear-gas grenade (Han 2012, 44; Yeongnam Ilbo January 16, 2016). Communication, cooperation, and collaboration between the ruling party and the opposition party were nowhere to be found (Etoday June 9, 2011).

Under the sharply conflicting circumstances, ruling party called for an institutional reform by revising the National Assembly Act at the end of the 18th National Assembly in 2012. This became the 'National Assembly Advancement Act' today (See Excerpt 1 and 2). Following the objective of this Act was to eradicate "the tyranny of majority party and physical violence" (Hankyoreh February 3, 2016), and no more violent or deceitful acts hindered the development of political culture in the National Assembly. Rather, the National Assembly within a trap of the new Act became completely paralyzed and unproductive with the stacks of "deadlocked bills" (The Korea Herald January 10, 2016).

< Excerpt 1. National Assembly Advancement Act>

Article 85 (Examination Period)

(1) "**In any of the following cases, the Speaker may designate the examination period on the cases to be tabled or to have been tabled to the committee.** In such cases, in cases falling under subparagraphs 1 or 2, the Speaker may designate the examination period only on the cases related to the applicable subparagraph in consultation with the representative National Assembly members of each negotiating party: <Amended by Act No.11453, May 25, 2012>
    1.   **Where a natural disaster occurs**;
    2.   **Where a war, an incident, or a national emergency occurs;**
    3.   **Where the Speaker reaches an agreement with the representative National Assembly members of each negotiating party.**
(2) **In cases falling under paragraph (1),** if the committee fails to complete the examination

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[11] Saenuri party (Conservative party)

[12] Saejeongchi Minju Yeonhap (New Politics Alliance for Democracy -NPAD). It was the major opposition party in the 18th National Assembly and it went through a division into two opposition party at the end of 19th National Assembly: The Minjoo Party of Korea and People's Party.

within the fixed period without justifiable grounds, **the Speaker may table it to another committee or directly to the plenary session** after hearing an interim report."

Source: Korea Legislation Research Institute (2012)

<Excerpt 2. National Assembly Advancement Act>

Article 85–2 (Expeditious Processing of Agendas)
(1) "Where it is intended to designate any agenda referred to the committee (including an agenda referred to the Legislation and Judiciary Committee for examination of systems and wording) as the agenda to be expeditiously processed under paragraph (2), a **National Assembly member shall submit to the Speaker the motion for request for designation of the agenda for expeditious processing signed by a majority of all incumbent National Assembly members and members of the competent committee responsible for an agenda shall submit to the chairperson of the competent committee the motion for designation of the agenda for expeditious processing signed by a majority of all incumbent National Assembly members of the competent committee.** In such cases, the Speaker or the chairperson of the competent committee responsible for an agenda shall without delay pass a resolution on the motion for designation of the agenda for expeditious processing by secret vote, **with the affirmative votes of at least 3/5 of all incumbent National Assembly members or of at least 3/5 of all incumbent National Assembly members of the competent committee** responsible for the agenda."

Source: Korea Legislation Research Institute (2012)[13]

Looking at the Excerpt 1 and Excerpt 2, the most essential parts of the new Act are that Article 85 was amended with more details strictly limiting the direct authority of the parliamentary Speaker to special – very uncommon – situations, and that Article 85-2 added new requirement of three-fifths consent to request expeditious processing of agendas. After the new Act went into effect, these seemingly democratic but slight changes in wording have pushed the National Assembly into chaos, as "parliamentary Speaker's discretion to table a bill without bipartisan consent" (The Korea Herald January 10, 2016) has been greatly reduced, and the National Assembly, whether it likes it or not, has been expected to create more discussions, cooperation, and compromises among political parties (Chung 2013) in order to make progress in legislative process.

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[13] Article 85-2 contains (8) clauses in total. For more information, see the website (http://elaw.klri.re.kr/eng_service/lawView.do?hseq=25732&lang=ENG).

Figure 2. Bill Processing in the National Assembly
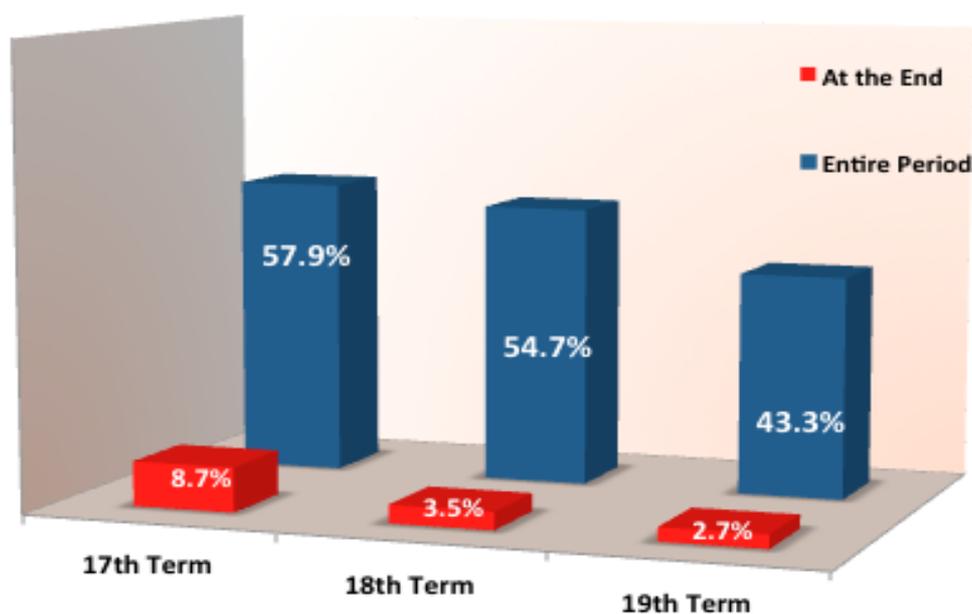
Source: The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea (2016)[14]

* 'At the End' period: 17th Term = January 28th ~ May 29th (2008)

18th Term = January 16th ~ May 2nd (2012)

19th Term = January 9th ~ April 9th (2016)

According to the most recent reports from various institutions, the 19th National Assembly has shown only 43.3% of performance in bill processing (See Figure 3) and more than 10,000 bills have been discarded (Donga Ilbo April 29, 2016; Korea Economic Research Institute March 29, 2016; YTN April 30, 2016). The three-fifths rule has become rather an excuse to continue a long political tug of war between the ruling party and the opposition party. Political parties have persistently adhered to their original positions and the National Assembly has "become unproductive with constantly increasing extra decision-making costs" (Buchanan and Tullock 1962; The Korea Economic Daily October 18, 2014).

As parties fail to reach the agreement and fall into a vicious cycle of crippled operations and cancellations of plenary sessions along with the delay in bill processing, the

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[14] For more information, see the website (http://likms.assembly.go.kr/bill/jsp/main.jsp).

19th National Assembly is referred to as the worst National Assembly in history: 'National Assembly in Vegetative State'[15]. Due to the highest level of ineffectiveness and inefficiency drawn in the lowest performance, loss of communication, and absence of constructive political attitudes, public has shown deep political apathy toward National Assembly – as if they do not expect anything less than the worst they have seen so far (HanKook Ilbo January 13, 2016; JTBC January 13, 2016; SBS December 27, 2015; The Korea Economic Daily October 18, 2014).

Despite the great advantages (i.e. infrastructure, abilities, affordability, and human resources filled with elites), the National Assembly still struggles in building a relationship with the public. In the 20th general election, for instance, political parties asked for a landslide victory at the elections. Saenuri party members begged for votes on their knees while The Minjoo party and People's party demanded public to join them to make changes in the National Assembly. However, since public were greatly disappointed in the actions of the National Assembly and clearly did not trust that the National Assembly could change itself, public chose the tripartite political system where no single party would get majority votes in the National Assembly unless collaborative actions take place. In order to find a real breakthrough in the relationship with the public, the National Assembly has to look for the reasons why the public distrusts the National Assembly, instead of simply amending the laws. Following sections will further discuss this matter.

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[15] In Korean, it is called "Sikmul KukHeoi" (식물국회).

Below literatures provide the general frame of this study that helped me build critical insights on my hypotheses written in the section IV. In the first part of literature review, previous studies that discuss different roles of the National Assembly are imported to understand the most basic definition of the National Assembly in the ROK. In the second part, the literatures not only explain common trust antecedents but also suggest specific trust antecedents for the National Assembly to be reviewed. Lastly in the third part, literatures and sources introduce the basic trust frameworks are studied to understand the trust-building process and the interacting relationship among trust antecedents, along with the development of relationship.

3.1. Roles of the National Assembly of ROK

Within the framework of representative democracy, the National Assembly is often viewed simply as a political institution, which creates laws and policies dealing with many different issues in the society (H.Kim 2005; Ka 2007). However, in order to become a political institution that fully complies with public's will in the effective and efficient policy-making process (Buchanan and Tullock 1962), the National Assembly needs to take several roles as a listener, a negotiator, a mediator, an investigator, and a delegate of the entire public (Boyntol et al. 1968; Braithwaite and Levi 1998; Dahl 1971; Han 2012, 47; Kim 2010; Yoo 2009). Following the legislative process, the National Assembly provides the best resolutions for conflicts of interests in the form of laws and policies (Chung 2013; Jeong and Chang 2013; Kim 2010; Oh 2010), and also monitors the implementation of those laws and

policies[16] (Cho 2009). Furthermore, aside from its legislative roles, the National Assembly serves the fiscal roles to examine the national budget and fund, and to make tax laws. Lastly, the National Assembly serves as the political balancer or an overseer (Braithwaite and Levi 1998) to check and balance all three branches[17], including the Blue House (President) (Ka 2009; The Korean Institute of Legislative Studies, Inc (KILS) 2009; Eom 2009, 29).

3.2. Definition of Public Trust in the National Assembly

There is no certain definition of public trust in the National Assembly today. Literatures usually create an integrated definition of trust from the concept of social capital, public trust in the government, public support, perceptions, orientations, attitudes, and behaviors (Jin 2013; Namkoong et al. 1991; The Korean Institute of Legislative Studies, Inc (KILS) 2013).

According to the Korean Institute of Legislative Studies, Inc (KILS) (2013), public trust in the National Assembly is defined as the "public's positive expectation on the effective and ethical actions of the National Assembly". Considering both competency – in terms of outcome-based dimension and process-based dimension – and integrity, KILS

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[16] According to Cho (2009), the implementation of laws and policies includes the actual performance to execute new legislations – whether laws and policies are effective to take care of public's concerns– and to self-reflect upon the results and feedbacks in order to fix the past mistakes and make better legislations in the future.

[17] The Korean Institute of Legislative Studies, Inc (KILS) (2009) created a survey conducted under the title of "Ideal and Reality of the National Assembly". Described part is the result from the following questionnaire: "What is the most important role of the National Assembly?". Targeted respondents were the members of National Assembly including the ruling party and opposition party. In the survey, the result came out very interesting. Although both ruling and opposition parties recognized the importance of Checks and Balances (especially between the Legislative branch and the Executive branch), the opposition party revealed that they put a higher value in this role. In my assumption, this is not only about the relationship with the public but also highly related to the power structure under the representative democracy. Since the politics and administrative power tend to lean on the current President's administration, and needless to say because ruling party dominates government affairs, the cycle of unnecessary political rivalries among branches is continued, preventing it (National Assembly) from focusing more on how to better represent the voice of public.

emphasizes the integration of government trust and political trust due to the close relationship between the National Assembly and the government as the partners in three branches.

Meanwhile, Jin (2013) defines it as "the positive and favorable attitude on the National Assembly" as well as "the will to accept one's own weakness based on a belief that the National Assembly works under the expectation of members of society". He focuses on the psychological responses toward the system of the National Assembly and representative democracy, such as institutional awareness on the National Assembly, evaluation (on the National Assembly) based on emotion, normative expectation on the system, and risk-taking acceptance.

Namkoong et al. (1991) see that public trust in the National Assembly is the "normative orientation to accept the parliamentary system" and "functional orientation to evaluate legislative productivity". As greatly based on the concepts of supports, orientations, and originality, their definition of public trust in the National Assembly is related to one's selective perceptions toward the National Assembly in terms of institutional necessity, functions, and operations.

Based on diverse definitions proposed in previous studies, this study defines public trust in the National Assembly as public's subjective reactions toward the performance of the National Assembly as a legislative body and a public representative.

3.2. Conceptual Framework for Public Trust (Trust Antecedents)

Trust is a concept that cannot possibly be defined in just a few words. Even though the congruent values (such as faith, belief, and reliance) of universal definition of trust have been widely adapted, a large number of literatures still explore new tendencies inherited in the dynamic and unpredictable characteristics of 'trust' (Blind 2006; Easton 1965; Levi and Stoker 2000; Miller and Listhaug 1999; Misztal 1996; Putnam 2000).

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As there are different personal traits ('propensity to trust') to trust following "each trustor's belief, experiences, and backgrounds" (Mayer et al. 1995; 715), such diverse conditions to trust also exist. In the numerous literatures, some scholars present only one trust factor while other scholars suggest more than 10 factors to trust the trustee (717). Therefore, in order to reduce the gap among these various factors, previous studies have looked into the similarities among those conditions of 'trustworthiness', and found that there are significant overlaps associated with skill-based and value-based perspectives (Bannister and Connolly 2011; Mayer et al. 1995; OECD 2013). The most general conditions to trust are reduced to three antecedents as follows: Competency[18], Benevolence[19], and Integrity[20] (See Table 3).

When Mayer et al. (1995) explain the relationships among these three trust antecedents, they mention that not one specific antecedent particularly helps trustee to gain trust from others. For instance, it is highly unlikely for someone to trust a perfect stranger without any information, or even if the prior information on what this stranger is capable of – in terms of abilities – were given, the trustor still would not trust this stranger, because abilities do not validate stranger's integrity or trustable personality. Within every step of relationship, there must be proper interactions among all three trust antecedents (no matter what types of detailed factors will follow) to build concrete 'trust'.

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[18] Competency refers to a set of abilities, capabilities, and skills.
[19] Benevolence refers to a considerate, caring, concerning, and altruistic condition.
[20] Integrity refers to a transparent, honest, innocent, and pure condition.

Table 3. Trust Antecedents

Category	Authors	Antecedents
Competency	Barber (1983)	Competence
	Butler (1991)	Competence, Consistency, Promise Fulfillment
	Covello (1992)	Competence
	Gabarro (1978)	Previous Outcomes
	Giffin (1967)	Expertness, Reputation
	Deutsch (1960)	Ability, Intention to Produce
	Frost el al. (1978)	Dependence on Trustee
	Hovland et al. (1953)	Expertise
	Lieberman (1981)	Competence
	Mayer et al. (1995)	Ability
	Mishra (1996)	Competence
	OECD (2013)	Reliability, Better Regulation, Responsiveness
	Sitkin and Roth (1993)	Ability, Value Congruence
Benevolence	Barber (1983)	Benevolence
	Boyle and Bonacich (1970)	Past Interactions
	Butler (1991)	Availability, Openness, Receptivity, Discreetness
	Covello (1992)	Benevolence
	Farris et al. (1973)	Openness, Ownership of Feelings
	Frost el al. (1978)	Altruism
	Gabarro (1978)	Openness
	Hart et al. (1986)	Openness, Shared Values, Feedback
	Larzelere and Huston (1980)	Benevolence
	Mayer et al. (1995)	Benevolence
	Mishra (In Press)	Openness, Caring
	OECD (2013)	Inclusive Policy-making, Openness
	Stirickland (1958)	Benevolence
Integrity	Butler (1991)	Integrity, Loyalty
	Butler and Cantrell (1984)	Integrity
	Chen and Dhillon (2003)	Integrity
	Larzelere and Huston (1980)	Honesty
	Lieberman (1981)	Integrity
	Mayer et al. (1995)	Integrity
	OECD (2013)	Integrity, Fairness
	Ring and Van de Ven (1992)	Moral Integrity, Goodwill

Source: Mayer et al. (1995); Bannister and Connolly (2011); OECD (2013)[21]

3.2.1. Trust Antecedents in the National Assembly

Currently in South Korea, there are only a few literatures dealing with public trust in the National Assembly. However, even these literatures, with some exceptions, analyze the

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[21] For a clear view, I have made some changes as I integrated sources into one.

public trust in the National Assembly under the trust measures from government trust frameworks or the trust measures based on personal (political) traits and demographic information. With that in mind, this study below has summarized previous literatures and their findings, and created the trust antecedents of the National Assembly as Table 4.

Table 4. Trust Antecedents of National Assembly

Category	Authors	Antecedents
Competency	Cho and Lim (2008)	Political representativeness
		Evaluation on Government
		Evaluation on members of National Assembly
	Jin (2013)	Expertise
		Negotiation/Mediation ability
		Resident responsiveness
	Kim et al. (2012)	Competence
		Persuasive power
		Negotiation/Mediation ability
		Crisis Management
		Expertise
		Productivity
	Namkoong et al. (1991)	Qualifications of Members of National Assembly
		Outcomes from Local Activities (members)
		Resident responsiveness
	Yi and Jeong (2013)	Political representativeness
	Yoo (2009)	Political performance
Benevolence	Kim et al. (2012)	Resident responsiveness
Integrity	Cho and Lim (2008)	Political corruption
	Jin (2013)	Integrity
		Honesty
	Kim et al. (2012)	Corruption
		Consistency
		Honesty

Yi and Jeong (2013) assert that low public trust in the National Assembly is strongly affected by the operation (process/outcomes) of the National Assembly, public awareness and attitudes, political biases based on party politics, and national economy. Associated with government trust frameworks, they display that there are three parts in the concept of public trust in the National Assembly: political behaviors, voters' political economic characteristics,

and demographic factors. From the trust evaluation, they find that political representativeness and distrust in politics are the most significant trust antecedents for the low public trust in the National Assembly.

Cho and Lim (2008) argue that low public trust in the National Assembly comes from the structural characteristics of the National Assembly because it is the political institution which represents public interests and creates compromises for public conflicts. Their findings explain that public distrusts the National Assembly when the members of National Assembly commit corruption, when the public positively evaluates the government[22], and when the public negatively evaluates the performance of members of National Assembly in their locals. Also, the most unique finding in this study is that political representativeness does not influence the low public trust in the National Assembly[23]. Based on these findings, Cho and Lim (2008) conclude that the National Assembly needs strengthened legislative competency of the members of National Assembly and higher integrity.

Yoo (2009) argues that low public trust in the National Assembly comes from the problems in "decision-making process in the National Assembly and the communication process between the representatives and the public". Since the National Assembly cannot satisfy all of public expectations due to the limitations of decision-making process requiring the compromises, Yoo (2009) explains that the big gap between the public expectations and the actual performance of the National Assembly causes low public trust in the National Assembly. Moreover, considering the limited two-way communication between the public and the representatives, public disappointment on the low performance of representatives and the preliminary public distrust in overall politics (from party politics, ignorant political culture, and political immaturity) are also discussed as the reasons of low public trust in the

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[22] Cho and Lim (2008) describe that the public, depending on their political orientations, evaluates the National Assembly on the fault of inefficient government operations.
[23] In fact, Cho and Lim (2008) expect that political representativeness is significant to low public trust in the National Assembly.

National Assembly. Yoo (2009) finds that low public trust in the National Assembly is observed when the public has high political interests, high political efficacy, and low evaluation on the political performance of the National Assembly (including the members of National Assembly).

Unlike the literatures in the above, Namkoong et al. (1991), Kim et al. (2012), and Jin (2013) tend to focus on the detailed trust dimensions and trust antecedents for public trust in the National Assembly. By defining public trust in the National Assembly as a multi-dimensional concept[24], Namkoong et al. (1991) and Jin (2013) show how trust factors affect the different dimensions of public trust in the National Assembly while Kim et al. (2012) focus on the dimension of public trust in the members of National Assembly.

In the study, Namkoong et al. (1991) use trust factors based on competency of the members of National Assembly and personal experiences of public. They explain that qualifications and local activities of the members of National Assembly affect public trust in functions of the National Assembly and political efficacy is the only trust factor influencing normative public trust in the National Assembly. Kim et al. (2012) use trust factors based on public's personal political traits, demographic information, and characteristics of the members of National Assembly. They conclude that ability factors of the members of National Assembly show the strongest effect, benevolence factors of the members of National Assembly show the medium effect, and integrity values of the members of National Assembly show the weakest effect on public trust in the members of National Assembly. Lastly, Jin (2013) has four different parts of trust factors as follows: psychological factors, social factors, qualification factors (for the members of National Assembly), and

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[24] Namkoong et al. (1991) divide public trust in the National Assembly into two categories: 1) public trust in the National Assembly as a norm 2) public trust in functions of the National Assembly. Jin (2013)'s concept of public trust in the National Assembly is under following three aspects: trust in parliamentary system, trust in parliamentary functions, and trust in the members of National Assembly.

demographic factors. Overall [25], he says that political efficacy, expertise, negotiation/mediation ability, and integrity/honesty are the most important trust antecedent for public trust in the National Assembly. From this conclusion, his study demonstrates that public trust in the National Assembly is most significantly affected by the competency and integrity of the members of National Assembly enough to satisfy the public expectations toward the National Assembly.

As confirmed in the above, previous literatures, while disregarding the trust measures related to personal political traits and demographic information have shown a tendency to apply a set of general determinants that are vastly relying on the values of competency and integrity. However, due to this tendency, literatures have carried certain limits to demonstrate the humane factors in benevolence. There have been only one literature dealing with trust measure associated with benevolence, and even Kim et al. (2012) have missed the detailed trust measures such as accessibility, openness, and familiarity, that are significant to build a strong relationship between the public and the National Assembly. Public trust in the National Assembly is like a living creature that requires the essence of "reciprocity between individuals or among groups" (Kramer 1999, 575-576). Not only the outcomes of 'competency' but also a sense of sharing, caring, understanding, knowing, and fellowship delivered from the actions of trustees provide trustors the reliability to trust. In order to supplement the shortcomings of 'competency' and 'integrity', public trust studies on the National Assembly should include more trust measures from benevolence perspective.

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[25] Jin (2013)'s detailed findings are as follows: In the dimension of parliamentary system, he finds that key trust factors of public trust in the National Assembly are political efficacy, quantity of information, negotiation/mediation ability, expertise, and political orientation. In the dimension of parliamentary functions, the key trust factors of public trust in the National Assembly are quantity of information, expertise, negotiation/mediation ability integrity/honesty, media, trust in others, and political efficacy. In the dimension of members of the National Assembly, the key trust factors of public trust in the National Assembly are participation in group, expertise, negotiation/mediation ability, and integrity/honesty.

3.3. Reliability Level Measurement of National Customer Satisfaction Index (NCSI)

NCSI uses two models for reliability level measurement and evaluation. One is the trust model by Mayer et al. (1995) widely used for organization trust evaluation and the second model is the Activity Priority Matrix known as the time-management tool. NCSI reliability level measurement method is appropriate for this study because it is not bound to any institutions. It has primary models to evaluate the patterns and characteristics of public trust in the National Assembly to draw how trust is build within the relationship between the trustor and trustee.

3.3.1. Mayer et al. (1995) Trust Model (Relationship among Three Factors)

The trust model proposed by Mayer et al. (1995) introduced that there are three "separable but closely related" trust antecedents mentioned in the above: Ability (Competency), Benevolence, and Integrity (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. Proposed Model of Trust

Source: Mayer et al. (1995)

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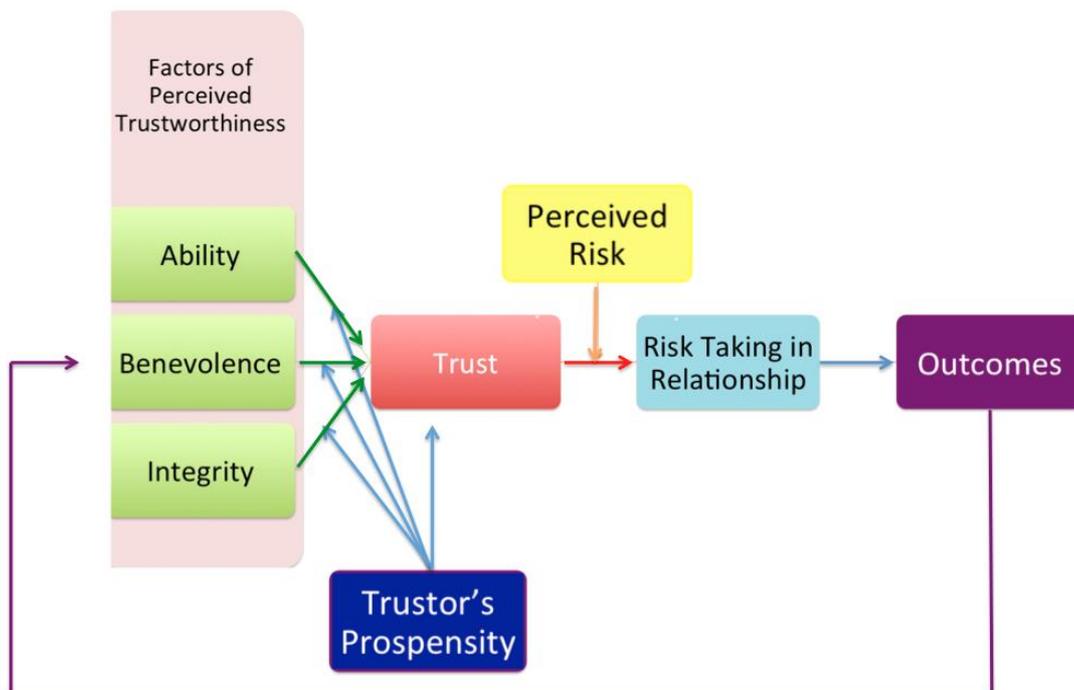
These factors processed in trustor's propensity determine the trust, as trustor is willing to take risks for unpredictable outcomes. When the outcomes are made, the relationship between trustee and trustor is returned to the initial stage of trust model, and trustor begins to re-evaluate the trustee's trustworthiness (in terms of three trust antecedents) upon the information he or she received from the past experience.

The essence of this trust model is that it not only shows a clear trust process but also implies the developing relationship among three factors. When starting a new relationship between trustor and trustee, integrity is important under the condition that ability is sufficient enough. When the relationship develops further, benevolence followed by the ability and integrity accelerates the latter trust building process. There is no one specific factor that makes trustor's propensity satisfy perfectly; all factors are independent but create a connection to affect trustor's propensity to trust. Through this model, Mayer et al. (1995) explains that trust is made step by step in such collaboration of all trust antecedents closely connected to the trustee's characteristics.

3.3.2. NCSI Action Matrix

Generally, 'Action Priority Matrix' is used to help people set priorities for time-management ("Eisenhower Methods") [26]. It aims for the maximized effectiveness and efficiency compared to the efforts invested and the impacts expected. Therefore, depending on the values and perceptions reflected in the 'x' and 'y' values, priorities differ and so does the final outcome. Based on this seemingly unrelated model to trust analysis, National Customer Satisfaction Index (NCSI) shows an example of how to recreate the Action Priority Matrix into a new analysis tool.

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[26] Originator of this version of matrix is unknown. However, the original priority matrix is stemmed from the Eisenhower Decision Matrix by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Figure 4. NCIS Action Matrix
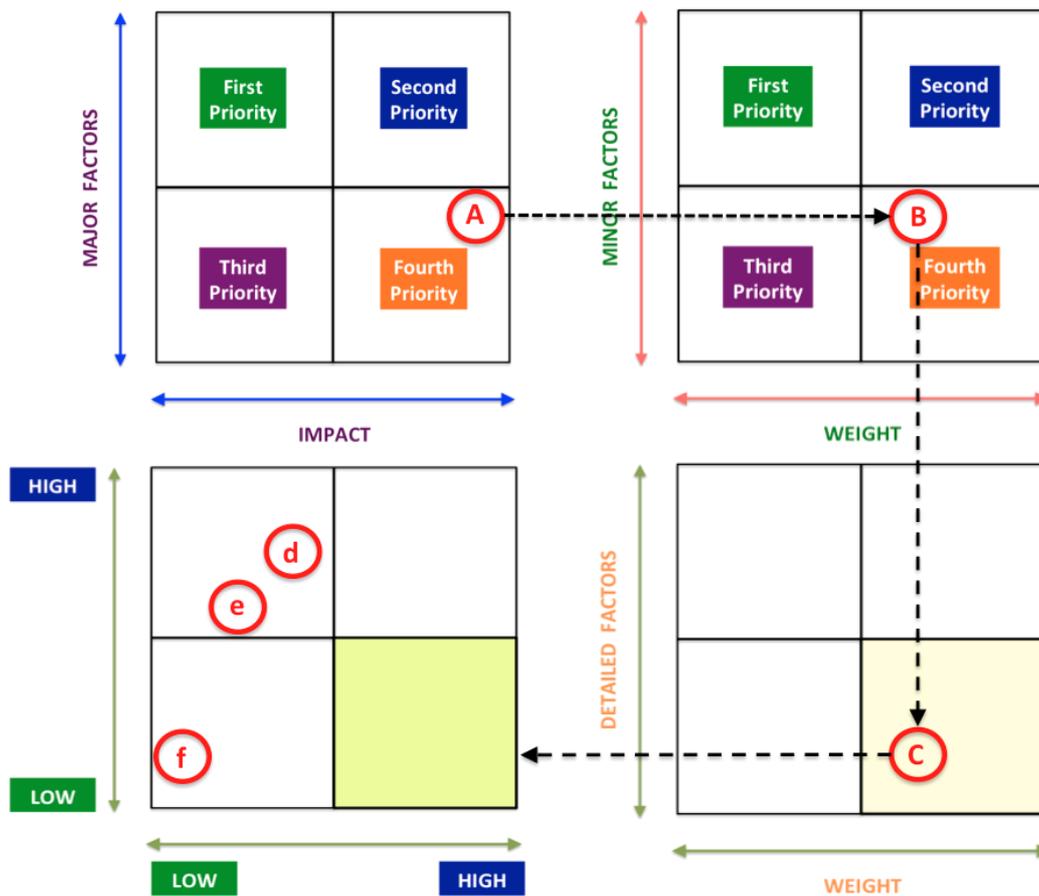
Source: National Customer Satisfaction Index (NCSI) (n.d.)

As shown in the Figure 4, NCSI first scores all key trust factors by the expected impacts on trust. Once the factors are scattered, it takes the factors (i.e. 'A') in the fourth priority section – called minor factors – and set priorities on them this time by the factors' importance (weight). Among minor factors (i.e. 'A' factors from the first step) scattered in the all sections, NCSI again takes the factors (i.e. 'B') from the fourth priority section and then, finds out much more detailed factors related to selected minor factors (i.e. 'B'). Lastly, based on the detailed factors located in the fourth priority section (i.e. 'C'), NCSI distinguishes which details should be fixed first (i.e. 'd', 'e', 'f').

NCSI Activity Matrix is designed to track the easiest factors to fix first in order to save energy, time, and resources. However, it is hard to apply the exact model directly to this

study. This type of analysis is used to filter the easiest target to reform for the quick solution, instead of clarifying which factors affect the trust level and how significant their effects are. Therefore, this study will use a revised version of this tool with different indicators: significance, impacts, expectation, and public evaluation. Then, it will be used to compare the effects of trust antecedents. Details will be discussed in the following chapter of Methodology.

IV. HYPOTHESIS

This study is to analyze public trust in the National Assembly by exploring various trust antecedents. It will look for the effects of public's perceived 'competency', perceived 'benevolence', and perceived 'integrity' on the level of public trust in the National Assembly. Based on the previous studies on public trust and research questions listed in the introduction, three hypotheses are developed as follows;

4.1. The Effect of Competency

H1) High competency is less effective to increase the level of public trust in the National Assembly

The first hypothesis is to describe the relationship between the competency and public trust in the National Assembly. Competency is an expectation which involves the biggest risks and shortcomings. High competency may show unprecedented short-term effects, however, as it causes the expectation and dissatisfaction of trustors which cannot be filled with ordinarily high outcomes. Once it remains stationary without significant growth, high competency is considered to be the default value. In line with previous logic, this study is based on the assumption that competency is perceived to be a less significant factor. It has become one of the most basic factors that is perceived to be either naturally equipped, expected to be strong enough, or already maximized – following the big economic and democratic overturns that South Korea experienced in the past (Ahn and Kang 2002; Cho and Lim 2008; Yi and Jeong 2013; Yoo 2009). This study is not trying to prove that competency no longer affects the level of public trust at all; instead, it attempts to show that there are less effects of competency on the increase of level of public trust in the National Assembly.

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4.2. The Effect of Benevolence

H2) High benevolence is significantly effective to increase the level of public trust in the National Assembly

The second hypothesis is to show the relationship between the benevolence and public trust in the National Assembly. While the National Assembly has focused extremely on achieving high competency and high integrity, low public trust in the National Assembly indicates that there is an absence of simultaneous efforts to increase the benevolence in the National Assembly. In the context of public trust in South Korea, benevolence has been reviewed as the subsidiary factor that is not related to the outcome-oriented culture. Scholars have overlooked the power of benevolence when it creates a sense of bond among individuals and groups (Kramer 1999). As previous studies have mentioned the significant effects of benevolence in process of relationship development between the trustor and the trustee (Mayer et al. 1995, 722), this hypothesis is studied under the assumption that benevolence is the crucial factor which determines the level of public trust in the National Assembly, especially when the competency and integrity are considered not quite up to par with the public expectations.

4.3. The Effect of Integrity

H3) High integrity is less effective to increase the level of pubic trust in National Assembly

The third hypothesis is to draw the relationship between the integrity and public trust in the National Assembly. Even with years of efforts regarding transparency and anti-corruption reform, integrity of the National Assembly still has been in question as to whether

it is improving or not, and whether it has contributed to better public trust in the National Assembly. Also, public have felt that integrity along with competency is one of the most basic factors that is perceived to be either naturally equipped, expected to be strong enough, or already maximized. As a socio-political factor, the integrity within a pre-existing (experienced) relationship is a norm rather than an expectation. While there is certain level of effects from having high integrity, this study focuses on the assumption that integrity alone is not sufficient to recover and/or increase the level of public trust in the National Assembly.

V. METHODOLOGY

5. Qualitative Methods

There are extremely limited resources and data for this study because public trust in the National Assembly is a relatively new topic that has not yet been explored extensively. Also, since some trust factors in this study have either not been studied or only partially been researched in the previous literatures, there are not sufficient amount of quantitative data available for this study. More importantly, previous literatures have conducted surveys on a specific group of people (such as public officials in the National Assembly and the central government, private-sector office workers, and the press) while this study selects general public as the main respondents. Even though it is necessary to conduct the interview and the survey targeting large samples of general public to secure objectivity, it is not possible due to the constraints of cost, time, and resources. Therefore, this paper takes qualitative methods with a conceptual frameworks greatly based on trust measures and models suggested by Mayer et al. (1995), National Customer Satisfaction Index (NCSI), OECD (2013) trust in government report, and other various literatures. This study also includes extensive focus group interviews and mini-surveys to analyze the public perceptions on different trust antecedents of public trust in the National Assembly and the effects of trust antecedents.

5.1. Literatures

In the previous studies on the National Assembly, numerous factors associated with demographic, political, and social characteristics were found and examined both qualitatively and quantitatively. As expected, many overlapping factors appeared throughout the literatures and the overlaps will be selected to provide details of the antecedents of conceptual framework in this study. Moreover, many findings, models, figures, and tables drawn in the

literatures are used to support the arguments and interpretations on integrated conceptual framework.

5.2. Interviews

This study uses focus-group interviews associated with targeted-sampling. In the interview, ten civilians who were randomly chosen as the representative samples of general public participated. Interview was conducted on a 1:1 basis, and the questionnaires were mainly designed 1) to understand the public awareness on low public trust in the National Assembly and 2) to study the attitudes and perceptions on specific factors which determine the level of public trust in the National Assembly. Through the in-depth discussion of matters, the interview was to widely cover public opinions on all the antecedents in conceptual framework while, at the same time, seeking for missing criteria that has never been found before. Of course, the interview included spontaneous questionnaires at the site along with the unique responses of interviewees. Apart from a verbal interview, interviewees also received a set of mini-survey questionnaires to rate the trust antecedents and specific factors in a scale of zero to ten [0 –10][27].

5.3. Conceptual Framework

Public trust in the National Assembly is a "multi-dimensional concept" (Jin 2013). Therefore, this study separates public trust in the National Assembly into two aspects: public trust in the National Assembly (as an institution) and public trust in the members of National Assembly. By combining the both aspects of public trust in the National Assembly, this study shows a more comprehensive form of public trust in the National Assembly. Under this concept, trust framework and matrix introduced in the Chapter III are revised as below.

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[27] Being close to '0', means low quality (value) of trust antecedents, while close to '10' implies high quality (value) of trust antecedents.

5.3.1. Revised Trust model for National Assembly

There is no trust framework specifically designed for the analysis of public trust in the National Assembly. Hence, this study borrows the confidence model of Mayer et al. (1995) and tailors it to the case of the National Assembly (See Figure 5) under two different categories of trust antecedents: major factors (competency, benevolence, and integrity) and corresponding detailed factors (productivity, representativeness, monitoring system, accessibility, openness, familiarity, anti-corruption, and transparency). Major factors are used to analyze public trust in the National Assembly (as an institution) and detailed factors are used to analyze public trust in the members of the National Assembly. The factors have been carefully selected through reviews of many trust antecedents in literatures and customized to the case of the National Assembly based on the areas it needs to work on the most.

Figure 5. Model for Public Trust in National Assembly
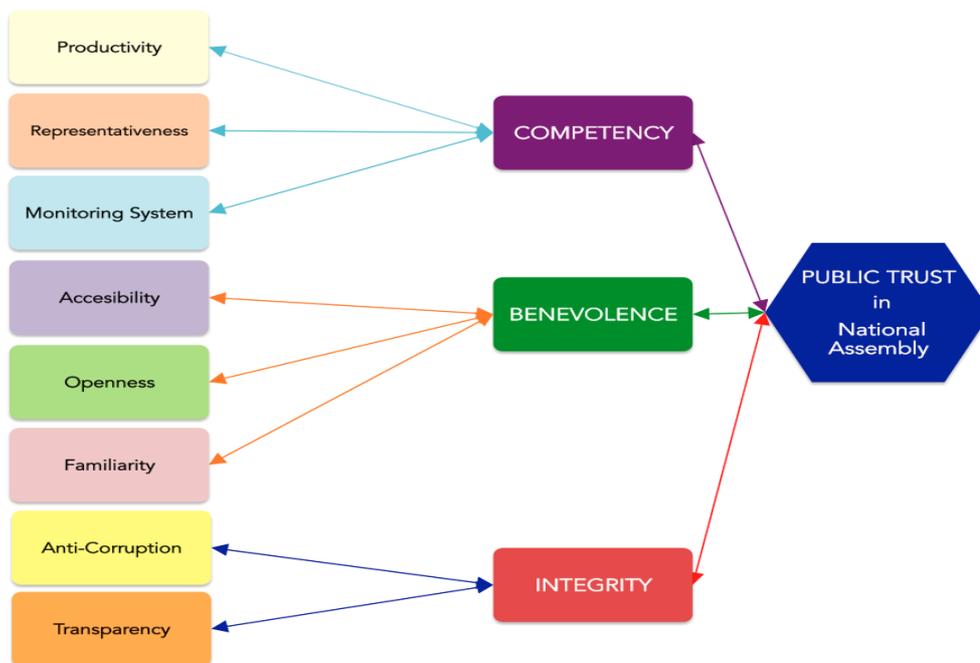
As Cho and Lim (2008), Jin (2013), Kim et al. (2012), Namkoong et al. (1991), Yi and Jeong (2013), and Yoo (2009) emphasize the importance of competency of the National

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Assembly, this study breaks down the values in competency as follows: productivity, representativeness, and monitoring system. Productivity of the National Assembly is measured by the legislative outcomes of the members of the National Assembly, for instance, the number of bills proposed and the number of bills passed. Representativeness is measured by the political representativeness (for the public) of the members of the National Assembly. Monitoring system is measured by the audit process and results, which reflect the members of National Assembly. Even though monitoring system has not been used as a trust measure for the National Assembly in the previous literatures, this study accepts the reasonable necessity of this measure to examine the effects of the current monitoring system in the National Assembly to public trust in the National Assembly.

While acknowledging the lack of trust antecedents related to values in benevolence (Kim et al. 2012), this study reinforces the trust measures – stemmed from the OECD (2013) government trust antecedents – of accessibility, openness, and familiarity. Accessibility is measured by the regular and diverse opportunities for public to communicate with the members of National Assembly. Openness indicates the attitude of the members of the National Assembly, which emphasizes and encourages the public participation. Familiarity is a measure that shows a sense of fellowship/bond between the public and the members of the National Assembly. The sense of bond made from the regular visits of the members of the National Assembly are more likely to increase public's sense of good feeling toward the members of the National Assembly. This is the measure that analyzes the effect of sense of bond (between public and the members) to the level of public trust in the National Assembly.

Lastly, based on Cho and Lim (2008), Jin (2013), Kim et al. (2012) and OECD (2013), the values in integrity are selected as follows: anti-corruption and transparency. These two, along with the values in competency, are the most frequently used trust measures for the analysis of public trust in the National Assembly. Anti-corruption is evaluated by the efforts

to prevent and eradicate political dishonesty and abuse of power by the members of the National Assembly. Transparency is a measure that describes the honesty and integrity of the members of the National Assembly.

Using this framework, this study (based on interview questionnaires and mini-survey) confirms the effectiveness of trust antecedents. Moreover, through the different aspects of public trust in the National Assembly, this framework shows how public trust in the National Assembly is built step by step in such collaboration of all trust antecedents (Mayer et al. 1995) that are closely connected to the public expectations and perceptions toward the National Assembly.

5.3.2. Matrix for National Assembly

Action Matrix used by NCSI is optimized to filter the easiest factors to fix (or to eliminate) first, instead of showing the effects of all trust factors and how they interact with each other. In other words, it is effective to find the quick solutions to increase the trust level but not so much to find the reasons behind low public trust in the National Assembly. Therefore, based on the original matrix (priority matrix from Eisenhower methods) and the revised matrix used in NCSI, this study creates a new Action Matrix (See Figure 6) incorporated with four different measures to further analyze public trust in the National Assembly: 1) Public Expectation, 2) Public Evaluation, 3) Factors' Significance to performance (roles) of the National Assembly, and 4) Factors' Impacts to public trust in the National Assembly and its members.

Figure 6. Matrix for Public Trust Analysis
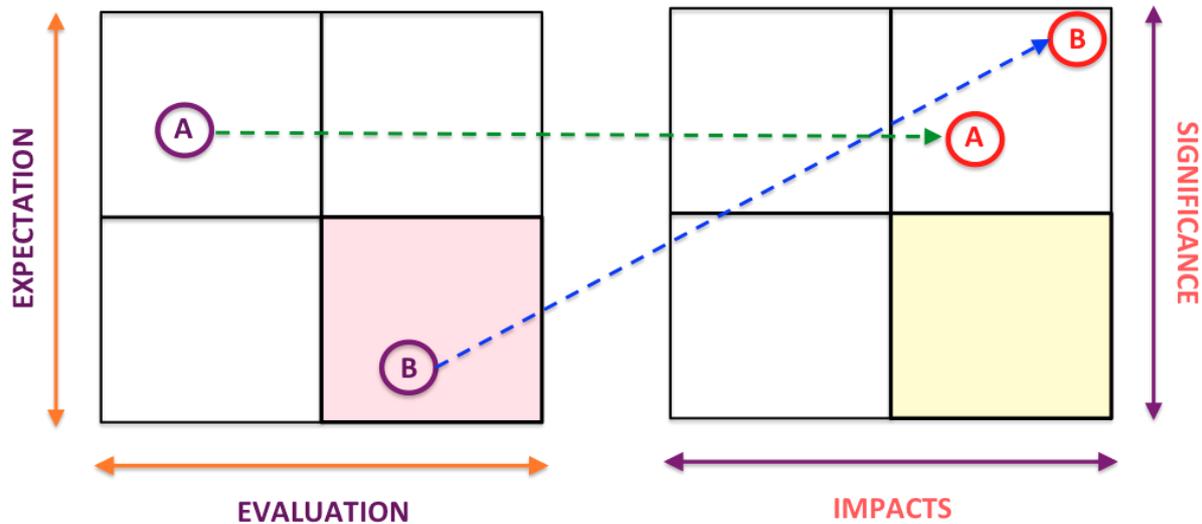
'Public expectation' is the public's expected values on each factor while 'public evaluation' means the public's values on factors based on the performance of each factor. 'Impacts' refer to the power of factor to determine the level of trust in the National Assembly and 'significance' means the importance of factors to perform the roles of National Assembly (as the legislative body, fiscal supervisor, and political overseer). New matrix does not subdivide major factors into minor factors. Also, it needs only two frames instead of four because it is optimized to show the effects of trust factors and the interactions of factors while the public shape their trust in the National Assembly. Each measure could move mutually independently while most trust factors are expected to move mutually dependently.

During the interview, there is a part of questionnaires asking interviewees to rate the factors within four measures in a scale of zero to ten [0-10]. In addition to the in-depth responses from interview regarding each trust antecedent and interviewees' overall awareness of public trust in the National Assembly, the matrix through visualized values effectively summarizes the personal views on factors and measures.

For instance, if factor 'A' has been placed in the upper left section of the matrix #1, it tells that interviewee evaluates factor 'A' in low score because his/her high expectation for factor 'A' has not been sufficiently met. However, by looking at factor 'A' being placed in the upper right section of matrix #2, it shows how interviewee perceives factor 'A' as an important duty of the National Assembly that greatly affects his level of public trust in the National Assembly. Creating correlations among all measures, it is found that interviewee sees factor 'A' as a negative factor for public trust, based on his/her evaluation and perception that factor 'A' has shown disappointing performance compared to its significance.

Likewise, extending its use from a simple interpretation on personal views, the matrix provides explanations not only for the discrepancies shown among public expectation, evaluation, factors' significance, and factors' impacts but also for the effects of trust antecedents to public trust in the National Assembly. In the following chapter, the matrix in the above will be integrated into one for the easier observation and interpretation on changes (See Figure 7).

Figure 7. Integrated Matrix for Public Trust Analysis
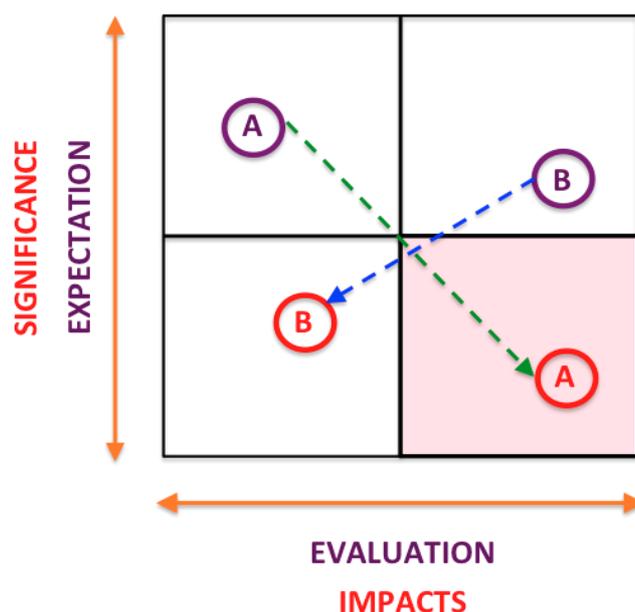
VI. FINDINGS

As mentioned in the above, this study uses focus-group interview and mini-survey to better understand how the public accepts the National Assembly (as an institution) and the members of the National Assembly. I conducted 1:1 basis interviews and surveys for 10 days from July 7th, 2016 to July 16th, 2016. Since the time of the interviews and surveys was four months after the 20th general election and the interview/survey questionnaires were designed to study the general opinions on specific trust antecedents, the level of public trust drawn in this study was not greatly affected by the social, economic, and political changes at the time of the interview and survey.

TABLE 5. Demographic Information

Category		TOTAL (Person)	Percentage (%)
Gender	Female	26	52
	Male	24	48
Age	20s	10	20
	30s	12	24
	40s	12	24
	50s	10	20
	60s+	6	12
Education	Elementary	0	0
	Middle	2	4
	High	18	36
	Undergraduate	25	50
	Graduate	5	10
Income (monthly)*	100-	6	12
	100-200	13	26
	200-300	15	30
	300-400	7	14
	400-500	6	12
	500-600	0	0
	600+	3	6
TOTAL		50	100

* Income is in Korean Won (₩) and the unit is ₩10,000.

For this study, 50 interviewees were randomly chosen among general public from various sites; for instance, 1) bank, 2) apartments, 3) stores, 4) supermarkets, and 5) in the street. The length of interview and survey varied depending on interviewees – normally around 30 minutes, but the longest one was held for two hours. Prior to interview and survey, all interviewees were informed of the differences between public trust in the institution (in the National Assembly) and public trust in the members of the National Assembly. Full demographic information of the interviewees is shown in the Table 5. Even though there are some disproportionate cases such as in the category of education and income due to the random selection of samples, it is confirmed that the entire demographic representation was well secured with relatively well-divided gender and age groups. By sharing the unfiltered responses from the public, this chapter will effectively draw public perception toward the National Assembly and public perceptions on different trust antecedents. Moreover, by using the survey results, there will be a discussion on the effects of trust antecedents to public trust in the National Assembly and the discrepancies on the effects of trust antecedents.

6.1. Findings from Interview (General Perceptions)

During the first three minutes of interview, questions regarding political participation and general perceptions (toward the National Assembly and its members) were asked. 30.4% of interviewees were conservatives, 34.8% were liberals, and another 34.8% claimed that they were moderates. 43.5% of interviewees showed strong interests in politics and 82.6% of interviewees answered that they always vote in elections. However, among these 82.6% active voters, 26.3% of them (34.8% in total) firmly believed that their votes do not have actual power to bring changes.

In the question of "How would you define the National Assembly?", 70% of interviewees defined the National Assembly as the legislative body where the representatives of the public create laws for the public interests and common good of the people. Except one

interviewee (#38) who responded that she cannot define the National Assembly, the rest of the interviewees provided definitions that depict strong public negativity toward the National Assembly. Some defined it as a recycle bin and some called it as an assembly of human trash, a PC room giving salary for the members of the National Assembly, the symbol of severe discord, and even a warzone. Yet, the most shocking response of all was 'death' which implies the death of the National Assembly. 96% of interviewees revealed that they believe the National Assembly does not perform well and 100% of interviewees answered that they are not satisfied with the current National Assembly due to the disappointing performance lopsided to party politics. Even though all of them hoped for a reform of the National Assembly in one way or another, the majority of the interviewees displayed their concerns out of severe distrust that the National Assembly would not change a thing even if the reforms were made; they mentioned that they have no expectation on actual reform in the National Assembly because they know that there would be no changes after all.

In the question of "Do you trust the National Assembly? ", 82.6% of interviewees said that they distrust the National Assembly while 8.7% of interviewees answered that they trust the National Assembly up to 50%[28]. It was only 8.7% who responded that they fully trust the National Assembly, but even these interviewees answered that they trust the National Assembly not because it is trustworthy but because they believe it needs the least amount of trust in order to exist. Similarly, this type of public skepticism was continually observed in the question of "What do you think about the members of the National Assembly?" as 96% of interviewees agreed that they have negative views on the members of the National Assembly due to the corruption, misbehaviors, and unacceptable legislative performance fulfilling their personal interests (or party's interests).

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[28] The question did not ask for any numerical values of the trust level, however, the interviewees tended to use a [0%−100%] scale when responding to this question.

6.1.1. Findings on Major Factors (Competency, Benevolence, and Integrity)

As shown in the Table 6 below, interviewees were asked to pick one of the most important trust antecedents out of three. 12 of them picked competency as the most important trust antecedent, 8 picked benevolence, and 30 interviewees picked integrity.

TABLE 6. Most Important Trust Antecedents (C/B/I[29] Comparison)

Trust Antecedents	Number of Interviewees
Competency	12
Benevolence	8
Integrity	30
Total	**50**

12 interviewees who selected the competency explained that public trust in the National Assembly is greatly based on the ability of the National Assembly. However, while they agreed that ability of the National Assembly is important for better productivity and for further development of the entire country, they mentioned that these values (productivity and development) are not the main reason that they chose competency as the most important trust antecedents. In fact, the interviewees simply said that they picked competency because they want to see the National Assembly working for the public. They looked for the quality over quantity and they did not take the performance level (in numerical value) important when they evaluate the competency of the National Assembly. Instead of high performance and high outcomes, the interviewees tended to have more expectations toward the stable performance in the basic functions (legislative, representative, fiscal, and checks and balances) of the National Assembly.

Meanwhile, 8 interviewees described that benevolence is the most important trust antecedent to public trust in the National Assembly. Since more openness, accessibility, and familiarity help the National Assembly build a close relationship with the public, the

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[29] Initials of Competency, Benevolence, and Integrity.

interviewees answered that the increased quality of benevolence is highly critical. Yet, the respondent pointed to the fact that the National Assembly needs to have a better communication with the public because they feel insecure and unprotected when the National Assembly seems to ignore the voice of the public. Even if the E-parliament system, phone application, and the exclusive TV channel have been already activated to broadcast the plenary sessions and committee meetings, the majority of interviewees (including the ones who picked other trust antecedents) answered that they still feel distance from the National Assembly. It confirmed that the public considers direct and physical accessibility more important than indirect and digitalized accessibility; they wanted the National Assembly to make efforts to listen and communicate with the public as the representative institution for the public.

Lastly, the trust antecedent that was chosen the most from the interviewees was integrity. 30 interviewees agreed that integrity is the foundation of ethics in the National Assembly and therefore, it is much more significant than competency and benevolence. This clearly depicted that the public tends to focus on whether the National Assembly is ethical enough as a powerful institution working for the public; instead of the capacity of the National Assembly or the level of kinship with the public, the public put more weights on the moral values of the National Assembly as they have higher skepticism toward it. Furthermore, the interviewees not only emphasized the necessity to improve the level of transparency and anti-corruption but also mentioned the importance of honesty throughout the entire National Assembly. In the parliament system, they wanted to strengthen the code of conduct and create more committees or a system to prevent the potential corruption in the National Assembly.

6.1.2. Findings on Detailed Factors under Competency

The productivity of the members of the National Assembly is greatly determined by the number of bills (proposed and passed) and the efficiency in the legislative process. In the question of "Do you think the National Assembly is being productive?", 22% of interviewees said 'yes' while the majority of interviewees (78%) agreed that the National Assembly is unproductive. Likewise, the overall evaluation on the productivity of the National Assembly was very low, especially due to the cancellations of the plenary session and the lowered performance in bill processing. The interviewees illustrated that the members of the National Assembly are uncooperative, waste time, and seem to make laws for the party's interests:

> I think the National Assembly is productive…but only when it tries to get the public's attention or when it wants to pass the laws that are critical for the National Assembly itself (Interviewee #5).

> The members of the National Assembly are too focused on increasing their performance level…But, what is the point? Even if they create more and more bills every year, they pass only a few while wasting precious time (Interviewee #2).

Secondly, the representativeness of the members of the National Assembly was studied. In the question of "Do you believe that your interests are well represented by the members of the National Assembly?", 13% of interviewees said 'yes' and 87% of interviewees responded 'no'. For those who said 'yes', all of them (except interviewee #44 who is in the 50s) belong in the age group of 20s and they were positive on the fact that a few members of the National Assembly try to represent the opinions of the young people, though not enough yet. However, despite the positivity observed in that question, 100% of interviewees answered 'no' in the following question of "Does the National Assembly reflect your opinions?". All interviewees agreed that the members of the National Assembly are not interested in listening to the public, as there is no venue for sharing their opinions with the members of the National Assembly:

They only listen to the words that they want to hear from the public. For example, the member of the National Assembly in my local area sometimes visits my office and other stores. In last visit, I actually wanted to ask him questions regarding the apartment construction in front of the subway station. However, when he asked me if I have any concerns or issues I would like to talk about, I could not say anything because his legislative staff came before him and specifically told me to say only the positive things. I did not know why he even bothered to come…if he does not want to listen to what I think (Interviewee #3).

On the monitoring system of the members of the National Assembly, 90% of interviewees agreed that it is an important factor to increase the competency of the National Assembly (and of its members):

Monitoring system of the members of the National Assembly is an important factor to evaluate the National Assembly as much as the legislative performances…It helps the entire National Assembly focus on its primary roles to represent the public, while preventing it from the corruption (Interview #12).

However, despite the interview result showing 96% of negative opinions on the current monitoring system of the National Assembly, most interviewees did not know much about the special committee on ethics or how the members of the National Assembly are being monitored. Thus, during the interview, the interviewees often requested for more information on the current monitoring system. When they received the detailed information on the special committee on ethics and how it works, they argued that the 'self-monitoring system' of the National Assembly is inappropriate to effectively monitor the members of the National Assembly:

Within the self-monitoring system, the members of the National Assembly would be more likely to cover for each other (Interviewee #48).

Until the moment of interview, I did not know that the Board of Inspection (BOI) does not audit the members of the National Assembly. The independent public institution (new institution) separate from the National Assembly should strictly monitor the members of the National Assembly (Interviewee #11).

6.1.3. Findings on Detailed Factors under Benevolence

Regarding the accessibility to the members of the National Assembly, the interviewees (except interviewee #48) did not feel close to the members of the National Assembly in their local regions. Only 26% of them responded that they have previous experiences of having a conversation with the members of the National Assembly and 91.3% of interviewees believed that the members of the National Assembly are not their true representatives fighting for public interests. In the question of "If the members of National Assembly have regular office-meetings for consultations/suggestions to share policy-making process with the public, would you like to participate?", 78.3% of interviewees said 'yes' and 87% of interviewees agreed that such opportunities would strongly affect the public trust in the National Assembly and in the members of the National Assembly. Throughout the interview, the majority of interviewees clearly displayed a thirst for more occasions to share their opinions and expected these opportunities to become a window of two-way communication between the public and the National Assembly.

In the case of openness, there was a general belief that the National Assembly is not open to the public, and accordingly, 96% of the interviewees (including 4.3% of the interviewees who previously have contacted or visited the members of the National Assembly) answered that the members of the National Assembly do not have open attitude encouraging the public participation. Many emphasized that the members of the National Assembly have promoted their openness through 'words', instead of through 'action'. Moreover, they explained that they do not know how to participate and why they should participate in the legislative process when the members of the National Assembly close their ears from the voice of the public. Based on broad uncertainty toward the openness of the members of the National Assembly, the interviewees were concerned about the actual impacts of their participation:

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I do not know how to participate in the legislative process, except voting for elections. Moreover, even if I participate, I am not sure if my participation could bring positive results (Interviewee #50).

Well, I think the members of the National Assembly already know what the public wants. However, they do not include our opinions into the legislations…They are the ones who are closing the door of the National Assembly in order to keep their privileges (Interviewee #33).

Similar to the evaluation on accessibility and openness, familiarity of the members of the National Assembly received negative feedbacks from the interviewees. Even though they generally liked the idea of building closer relationship with the members of the National Assembly, they strongly doubted the sincerity of the members of the National Assembly. For instance, while 70% of interviewees agreed that the familiarity from the regular visits and caring actions would significantly affect the elections results as well as improve the level of trust in the National Assembly, 52.2% of interviewees responded that they are still suspicious whether the members of the National Assembly really want to get close to the public or using it as just another way to collect more votes for the elections:

Their (the members of the National Assembly) visits are just a part of advertisement…they are not interested in our opinions anyway (Interviewee #10).

Everyone (the members of the National Assembly) is the same once he/she gets an important title. Even though they act like they are my friends, it is all fake because they never come to see me when the election period is over (Interviewee #14).

6.1.4. Findings on Detailed Factors under Integrity

On the anti-corruption of the members of the National Assembly, only 8.7% of interviewees responded that the corruption of the members of the National Assembly has been reduced. However, even these interviewees admitted the fact that the amount of reduced corruption is not so big and the anti-corruption efforts (laws and stricter surveillances) throughout the country are not developing. Moreover, regarding the corruption level of the

members of the National Assembly, 8% of interviewees answered 40%~50%, 17.4% of interviewees said 60%~78%, and 74.6% of interviewees said 95%~100%. They explained that the corruption is caused by the 1) party/region-based politics, 2) abuse of power, 3) self-interested politics, 4) lack of monitoring system, 5) benefits and immunity and 6) loss of honesty and morality:

> The corruption of the members of the National Assembly is like watching a Korean extreme melodrama (Makjang Drama)...Unless the members of the National Assembly quit party/region-based politics, it is unstoppable because they are peas in a pod (Interviewee #21).

> The corruption of the members of the National Assembly continues because the penalties are weak while the members of the National Assembly have lots of benefits and immunity to avoid the consequences (Interviewee #42).

Lastly, when interviewing about transparency, 91% of interviewees expressed an extreme skepticism toward the transparent operation of the National Assembly. Correspondingly, in the question of "Do you think that the members of the National Assembly are transparent?", 95.7% of interviewees responded that the members of the National Assembly are not transparent and honest as the representatives of the public. Regarding the result in the above, the majority of interviewees explained that the distrust in the transparency (of the National Assembly and of its members) comes from not only the ethical and moral issues but also the lack of public data share. In fact, while 73% of interviewees positively responded that public data share improves the transparency and the level of public trust in the National Assembly, it was confirmed that 86.2% of interviewees were dissatisfied with the amount and the content of public data currently in release due to the following reason:

> Although there are enough amount of data shared, the National Assembly does not release the key information we want to know, such as data related to fees for special purposes, candidate nomination process, and detailed information on

how the members of the National Assembly achieved wealth (Interviewee #23).

6.2. Findings from Survey[30]

On the public trust in the National Assembly (as an institution), 60% of respondents agreed that 'integrity' is the most important trust antecedent while 24% of respondents picked 'competency' and 16% of respondents selected 'benevolence' (See Table 7). However, on the public trust in the members of the National Assembly, the individualized significance of 'benevolence' (along with the 'integrity') turned out to be higher than the individualized significance of 'competency': transparency (92%), anti-corruption (88%), openness (86%), and monitoring system (80%).

TABLE 7. Public Trust in Institution

Trust Antecedents	Number of Respondents
Competency	12
Benevolence	8
Integrity	30
Total	50

Meanwhile, on the effect – in a scale of [0-10][31] – of public trust in the members of the National Assembly to public trust in the National Assembly (as an institution), 34% of respondents evaluated the effect of public trust in the members of the National Assembly in [0-4] range, 18% of respondents rated in [5-6] range, and 48% of respondents rated in [7-10] range. Furthermore, on the overall level of public trust in the National Assembly[32] under the same scale [0-10], 74% of respondents evaluated their overall trust in the National Assembly in [0-4] range, 20% of respondents rated in [5-6] range, while only 6% of respondents rated in [7-10] range.

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[30] Tables with detailed survey results are attached in the Appendices.
[31] Being close to '0' means low quality scores, while close to '10' implies high quality scores.
[32] Overall level of public trust in the National Assembly is a combination of public trust in the members of the National Assembly and public trust in the National Assembly as an institution.

Figure 8. Matrix on Competency
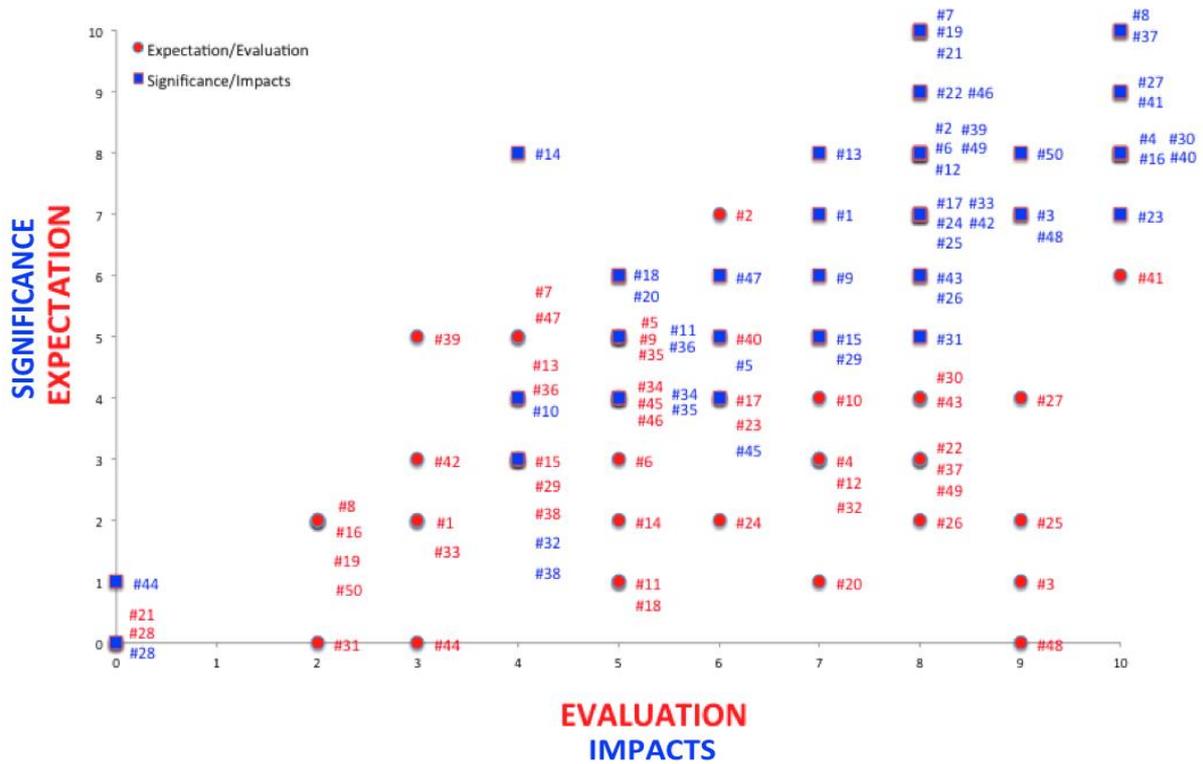
Figure 9. Matrix on Benevolence
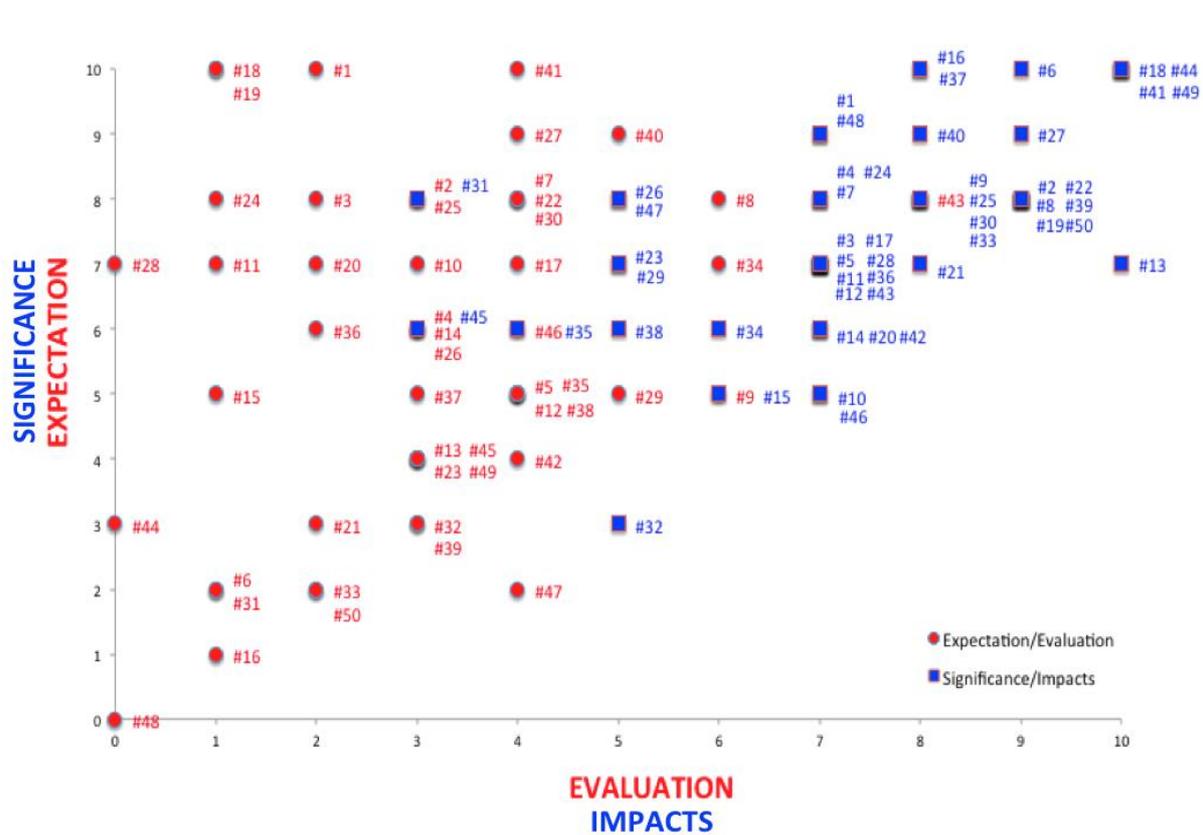
Figure 10. Matrix on Integrity
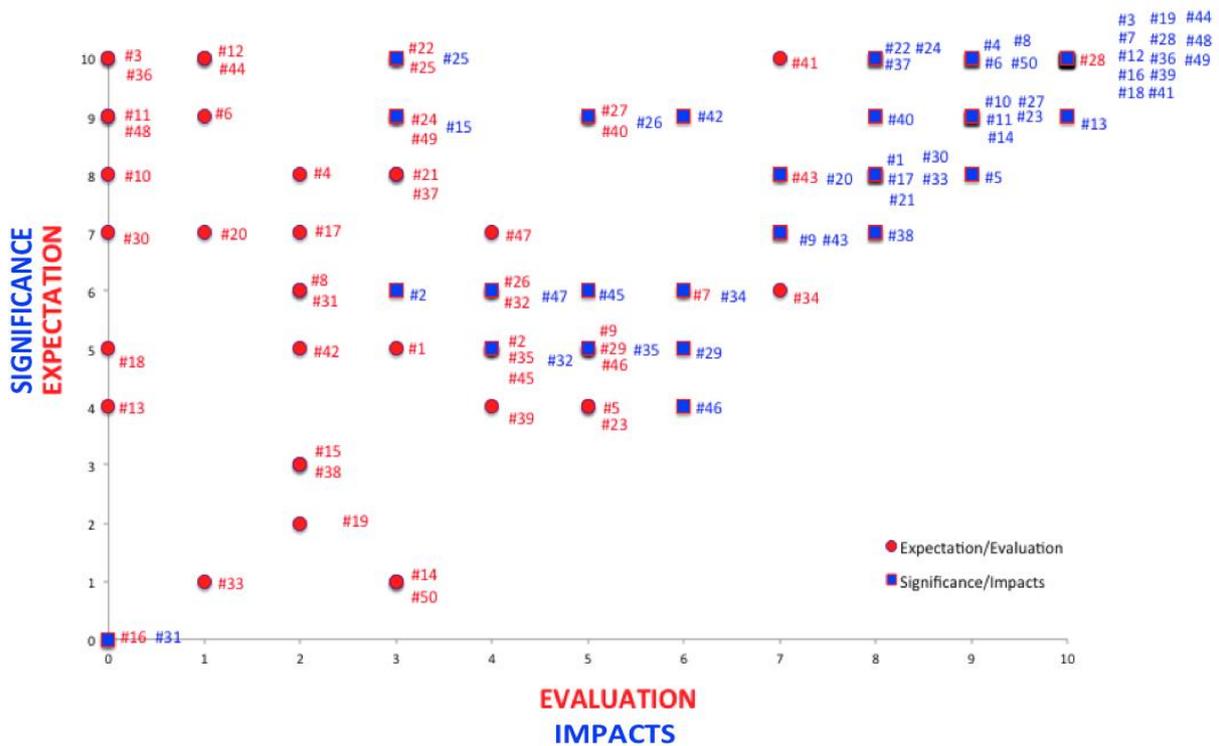
6.2.1. Findings on Major Factors (Competency, Benevolence, and Integrity)

Despite the importance of competency drawn in the earlier paragraph, competency (See Figure 8) scored the lowest expectation, significance, and impacts while it received the second lowest evaluation among all three major trust antecedents. As correlated to the interview responses that the respondents do not want stronger competency in the National Assembly over the stability in its functions, most respondents in the survey showed the biggest gap between the expectation/evaluation and significance/impacts. Especially in the matrix, #21 and #28 revealed the most unique responses by presenting the farthest distance between the expectation/evaluation and significance/impacts and by giving all four measures '0'

Benevolence (See Figure 9) scored the highest impacts and the lowest evaluation while receiving the second highest expectation and significance. Even though the respondents were scattered comparably fairly, many respondents tended to remain at the middle zone of

the matrix. Just as the interview responses that showed the public skepticism on the possibility of bringing benevolence into the National Assembly, the survey responses displayed suspicious attitudes of the public as well on the contrary to many positive reactions on the impacts of benevolence. Moreover, it was confirmed that the public had completely different perceptions toward competency and benevolence since there were opposite values drawn in the expectation/evaluation.

On integrity (See Figure 10), the matrix showed the most amount of '0's and '10's in the responses. Unlike benevolence, there were fewer respondents in the middle-zone but greater respondents in the extreme-zone (10-10). There were the highest expectation and significance with the second lowest evaluation and the second highest impacts. Corresponding to the interview responses which confirmed that integrity is the most critical yet the most problematic trust factor for the National Assembly, the matrix illustrated the severe polarization between the expectation/evaluation and significance/impacts. The general shape of matrix was similar to the matrix for benevolence, while integrity had a little bit higher expectation and much extreme '10-10' significance and impacts.

Among the three major trust antecedents, benevolence and integrity have been confirmed effective. While showing higher expectations on both trust antecedents, the majority of respondents perceived that integrity is the most fundamental factor for the National Assembly to perform its roles and that benevolence is the most critical trust determinant for the National Assembly. Meanwhile, the respondents did not expect much on competency as they perceived that the National Assembly is already incompetent.

Figure 11. Matrix on Productivity
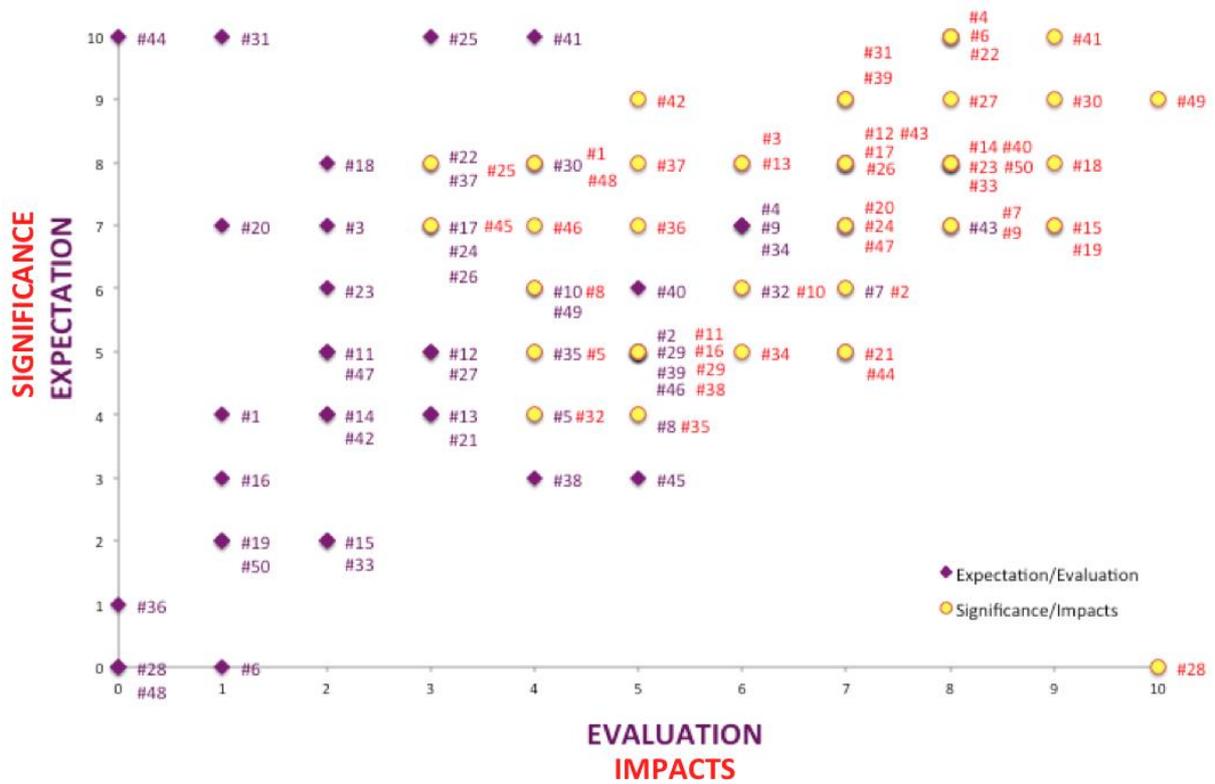
Figure 12. Matrix on Representativeness
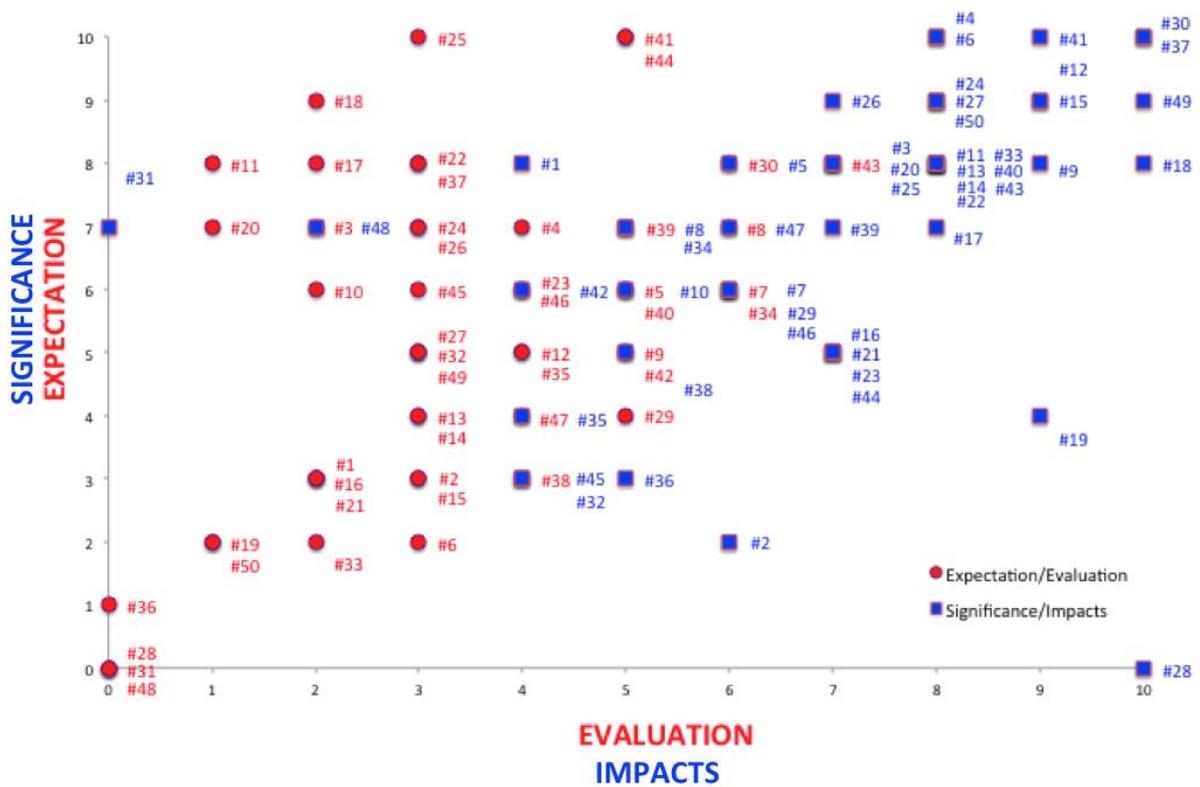
Figure 13. Matrix on Monitoring System
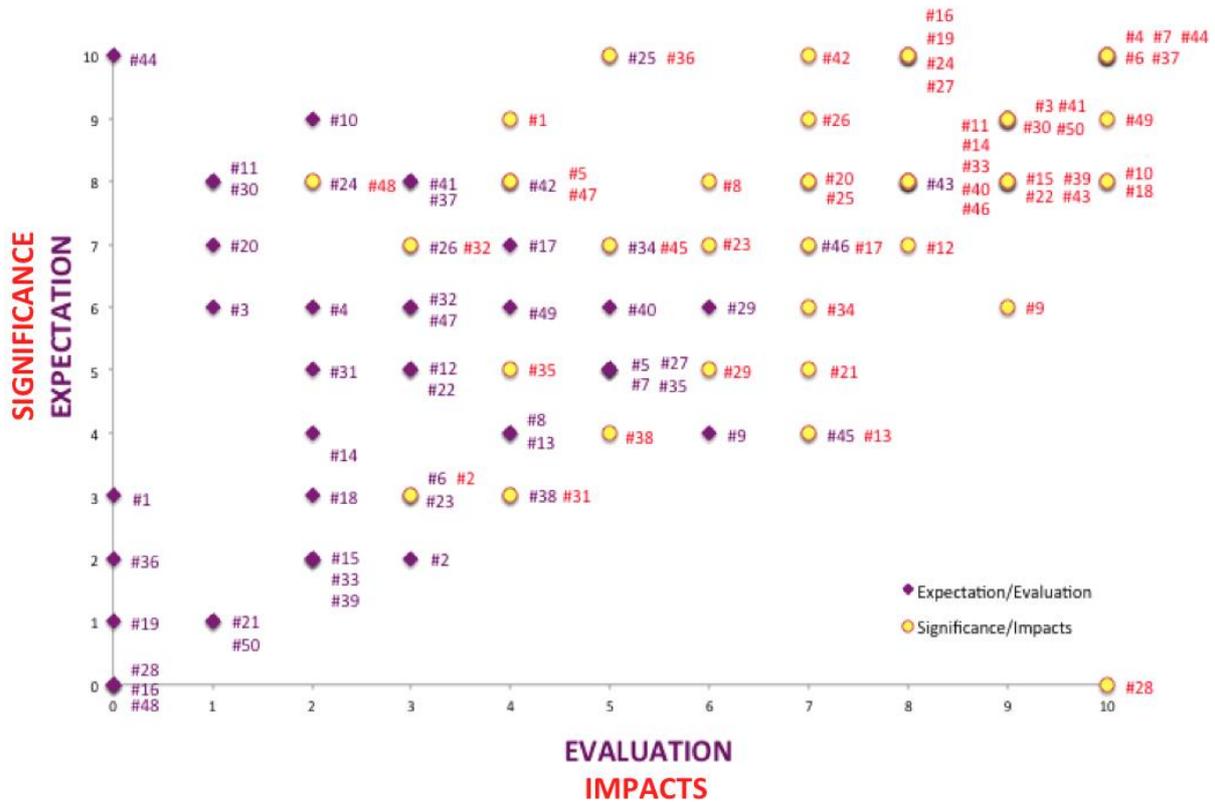
6.2.2. Findings on Detailed Factors under Competency

On the productivity (See Figure 11), there was a comparably large group of respondents who rated the measures in [5~6] range. However, based on the low levels of expectation and evaluation, this matrix supports the interview results that the majority of respondents expected higher efficiency in the legislative functions – instead of higher productivity. It even scored the second lowest significance and the lowest impacts among three competency measures. 36 respondents rated the significance in [7-10] range and 30 respondents rated the impacts in [7-10] range.

Just as the 'productivity', the representativeness (See Figure 12) also scored the low expectation and second lowest evaluation. 18 respondents rated the expectation in [0-4] range and 37 respondents rated the evaluation in [0-4] range. However, unlike the case of 'productivity', the representativeness showed a little less significance and a little more

impacts while 33 respondents rated the significance in [7-10] range and 32 respondents rated the impacts it in [7-10] range.

On the monitoring system (See Figure 13), the respondents showed the lowest expectation and evaluation. However, the significance of the monitoring system was the highest along with the strong impacts of the monitoring system to the public trust in the National Assembly. 21 respondents rated the expectation in [0-4] range and 38 respondents rated the evaluation in [0-4] range. Also, 40 respondents rated the significance in [7-10] range and 36 respondents rated the impacts in [7-10] range.

Corresponding to the earlier findings on competency, the respondents tended to remain at a gray area, especially regarding the productivity and representativeness. The only factor confirmed effective to the public trust in the National Assembly was the monitoring system as it has strong effects on the integrity measures. Although there was a general agreement on the importance of all three measures, the respondents revealed specific interests in competency measures correlated to other measures such as integrity.

Figure 14. Matrix on Accessibility

Figure 15. Matrix on Openness
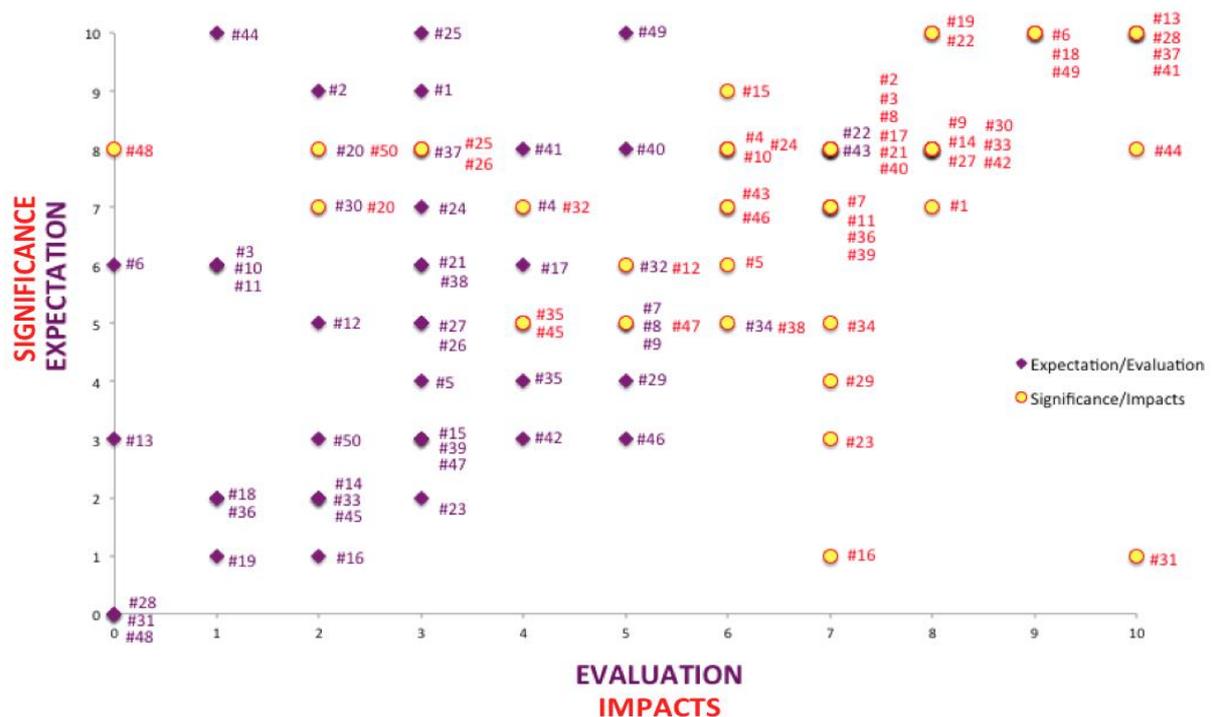
Figure 15. Matrix on Openness

Figure 16. Matrix on Familiarity

Figure 16. Matrix on Familiarity

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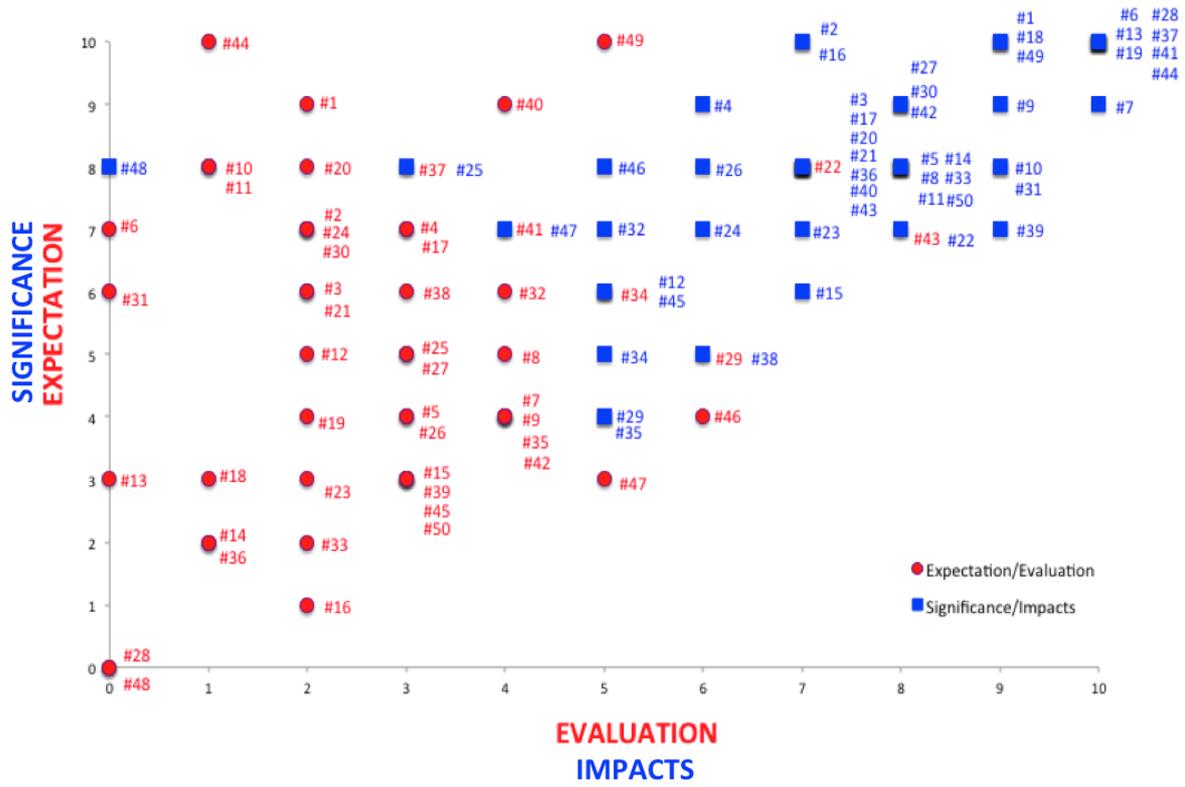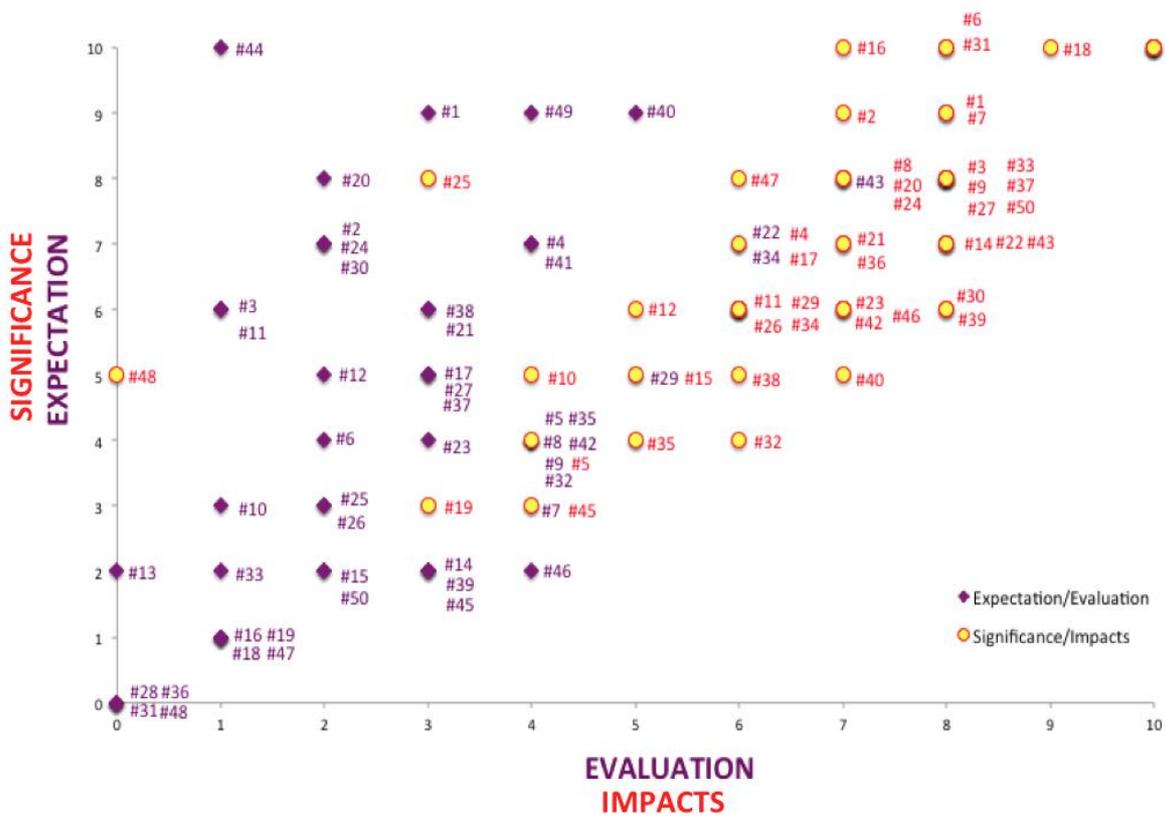
6.2.3. Findings on Detailed Factors under Benevolence

The accessibility (See Figure 14) scored the highest evaluation despite the fact that 39 respondents rated it in [0-4] range. It had 9 respondents who rated it in [5-6] range and there were two more respondents who gave high scores in [7-10] range. Moreover, as shown in the expectation results from competency measures (See Figure 11 and 12), the respondents were distributed nearly even as 21 respondents rated the expectation in [0-4] range, 15 respondents rated in [5-6] range, and 14 respondents rated in [7-10] range. With 39 respondents and 32 respondents rated in [7-10] range, the accessibility scored the second highest significance and impacts.

The openness (See Figure 15) scored the highest significance and impacts while showing the second lowest evaluation. Regarding the expectation, the respondents – similar to the accessibility – made a distribution nearly even and therefore, there were not much of clear difference of the public perception associated with expectation level. In the result, 22 respondents rated the expectation in [0-4] range, 11 respondents rated it in [5-6] range, and 17 respondents rated it in [7-10]. While 43 respondents rated the evaluation in [0-4] range, 43 respondents rated the significance in [7-10] range and 36 respondents rated the impact in [7-10] range.

On the trust factor of familiarity (See Figure 16), the respondents showed the lowest expectation and evaluation. However, the majority of the respondents revealed that familiarity is significant for the roles of the National Assembly as well as the public trust in the National Assembly. As drawn in the figure above, 28 respondents rated the expectation in [0-4] range while 13 respondents rated it in [7-10] range, and 44 respondents rated the evaluation in [0-4] range. Furthermore, on the significance and impacts, 29 respondents rated the significance in [7-10] range and 39 respondents rated the impacts in [7-10] range.

Due to the relatively weak significance appeared in the familiarity to perform the roles of the National Assembly, only the accessibility and openness have been confirmed effective. The respondents perceived that the openness is the most important factor that matters greatly to their level of trust in the National Assembly while the accessibility is essential for members of the National Assembly to perform their roles as the public representatives.

Figure 17. Matrix on Anti-Corruption

Figure 18. Matrix on Transparency
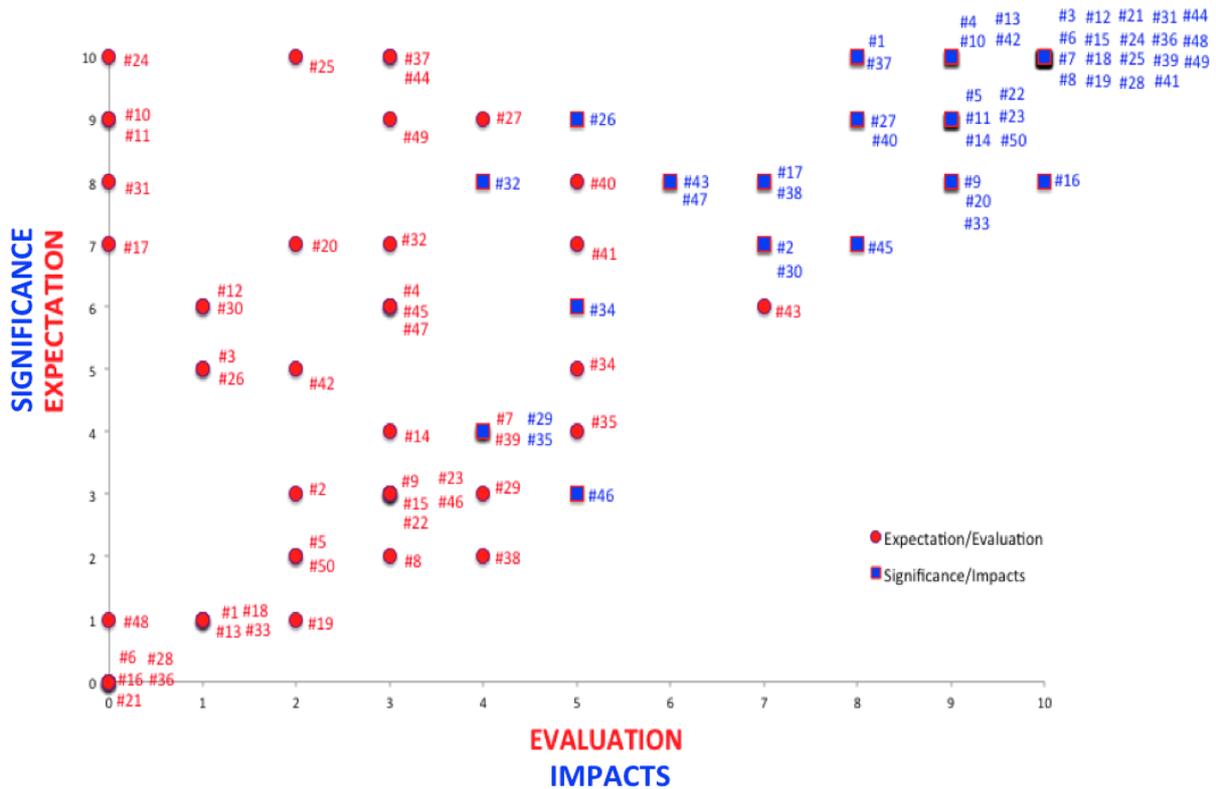
6.2.4. Findings on Detailed Factors under Integrity

Regarding the anti-corruption (See Figure 17), the respondents showed the extremely low expectation and evaluation as well as the extremely high significance and impacts. While the expectation level was not so different from other trust antecedents, there were huge gaps in the evaluation, significance, and impacts. 24 respondents rated the expectation in [0-4] range and 44 respondents rated the evaluation in [0-4] range. Also, 44 respondents rated the significance in [7-10] range and 41 respondents rated the impacts in [7-10] range.

About transparency (See Figure 18), the respondents showed the most severe polarization between the evaluation and the significance on the roles of the National Assembly. Transparency scored the lowest evaluation and the highest significance and the impacts among the entire trust antecedents (including major factors) in this study. 26 respondents rated the expectation in [0-4] range and 45 respondents rated the evaluation in

[0-4] range. Also, 46 respondents rated the significance in [7-10] range and 42 respondents rated the impacts in [7-10] range.

Surprisingly, there was a huge gap between the expectation on integrity and the expectation on anti-corruption and transparency. However, in the result, both anti-corruption and transparency have been confirmed effective. Based on a firm belief that these two trust antecedents are the most foundational elements for public trust in the National Assembly, the respondents acknowledged the significance and the impacts of the anti-corruption and transparency.

6.3. Suggested Solutions for Overall Findings

By reviewing and studying various literatures, media sources, statistical information, interviews, and surveys, this study has found that competency, benevolence, and integrity are in the relationship supporting each other and maximizing the mutual impacts. However, due to the imbalance among these values, the National Assembly has failed to create a synergy in such relationship while instigating severe public distrust in the National Assembly. In order to restore the public trust in the National Assembly, solutions should be focused on increasing the expectation level on trust antecedents, since the overall expectation was extremely low despite the high significance and impacts. Although it is hard to raise the evaluation, it is relatively easier to raise the expectation; moreover, once the National Assembly meets the increasing level of public expectation steadily, the evaluation will be raised automatically.

For instance, one of the easiest ways to increase the expectation level is to cut the benefits of the members of the National Assembly. During the interview, the benefits (immunity and salaries) of the members of the National Assembly were discussed as the strong factor of corruption. If the members of the National Assembly cut the benefits by

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themselves, the expectation on the integrity of the National Assembly would be increased as well as the evaluation on the integrity. Secondly, another way of increasing the expectation level is to launch a new monitoring system with an independent external agency. This monitoring system would not only strictly monitor the members of the National Assembly but also lead the regular hearing sessions against the members of the National Assembly (just as the National Assembly currently does the national inspection on the executive branch). This would increase the expectation and evaluation on competency. Thirdly, the National Assembly could bring changes by creating new requirements on the members of the National Assembly to open regular office-hours or consultation meetings with the public. This way, the National Assembly could increase the expectation and evaluation on benevolence while providing the public an opportunity to communicate with the representatives and to share the concerns and suggestions that need legislative action.

Public trust in the National Assembly is built step by step as the public and the National Assembly strengthen the relationship together. It is impossible to restore the public trust at once by simply improving a factor or two. When restoring the level of public trust in the National Assembly, there must be a thorough understanding on the public trust in the National Assembly (as an institution) as well as on the public trust in the members of the National Assembly. Furthermore, the solutions must be customized based on the public perceptions and the effects of the trust antecedents. Lastly, for the sustainable long-term effects, the National Assembly should continue to make reforms in the current parliament system.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

For the qualitative research on the trust antecedents of public trust in the National Assembly, this study has analyzed the concept of public trust in the National Assembly into two aspects: 1) public trust in the National Assembly (trust in the institution) and 2) public trust in the members of the National Assembly. The major factors (competency, benevolence, and integrity) have been used to evaluate public trust in the National Assembly, while the detailed factors (productivity, representativeness, monitoring system, accessibility, openness, familiarity, anti-corruption, and transparency) have been used to evaluate public trust in the members of the National Assembly. Through the 1:1 basis focus-group interviews and mini-surveys, this study has found that public trust in the National Assembly (institutional trust) is greatly affected by benevolence and integrity while public trust in the members of the National Assembly is significantly determined by the monitoring system, accessibility, openness, anti-corruption, and transparency.

7.1. Competency

Based on the findings from interviews and surveys, this study has confirmed that high competency is less effective in increasing the level of public trust in the National Assembly. In the research, the public has shown low expectation/evaluation on the competency of the National Assembly while the significance/impacts of the competency of the National Assembly are still high. In contrast to Yoo (2009)'s argument on the growing public dissatisfaction from the gap between the growing public expectation and the actual (limited) performance of the National Assembly, the public has clearly depicted that they do not have expectation toward the National Assembly; what they want is the stability in functions (legislative, representative, fiscal, and checks and balances) instead of high

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performances and outcomes. Even though the competency of the National Assembly has been increasing and strengthened (Yi and Jeong 2013), the public, in fact, perceives that the competency of the National Assembly has been deteriorated. Moreover, as drawn in the findings, the public believes that the competency blindly chasing after high performances in productivity and representativeness has caused false-productivity (redundancy) and party/region-based politics in the legislative process.

7.2. Benevolence

By looking at the fact that the public has drawn high expectation toward benevolence and admitted high significance and impacts of benevolence, this study has confirmed that high benevolence is highly effective in increasing the level of public trust in the National Assembly. In terms of careful and considerate actions toward the public, the benevolence of the National Assembly has been generally accepted as a positive measure that improves the level of public trust in the National Assembly. Among the public, benevolence has affected the trust level as much as integrity (even more than competency). On the other hand, a large group of public – despite the advantages from the benevolence of the National Assembly – has revealed a strong distrust or skepticism toward the sincerity of the members of the National Assembly. The public has pointed that the members of the National Assembly do not make enough efforts to communicate with the public or to listen. Regardless of the use of digitalized tools for communication and openness, the public has shown strong interests in political inclusion through more opportunities to participate in the legislative process and to communicate with the members of the National Assembly.

7.3. Integrity

Unlike the expectation, the third hypothesis which asserts "high integrity is less effective to increase the level of pubic trust in National Assembly" has not been confirmed positive. Although the public opinions on integrity have been similar to the ones related to competency, the public has weighed the importance of integrity much heavier than the importance of competency. In the result, the public has presented high expectation toward integrity and evaluated the significance and impacts of integrity with relatively high scores. Moreover, due to the huge gap between the extreme scores on the detailed factors (anti-corruption and transparency), integrity has shown the most severe polarizations between the expectation/evaluation and significance/impacts. Regarding integrity, the public has emphasized that it is the basis of all trust antecedents while being the most important trust antecedent of the National Assembly.

7.4. Limitation of the Research and Further Study

During research, there were both time and resource constraints to secure a large number of samples for interviews and survey. Although this study has generated meaningful findings for the public trust studies in the National Assembly of South Korea, I acknowledge that the sample size is not large enough to generalize and confirm the conclusions to the entire Korean public. In order to overcome the limitations and improve the accuracy of conclusions, further studies will need to increase the sample size (enough to ensure the representativeness) and more rigorously research the factors of public distrust in the National Assembly as well as the solutions to restore the public trust in the National Assembly.

APPENDICES

Interview Questionnaire

1. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

→ Are you interested in politics?
→ Do you support or prefer any specific political party? Why or why not?
→ Do you see yourself as liberal or conservative?
→ Are you an active voter? Do you vote for the elections?
→ Do you feel your vote matters for a change?
→ Do you actively participate in political events such as protest?
→ If yes, are you satisfied with the results from your political participation?
→ If no, imagine you have a chance to join one. Do you want to join one?

2. GENERAL PERCEPTIONS

→ How would you define/describe the National Assembly?
→ What is the role of the National Assembly? If many, what is the most important role?
→ What do you expect from the National Assembly? (related to its roles as legislative branch)
→ How do you see the members of the National Assembly? (positive/negative) Why?
→ What is the role of the members of the National Assembly?
→ Do you think the National Assembly performs well in its roles? Why or Why not?
→ Are you satisfied with the current National Assembly? Why or Why not?
→ Do you think the National Assembly should be reformed? Why or Why not?
→ Do you evaluate the National Assembly as binding the National Assembly (institution) and the members of the National Assembly together? Why or Why not?

3. TRUST

→ Do you trust the National Assembly?
→ If yes, how much do you trust the National Assembly? If no, why don't you or why can't you trust the National Assembly?
→ What is the most important factor affects your level of trust in the National Assembly?
→ What is the most important factor among these trust factors listed below?
  (Productivity /Representativeness /Monitoring System /Accessibility / Openness /Familiarity / Transparency /Anti-Corruption)
→ Do you believe that the National Assembly could regain the public trust in the near future if reformed? Why or Why not?
→ What should be reformed in order to regain the public trust in the National Assembly?

4. DETAILED PERCEPTIONS ON TRUST ANTECEDENTS

[Competency]

→ Do you believe the National Assembly is being productive?
→ Do you think your opinion is well represented by the members of the National Assembly?

→ Do you believe that the National Assembly reflects your opinions?
→ Currently, the National Assembly exercises 'self-monitoring' system through the 'special committee on ethics'. Do you believe that the National Assembly is being well-monitored?
→ How do you feel about the 'self-monitoring system' on the members of the National Assembly? Do you think this is effective?
→ Currently, the members of the National Assembly are not subject to annual audit (except 4 agencies under the National Assembly) by the Board of Audit and Inspection. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Benevolence]

→ Do you feel close to the members of the National Assembly in your local/region?
→ Have you ever talked to the members of the National Assembly in your region?
→ Do you feel that they are your representatives who represent and fight for your interests and good?
→ Do you think there are many opportunities to meet the member of the National Assembly?
→ If the members of the National Assembly have regular office-meetings for consultations /suggestions to share policy-making process with the public, would you want to participate? Why or why not?
→ Will frequent meetings with the members of the National Assembly affect your level of trust in the National Assembly? Why or Why not?
→ How would you feel if the members of the National Assembly regularly visit you and ask if there any concerns? Will it make you feel considered and cared? Why or why not?
→ Will the closeness/ familiarity (a sense of fellowship/bonds) built from their visits help improve your of trust in the National Assembly? Why or why not?
→ Have you ever reached the National Assembly? (work/education purposes…etc)
→ If yes, do you believe that the National Assembly properly responds to your inquiries?
→ If you have never tried to reach the National Assembly, do you believe that the National Assembly would properly respond to your inquiries?
→ Do you think that the National Assembly is opened for the public?

[Integrity]

→ After the democratization, do you believe that the corruption in the National Assembly has disappeared?
→ After the Anti-corruption committee (KICAC - Korea Independent Commission Against Corruption) and anti-corruption laws, do you believe that the corruption of the members of the National Assembly has been eradicated?
  reduced or prevented in the National Assembly?
→ In general, how would you describe the level of corruption in the National Assembly?
→ In your opinions, why does corruption exist in the National Assembly?
→ What is the main source of corruption in the National Assembly? How about the corruption of the members of the National Assembly?
→ What should the National Assembly and the members of the National Assembly change/reform to become corruption-free? How?

Following the government 3.0 initiative, the National Assembly also releases data for the public.

→ Do you believe data sharing would help remove corruption and raise its integrity?

→ Do you believe that the National Assembly is transparent? Why or Why not?

→ Do you believe that the members of the National Assembly are transparent and honest?

→ Do you believe the current amount of data released is enough? Are you satisfied with it?

→ Do you believe that the National Assembly should share all data with the public? Why or Why not?

→ If there are certain types of data should be released, what are they?

Survey Questionnaires

* **Gender**   ☐ Female   ☐ Male

* **Age**   ☐ 20s ☐ 30s ☐ 40s ☐ 50s ☐ 60s +

* **Education**   ☐ Elementary School ☐ Middle School ☐ High School
    ☐ Undergraduate ☐ Graduate

* **Monthly Income (₩10,000)**
    ☐ Below 100 ☐ Over 100 – Below 200 ☐ Over 200 – Below 300
    ☐ Over 300 – Below 400 ☐ Over 400 – Below 500
    ☐ Over 500 – Below 600 ☐ Over 600

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1. What is the most important trust factor to trust the National Assembly? [Check in ☐]
   ☐ **Competency**
      (1) Productivity:
        → Numbers of proposed and processed bills by the members of the National Assembly
      (2) Representativeness:
        → Political representation of the members of the National Assembly
      (3) Monitoring System:
        → Monitoring on the members of the National Assembly

   ☐ **Benevolence**
      (1) Accessibility:
        → Opportunities for regular basis communication between the public and the members of the National Assembly
      (2) Openness:
        → Attitude of the members of the National Assembly which emphasizes and encourages the public participation
      (3) Familiarity:
        → A sense of fellowship/bond between the public and the members of the National Assembly from the visits of the members of the National Assembly

   ☐ **Integrity**
      (1) Anti-Corruption:
        → The efforts to prevent and eradicate political dishonesty and abuse of power by the members of the National Assembly
      (2) Transparency:
        → The honesty and integrity of the members of the National Assembly

[Competency]
[Being close to '0', means low quality (value) of trust antecedents, while close to '10' implies high quality (value) of trust antecedents]

2. Among the trust factors introduced in the earlier question #1, **how significant** is the **'competency'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]
   (Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-1. What is your **expectation** level **on the competency of the National Assembly**? [0-10]
   (Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-2. How would you **evaluate the competency** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]
   (Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-3. **How much** does the **competency of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10] (Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-4. **How significant** is the **'productivity'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-5. **How significant** is the **'representativeness'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-6. **How significant** is the **'monitoring system'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-7. What is your **expectation** level **on the productivity of the National Assembly**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-8. What is your **expectation** level **on the representativeness of the National Assembly**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-9. What is your **expectation** level **on the monitoring system of the National Assembly**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-10. How would you **evaluate the productivity** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-11. How would you **evaluate the representativeness** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-12. How would you **evaluate the monitoring system** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-13. **How much** does the **productivity of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-14. **How much** does the **representativeness of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2-15. **How much** does the **monitoring system of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

[Benevolence]
[Being close to '0', means low quality (value) of trust antecedents, while close to '10' implies high quality (value) of trust antecedents]

3. Among the trust factors introduced in the earlier question #1, **how significant** is the **'benevolence'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]
   (Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-1. What is your **expectation** level **on the benevolence of the National Assembly**? [0-10]
   (Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-2. How would you **evaluate the benevolence** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]
   (Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-3. **How much** does the **benevolence of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10] (Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-4. **How significant** is the **'accessibility'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-5. **How significant** is the **'openness'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-6. **How significant** is the **'familiarity'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-7. What is your **expectation** level **on the accessibility of the National Assembly**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-8. What is your **expectation** level **on the openness of the National Assembly**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-9. What is your **expectation** level **on the familiarity of the National Assembly**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-10. How would you **evaluate the accessibility** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-11. How would you **evaluate the openness** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-12. How would you **evaluate the familiarity** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-13. **How much** does the **accessibility of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-14. **How much** does the **openness of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3-15. **How much** does the **familiarity of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

[Integrity]
[Being close to '0', means low quality (value) of trust antecedents, while close to '10' implies high quality (value) of trust antecedents]

4. Among the trust factors introduced in the earlier question #1, **how significant** is the **'integrity'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]
(Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-1. What is your **expectation** level **on the integrity of the National Assembly**? [0-10]
(Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-2. How would you **evaluate the integrity** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]
(Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-3. **How much** does the **integrity of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10] (Question for '**trust in the institution**')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-4. **How significant** is the **'anti-corruption'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-5. **How significant** is the **'transparency'** for the National Assembly **to perform its roles/functions**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-6. What is your **expectation** level **on the anti-corruption of the National Assembly**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-7. What is your **expectation** level **on the transparency of the National Assembly**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-8. How would you **evaluate the anti-corruption** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-9. How would you **evaluate the transparency** of the National Assembly **until today**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-10. **How much** does the **anti-corruption of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4-11. **How much** does the **transparency of the National Assembly impact your trust** in the National Assembly? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

[Overall Evaluation]
[Being close to '0', means low quality (value) of trust antecedents, while close to '10' implies high quality (value) of trust antecedents]

5. **How much** does the your **trust in the members of the National Assembly (M) impact your trust in the National Assembly (I)**? [0-10]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

5-1. What is your **overall trust in the National Assembly**?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

**Please answer the following questions **

1. You have selected_____as the most important trust factor. Please explain why you

   picked it.

2. Other than the trust factors introduced in this survey, what are the other trust factors for the

   public trust in the National Assembly?

Survey Results (Raw Data)[33]

Competency	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts	Productivity	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts
#1	3	2	7	7	#1	4	1	8	4
#2	6	7	8	8	#2	5	5	6	7
#3	9	1	9	7	#3	7	2	8	6
#4	7	3	10	8	#4	7	6	10	8
#5	5	5	6	5	#5	4	4	5	4
#6	5	3	8	8	#6	0	1	10	8
#7	4	5	8	10	#7	6	7	7	8
#8	2	2	10	10	#8	4	5	6	4
#9	5	5	7	6	#9	7	6	7	8
#10	7	4	4	4	#10	6	4	6	6
#11	5	1	5	5	#11	5	2	5	5
#12	7	3	8	8	#12	5	3	8	7
#13	4	4	7	8	#13	4	3	8	6
#14	5	2	4	8	#14	4	2	8	8
#15	4	3	7	5	#15	2	2	7	9
#16	2	2	10	8	#16	3	1	5	5
#17	6	4	8	7	#17	7	3	8	7
#18	5	1	5	6	#18	8	2	8	9
#19	2	2	8	10	#19	2	1	7	9
#20	7	1	5	6	#20	7	1	7	7
#21	0	0	8	10	#21	4	3	5	7
#22	8	3	8	9	#22	8	3	10	8
#23	6	4	10	7	#23	6	2	8	8
#24	6	2	8	7	#24	7	3	7	7
#25	9	2	8	7	#25	10	3	8	3
#26	8	2	8	6	#26	7	3	8	7
#27	9	4	10	9	#27	5	3	9	8
#28	0	0	0	0	#28	0	0	0	10
#29	4	3	7	5	#29	5	5	5	5
#30	8	4	10	8	#30	8	4	9	9
#31	2	0	8	5	#31	10	1	9	7
#32	7	3	4	3	#32	6	6	4	4
#33	3	2	8	7	#33	2	2	8	8
#34	5	4	5	4	#34	7	6	5	6
#35	5	5	5	4	#35	5	4	4	5
#36	4	4	5	5	#36	1	0	7	5
#37	8	3	10	10	#37	8	3	8	5
#38	4	3	4	3	#38	3	4	5	5
#39	3	5	8	8	#39	5	5	9	7
#40	6	5	10	8	#40	6	5	8	8
#41	10	6	10	9	#41	10	4	10	9
#42	3	3	8	7	#42	4	2	9	5
#43	8	4	8	6	#43	7	8	8	7
#44	3	0	0	1	#44	10	0	5	7
#45	5	4	6	4	#45	3	5	7	3
#46	5	4	8	9	#46	5	5	7	4
#47	4	5	6	6	#47	5	2	7	7
#48	9	0	9	7	#48	0	0	8	4
#49	8	3	8	8	#49	6	4	9	10
#50	2	2	9	8	#50	2	1	8	8

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[33] The results from Question #5 and #5-1 are indicated as follows: M=Trust in Members of the National Assembly/I=Trust in Institution (page 87). Page 85 shows the list of most important trust factors of each interviewee.

Representativeness	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts	Monitoring System	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts
#1	3	2	8	4	#1	3	0	9	4
#2	3	3	2	6	#2	2	3	3	3
#3	7	2	8	7	#3	6	1	9	9
#4	7	4	10	8	#4	6	2	10	10
#5	6	5	8	6	#5	5	5	8	4
#6	2	3	10	8	#6	3	3	10	10
#7	6	6	6	6	#7	5	5	10	10
#8	7	6	7	5	#8	4	4	8	6
#9	5	5	8	9	#9	4	6	6	9
#10	6	2	6	5	#10	9	2	8	10
#11	8	1	8	8	#11	8	1	8	8
#12	5	4	9	9	#12	5	3	7	8
#13	4	3	8	8	#13	4	4	4	7
#14	4	3	8	8	#14	4	2	8	8
#15	3	3	9	9	#15	2	2	8	9
#16	3	2	5	7	#16	0	0	10	8
#17	8	2	7	8	#17	7	4	7	7
#18	9	2	8	10	#18	3	2	8	10
#19	2	1	4	9	#19	1	0	10	8
#20	7	1	8	7	#20	7	1	8	7
#21	3	2	5	7	#21	1	1	5	7
#22	8	3	8	8	#22	5	3	8	9
#23	6	4	5	7	#23	3	3	7	6
#24	7	3	9	8	#24	8	2	10	8
#25	10	3	8	7	#25	10	5	8	7
#26	7	3	9	7	#26	7	3	9	7
#27	5	3	9	8	#27	5	5	10	8
#28	0	0	0	10	#28	0	0	0	10
#29	4	5	6	6	#29	6	6	5	6
#30	8	6	10	10	#30	8	1	9	9
#31	0	0	7	0	#31	5	2	3	4
#32	5	3	3	4	#32	6	3	7	3
#33	2	2	8	8	#33	2	2	8	8
#34	6	6	7	5	#34	7	5	6	7
#35	5	4	4	4	#35	5	5	5	4
#36	1	0	3	5	#36	2	0	10	5
#37	8	3	10	10	#37	8	3	10	10
#38	3	4	5	5	#38	3	4	4	5
#39	7	5	7	7	#39	2	2	8	9
#40	6	5	8	8	#40	6	5	8	8
#41	10	5	10	9	#41	8	3	9	9
#42	5	5	6	4	#42	8	4	10	7
#43	8	7	8	8	#43	8	8	8	9
#44	10	5	5	7	#44	10	0	10	10
#45	6	3	3	4	#45	4	7	7	5
#46	6	4	6	6	#46	7	7	8	8
#47	4	4	7	6	#47	6	3	8	4
#48	0	0	7	2	#48	0	0	8	2
#49	5	3	9	10	#49	6	4	9	10
#50	2	1	9	8	#50	1	1	9	9

Benevolence	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts	Accessibility	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts
#1	10	2	9	7	#1	9	3	7	8
#2	8	3	8	9	#2	9	2	8	7
#3	8	2	7	7	#3	6	1	8	7
#4	6	3	8	7	#4	7	4	8	6
#5	5	4	7	7	#5	4	3	6	6
#6	2	1	10	9	#6	6	0	10	9
#7	8	4	8	7	#7	5	5	7	7
#8	8	6	8	9	#8	5	5	8	7
#9	5	6	8	8	#9	5	5	8	8
#10	7	3	5	7	#10	6	1	8	6
#11	7	1	7	7	#11	6	1	7	7
#12	5	4	7	7	#12	5	2	6	5
#13	4	3	7	10	#13	3	0	10	10
#14	6	3	6	7	#14	2	2	8	8
#15	5	1	5	6	#15	3	3	9	6
#16	1	1	10	8	#16	1	2	1	7
#17	7	4	7	7	#17	6	4	8	7
#18	10	1	10	10	#18	2	1	10	9
#19	10	1	8	9	#19	1	1	10	8
#20	7	2	6	7	#20	8	2	7	2
#21	3	2	7	8	#21	6	3	8	7
#22	8	4	8	9	#22	8	7	10	8
#23	4	3	7	5	#23	2	3	3	7
#24	8	1	8	7	#24	7	3	8	6
#25	8	3	8	8	#25	10	3	8	3
#26	6	3	8	5	#26	5	3	8	3
#27	9	4	9	9	#27	5	3	8	8
#28	7	0	7	7	#28	0	0	10	10
#29	5	5	7	5	#29	4	5	4	7
#30	8	4	8	8	#30	7	2	8	8
#31	2	1	8	3	#31	0	0	1	10
#32	3	3	3	5	#32	6	5	7	4
#33	2	2	8	8	#33	2	2	8	8
#34	7	6	6	6	#34	5	6	5	7
#35	5	4	6	4	#35	4	4	5	4
#36	6	2	7	7	#36	2	1	7	7
#37	5	3	10	8	#37	8	3	10	10
#38	5	4	6	5	#38	6	3	5	6
#39	3	3	8	9	#39	3	3	7	7
#40	9	5	9	8	#40	8	5	8	7
#41	10	4	10	10	#41	8	4	10	10
#42	4	4	6	7	#42	3	4	8	8
#43	8	8	7	7	#43	8	7	7	6
#44	3	0	10	10	#44	10	1	8	10
#45	4	3	6	3	#45	2	2	5	4
#46	6	4	5	7	#46	3	5	7	6
#47	2	4	8	5	#47	3	3	5	5
#48	0	0	9	7	#48	0	0	8	0
#49	4	3	10	10	#49	10	5	10	9
#50	2	2	8	9	#50	3	2	8	2

Openness	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts	Familiarity	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts
#1	9	2	10	9	#1	9	3	9	8
#2	7	2	10	7	#2	7	2	9	7
#3	6	2	8	7	#3	6	1	8	8
#4	7	3	9	6	#4	7	4	7	6
#5	4	3	8	8	#5	4	4	4	4
#6	7	0	10	10	#6	4	2	10	8
#7	4	4	9	10	#7	3	4	9	8
#8	5	4	8	8	#8	4	4	8	7
#9	4	4	9	9	#9	4	4	8	8
#10	8	1	8	9	#10	3	1	5	4
#11	8	1	8	8	#11	6	1	6	6
#12	5	2	6	5	#12	5	2	6	5
#13	3	0	10	10	#13	2	0	10	10
#14	2	1	8	8	#14	2	3	7	8
#15	3	3	6	7	#15	2	2	5	5
#16	1	2	10	7	#16	1	1	10	7
#17	7	3	8	7	#17	5	3	6	6
#18	3	1	10	9	#18	1	1	10	9
#19	4	2	10	10	#19	1	1	3	3
#20	8	2	8	7	#20	8	2	8	7
#21	6	2	8	7	#21	6	3	7	7
#22	8	7	7	8	#22	7	6	7	8
#23	3	2	7	7	#23	4	3	6	7
#24	7	2	7	6	#24	7	2	8	7
#25	5	3	8	3	#25	3	2	8	3
#26	4	3	8	6	#26	3	2	6	6
#27	5	3	9	8	#27	5	3	8	8
#28	0	0	10	10	#28	0	0	10	10
#29	5	6	4	5	#29	5	5	6	6
#30	7	2	9	8	#30	7	2	6	8
#31	6	0	8	9	#31	0	0	10	8
#32	6	4	7	5	#32	4	4	4	6
#33	2	2	8	8	#33	2	1	8	8
#34	6	5	5	5	#34	7	6	6	6
#35	4	4	4	5	#35	4	4	4	5
#36	2	1	8	7	#36	0	0	7	7
#37	8	3	10	10	#37	5	3	8	8
#38	6	3	5	6	#38	6	3	5	6
#39	3	3	7	9	#39	2	3	6	8
#40	9	4	8	7	#40	9	5	5	7
#41	7	4	10	10	#41	7	4	10	10
#42	4	4	9	8	#42	4	5	6	7
#43	7	8	8	7	#43	8	7	7	8
#44	10	1	10	10	#44	10	1	10	10
#45	3	3	6	5	#45	2	3	3	4
#46	4	6	8	5	#46	2	4	6	7
#47	3	5	7	4	#47	1	1	8	6
#48	0	0	8	0	#48	0	0	5	0
#49	10	5	10	9	#49	9	4	10	10
#50	3	3	8	8	#50	2	2	8	8

Integrity	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts	Anti-Corruption	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts
#1	5	3	8	8	#1	2	2	10	8
#2	5	4	6	3	#2	3	2	7	7
#3	10	0	10	10	#3	5	2	10	10
#4	8	2	10	9	#4	6	2	10	9
#5	4	5	8	9	#5	2	2	10	9
#6	9	1	10	9	#6	0	0	10	10
#7	6	6	10	10	#7	3	5	10	10
#8	6	2	10	9	#8	2	2	10	10
#9	5	5	7	7	#9	4	4	8	8
#10	8	0	9	9	#10	9	1	10	9
#11	9	0	9	9	#11	9	0	9	9
#12	10	1	10	10	#12	6	1	10	10
#13	4	0	9	10	#13	1	1	10	9
#14	1	3	9	9	#14	9	2	9	9
#15	3	2	9	3	#15	3	3	9	9
#16	0	0	10	10	#16	0	0	5	10
#17	7	2	7	8	#17	7	2	8	7
#18	5	0	10	10	#18	0	1	10	10
#19	2	2	10	10	#19	1	2	10	10
#20	7	1	8	7	#20	8	2	7	9
#21	8	3	8	8	#21	0	0	10	10
#22	10	3	10	8	#22	3	3	9	9
#23	4	5	9	9	#23	3	3	9	9
#24	9	3	10	8	#24	10	0	10	10
#25	10	3	10	3	#25	10	2	8	10
#26	6	4	9	5	#26	5	1	9	5
#27	9	5	9	9	#27	9	4	9	8
#28	10	10	10	10	#28	0	0	10	10
#29	5	5	5	6	#29	3	4	6	5
#30	7	0	8	8	#30	6	1	10	7
#31	6	2	0	0	#31	10	0	0	9
#32	6	4	5	4	#32	7	3	8	3
#33	1	1	8	8	#33	2	1	8	9
#34	6	7	6	6	#34	5	5	7	5
#35	5	4	5	5	#35	5	4	4	5
#36	10	0	10	10	#36	0	0	10	10
#37	8	3	10	8	#37	10	3	10	8
#38	3	2	7	8	#38	2	4	8	7
#39	4	4	10	10	#39	3	4	10	10
#40	9	5	9	8	#40	5	7	10	8
#41	10	7	10	10	#41	5	4	10	10
#42	5	2	9	6	#42	3	2	10	4
#43	8	7	7	7	#43	7	6	7	6
#44	10	1	10	10	#44	10	6	10	10
#45	5	4	6	5	#45	6	4	6	7
#46	5	5	4	6	#46	5	5	4	6
#47	7	4	6	4	#47	6	4	7	5
#48	9	0	10	10	#48	3	0	10	10
#49	9	3	10	10	#49	7	3	10	10
#50	1	3	10	9	#50	2	2	9	8

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Transparency	Expectation	Evaluation	Significance	Impacts	OVERALL	(M) Trust in (I) Trust	Overall (I+M) Trust
#1	1	1	10	8	#1	9	2
#2	3	2	7	7	#2	9	2
#3	5	1	10	10	#3	9	2
#4	6	3	10	9	#4	9	2
#5	2	2	9	9	#5	7	5
#6	0	0	10	10	#6	10	3
#7	4	4	10	10	#7	8	7
#8	2	3	10	10	#8	4	4
#9	3	3	8	9	#9	8	5
#10	9	0	10	9	#10	10	3
#11	9	0	9	9	#11	9	1
#12	6	1	10	10	#12	6	2
#13	1	1	10	9	#13	2	2
#14	4	3	9	9	#14	3	2
#15	3	3	10	10	#15	3	3
#16	0	0	8	10	#16	0	0
#17	7	0	8	7	#17	7	4
#18	1	1	10	10	#18	5	3
#19	1	2	10	10	#19	2	2
#20	7	2	8	9	#20	1	2
#21	0	0	10	10	#21	8	5
#22	3	3	9	9	#22	8	8
#23	3	3	9	9	#23	4	3
#24	10	0	10	10	#24	7	1
#25	10	2	10	10	#25	8	3
#26	5	1	9	5	#26	4	3
#27	9	4	9	8	#27	8	5
#28	0	0	10	10	#28	0	0
#29	3	4	4	4	#29	5	5
#30	6	1	7	7	#30	4	3
#31	8	0	10	10	#31	5	1
#32	7	3	8	4	#32	3	2
#33	1	1	8	9	#33	2	1
#34	5	5	6	5	#34	6	6
#35	4	5	4	4	#35	4	5
#36	0	0	10	10	#36	7	1
#37	10	3	10	8	#37	3	3
#38	2	4	8	7	#38	4	4
#39	4	4	10	10	#39	9	4
#40	8	5	9	8	#40	5	5
#41	7	5	10	10	#41	10	5
#42	5	2	10	9	#42	7	3
#43	6	7	8	6	#43	7	7
#44	10	3	10	10	#44	5	3
#45	6	3	7	8	#45	5	4
#46	3	3	3	5	#46	4	5
#47	6	3	8	6	#47	6	3
#48	1	0	10	10	#48	8	0
#49	9	3	10	10	#49	10	4
#50	2	2	9	9	#50	7	3

C/B/I	Choice
#1	Integrity
#2	Benevolence
#3	Integrity
#4	Integrity
#5	Integrity
#6	Competency
#7	Integrity
#8	Integrity
#9	Benevolence
#10	Integrity
#11	Integrity
#12	Integrity
#13	Benevolence
#14	Competency
#15	Integrity
#16	Competency
#17	Competency
#18	Integrity
#19	Integrity
#20	Competency
#21	Integrity
#22	Integrity
#23	Integrity
#24	Integrity
#25	Integrity
#26	Integrity
#27	Competency
#28	Integrity
#29	Competency
#30	Competency
#31	Integrity
#32	Integrity
#33	Benevolence
#34	Benevolence
#35	Benevolence
#36	Integrity
#37	Competency
#38	Integrity
#39	Integrity
#40	Integrity
#41	Competency
#42	Integrity
#43	Competency
#44	Integrity
#45	Integrity
#46	Competency
#47	Benevolence
#48	Integrity
#49	Benevolence
#50	Integrity

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