

**The Influence of the Perceptions on Legislative and Executive Branches on
Foreigner Acceptance**

By

KANG, Yeonwook

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the impact of societal perceptions of the legislative and executive branches on the acceptance of foreigners in South Korea. While there is currently a diverse immigrant population, the foreign population in Korea is traditionally composed of labor migrants and marriage immigrants from rural regions. This particular demographic benefits from government support, prompting an investigation into whether positive perceptions of the legislative and executive branches, which provide such benefits, also influence the receptivity towards foreigners. This study utilizes the Korea Social Integration Survey and conducts a regression analysis. The data reveals a significant positive correlation between increasing perceptions of fairness in the legislative branch and the acceptance of foreigners, suggesting that improving perceptions of fairness in the legislature could contribute to enhancing both legislative fairness and foreigners' perceptions. Ultimately, the results of this study indicate the necessity of efforts to improve perceptions of legislative fairness to enhance the immigrant acceptance attitudes of the population.

Keywords: Foreigner Acceptance, Legislative Branch, Executive Branch, Fairness, Integrity, Trust

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I. Introduction

The globalization of labor and capital, along with the development of transportation and mobility systems, has led to a significant increase in international population movements since the 20th century (Haas et al. 2019; Massey et al., 1993). According to McAuliffe and Triandafyllidou (2023), an estimated 281 million international migrants, comprising 3.6% of the global population, are recorded. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds (62%) of this migration consists of migrant workers, with 67% of them residing in high-income countries, indicating a trend of migration in those countries (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2023). Each country establishes immigration policies tailored to its own needs in accepting immigrants. For example, France's immigration policy takes form of assimilation (Borooah & Mangan, 2009). Conversely, Canada's immigration policy pursues a form of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2003; Berry, 2013).

In the case of South Korea, historically known for its ethnically homogeneous society, the country is also following this trend of international immigration (Kim, 2014). Draudt (2016) argues that South Korea's homogeneous history is deeply rooted in pervasive South Korean ethnic nationalism. However, despite this historical context, the number of immigrants has steadily increased, and the foreign population in South Korea accounted for 4.87% of its total population in 2019 (Ministry of Justice, 2022). It is evident that South Korean society is transitioning into a multicultural and multiethnic country, in which a large portion of foreigners are living in South Korea society. This transition also evident in a variety of social phenomena taking place in South Korea as evident in the increase of international marriages in rural regions, children resulting from multicultural families, foreign laborers working in avoided industries, and international students

pursuing their studies at South Korean universities (Lee, 2017). As a response to the growing immigrant population, the South Korean government (Executive branch) is devising and implementing policies tailored for immigrants. The Employment Permit System was instituted in 2003 and has remained effective since (Lee, 2023). The Master Plan for Immigration Policy, designed to ensure the fundamental rights and stability of foreigners, is presently in its fourth iteration (Ministry of Justice, 2024). These initiatives underscore the South Korean government's commitment to actively integrate foreigners into society (Lee, 2010). Furthermore, having been classified as a developed country, South Korea is expecting to continue experiencing an increase in the number of potential immigrants in the following years (United Nations, 2024; Choi & Oh, 2020; see also Denney & Green, 2021).

However, despite policies for immigrants and their stable livelihoods within South Korea aiding their adaptation to South Korean society, the current literature still presents evidence suggesting negative attitudes toward immigrant acceptance in South Korean society (Seol & Skrentny, 2009; Yoon, 2016; Kim & Park, 2016). Seol and Skrentny (2009) argue that employers and South Korean citizens particularly show reluctance towards the residence of Korean-Chinese immigrants (Chosunjok) among foreigners in South Korea. Yoon (2016) examined the changes in social distance toward multicultural minorities in South Korea through a survey on national identity. The results revealed that, contrary to 2000, there was a negative shift in attitudes in 2010 (s, 2016). Yoon (2016) also pointed out that while there were improvements in attitudes, emotional exclusivity persists. Kim and Park (2016) discovered that due to the strong civic identity present in South Korean society, racial identity effects remain strong, leading to concerns about accepting foreign immigrants as citizens.

Previous studies have explored various factors related to immigrant acceptance in South Korea. Hwang and Kim (2020) discovered that attitudes toward immigrant acceptance change according to the level of education. Additionally, Hwang and Kim (2020) also revealed that attitudes toward immigrant acceptance vary by region in South Korea. Jang (2010) found that individuals with strong national identity tend to emphasize factors such as culture, and birth when defining South Koreans and feel aversion towards foreigners who do not share these traits. Park (2019) highlighted those perceptions based on economic factors, such as personal gains and losses, are important variables in accepting immigrants.

Previous studies view governance as effective mechanisms for resolving conflicts (Zartman, 1996; Yu, 2016). However, improving public perception of the government is also an essential factor for resolving conflict (Kim, 2013). Additionally, the National Assembly (Legislative branch) also has an impact on immigration policy (Lee, 2011; Seol & Jun, 2016).

In summary, the purpose of this study is to explore whether the acceptance of immigrants can be achieved through improving perceptions of the executive branch and the legislative branch. In this research, the executive branch and the legislative branch are assumed to be key actors in resolving conflicts between immigrants and citizens, and the effectiveness of improving perceptions of the legislative branch and the executive branch for enhancing foreigner acceptance is discussed. Additionally, this study observes the relationship between the public's attitudes towards accepting foreigners and their perceptions of the executive branch and the legislative branch. Through this, this paper aims to determine whether an improved attitude towards accepting foreigners can be derived based on positive evaluations of the legislative branch and the executive branch.

1.1 Development of Research Questions

This study aims to examine perceptions of the executive branch and the legislative branch, which are responsible for formulating and implementing policies, as central factors influencing acceptance of foreigners. With the increasing discussions in society due to the continuous growth of immigrants, there is a growing need for research on this issue. The South Korean government's establishment of new institutions like the Immigration Office aptly mirrors this trend. The goal of this paper is to explore which aspects of the legislative branch and the executive branch should be given particular attention to enhance the effectiveness of policies aimed at improving attitudes towards foreigners and aiding their integration. Firstly, this paper examines perceptions of the legislative branch and the executive branch, categorizes them into trust and quality, and identifies the variables that influence them. Additionally, it investigates whether these variables still have an impact when considered alongside previously studied factors.

The present research suggests the following research questions: 1) How do economic, social, and demographic factors influence the acceptance of immigrants? After controlling for these variables, this study proposes the following additional research questions: 2) Does the level of trust in the executive branch, the entity implementing policies, affect immigrant acceptance? 3) Does the perception of the executive branch's integrity affect immigrant acceptance? 4) Does the perception of the executive branch's fairness affect immigrant acceptance? 5) Does the level of trust in the legislative branch, the entity formulating policies, affect immigrant acceptance? 6) Does the perception of the legislative branch's integrity affect immigrant acceptance? 7) Does the perception of the legislative branch's fairness affect immigrant acceptance?

From this study, understanding how perceptions of the legislative branch and the executive

branch influence the acceptance of immigrants holds significance. The findings of this study can contribute to the overall functional development of the executive branch and the legislative branch, invigorating policy activities across the nation's institutions. Ultimately, it is expected to positively influence South Korean society's immigrant policies with the increase in positive perceptions of the executive branch and the legislative branch.

II. Literature Review

2.1. Development of Migration Policy and Politics in South Korea

According to Lee (1966), migration is broadly defined as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. According to the United Nations World Migration Report (2023), migration is the process of relocating from one place to another. Additionally, a migrant is defined as any person who changes their country of usual residence (United Nations, 2023). Table 1 shows the definition of migration policy variables as 16 (United Nations, 2013). Among these, 10 are policies related to immigration, and 6 are in the form of policies related to emigration (Seol et al., 2016, as cited in Seol, 2017). Exceptionally, 'acceptance of dual citizenship' variable can be seen as a policy applicable not only to immigration but also emigration (Seol et al., 2016, as cited in Seol, 2017). Cortell and Davis (2000) argued the introduction of international norms into the domestic discourse may come from state or societal actors and often takes the form of demands for a change in the policy agenda. The designation of these variables by the United Nations is because the migration policies of origin and destination countries play an important role in determining the flows, conditions, and consequences of international migration (United Nations, 2013).

Table 1. Definition of Migration Policy Variables (United Nations, 2013)

Variable Name	Variable definition	Response categories
View on immigration	Indicates how the Government perceives the overall level of documented or regular immigration into the country. It includes immigration for permanent settlement, temporary work or family reunification. Government views towards asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented immigrants are not considered.	Too low Satisfactory Too high
Policy on immigration	Indicates Government's policy to influence the level of documented immigration into the country.	Raise / Maintain / Lower / No intervention
Policy on permanent settlement	Indicates Government's policy to influence the level of immigration for permanent settlement into the country.	Raise / Maintain / Lower / No intervention
Policy on highly skilled workers	Indicates Government's policy to influence the level of immigration of highly skilled workers into the country. Highly skilled migrants generally include highly qualified workers with post-secondary technical or professional education or job experience, especially with qualifications or skills in demand in the host country.	Raise / Maintain / Lower / No intervention
Policy on temporary workers	Indicates Government's policy to influence the level of immigration of temporary workers into the country. Temporary labour migration may include seasonal workers, contract and project-linked workers, guest workers and other cross-border workers that are admitted for a fixed duration without the expectation of obtaining permanent resident status.	Raise / Maintain / Lower / No intervention
Policy on family reunification	Indicates Government's policy to influence the level of immigration for family reunification. Migration for family reunification mostly includes family members considered dependents, usually the spouse and minor children (even if the spouse is not financially dependent).	Raise / Maintain / Lower / No intervention
Policy on integration of non-nationals	Indicates whether the Government has policies or programmes aimed at integrating non-nationals into society. These may include provisions for social services, involvement in civil and community activities, language training, and legal provisions to ensure non-discrimination of foreigners.	Yes No
Policy on naturalization	Indicates whether there are legal provisions to allow immigrants to become naturalized citizens under certain conditions. Countries where naturalization was available to only certain categories of immigrants or where the residency requirement was 10 years or longer were categorized as having "more restrictive" naturalization policies.	Yes, less restrictive Yes, more restrictive No
Programmes to facilitate return of migrants to their home countries	Indicates whether the Government has instituted programmes to encourage or facilitate the return of immigrants to their home countries. Such programmes may include assisted return programmes and schemes to reintegrate return migrants in their countries of origin.	Yes No

Level of concern about irregular migration	Indicates the extent to which the Government considers the undocumented or irregular immigration into the country to be a concern. Migrants in irregular situation are those who have either entered a country without proper documents or authorization or who have stayed beyond their authorized time period. Government's concerns about its own citizens living abroad in irregular conditions are not considered.	Major concern Minor concern Not a concern
View on emigration	Indicates how the Government perceives the level of emigration from the country.	Too low Satisfactory Too high
Policy on emigration	Indicates Government's policy to influence the level of emigration from the country.	Raise Maintain Lower No intervention
Acceptance of dual citizenship	Indicates whether the Government permits its citizens to retain their original citizenship upon acquiring citizenship of another country, and if yes, under what conditions or restrictions. The conditions may refer to (i) the countries involved (acceptance of dual citizenship when some specific countries are involved but not others) or (ii) the rights involved (acceptance of dual citizenship with some restrictions to full citizenship rights).	Yes, non-restrictive Yes, restrictive No
Policy to encourage the return of citizens	Indicates whether the Government has instituted policies or programme initiatives to encourage the return of their citizens living abroad.	Yes No
Special governmental unit dealing with diaspora	Indicates whether the Government has a special unit, department or ministry to deal with the matters concerning the country's diaspora.	Yes No
Measures to attract investment by diaspora	Indicates specific policy measures, including financial incentives that the Government has adopted to encourage or facilitate investment in the country by their diaspora.	1. Tax exceptions or breaks 2. Reduction of tariffs on goods or import duties for diaspora companies 3. Preferential treatment in providing credit 4. Preferential treatment in allotment of licences 5. Streamlined bureaucratic procedures for investment 6. Diaspora bond/ mutual fund 7. None of these

Source: United Nations, International Migration Policies: Government Views and Priorities (2013)

Note: The United Nations designates these variables because there is a general consensus that the contribution of international migrants to development, both in countries of origin and destination, depends crucially on policies that ensure migration occurs safely and legally, with full respect for the human rights of migrants (United Nation, 2013).

Based on such policies, immigration politics are not uniformly present across all countries, but rather manifest in three major types: interests, rights, and institutions (Freeman, 1995). These varying immigration histories shape public attitudes toward migration and ethnic diversity, influencing the institutionalization of migration policies and politics (Freeman, 1995). Freeman (1995) distinguished nations that traditionally accepted immigrants upon their founding: those that primarily admitted laborers after World War II, and those that began receiving immigrants in the late 20th century. Freeman (1995) applied these differences to the political model of client politics. The concept of client politics, introduced by American scholar Wilson (2006), describes a situation where benefits are concentrated for a few while costs are widely dispersed. Within this context, immigrants are the beneficiaries of concentrated benefits, while the natives of the respective society bear the costs. Freeman (1995) argued that Wilson's client politics concept is useful for framing immigration regulation and control as a public good that lacks a concrete and organized constituency to produce it. Freeman (1995) also argued that to complete client politic model of immigration politics, one needs only the state actors who make the policies. As a result, Freeman argued migration is influenced by economic conditions in all countries, but not eliminated, and ultimately observed in all countries as it evolves from client politics to interest-group politics over time.

Public policies dealing with race are inherently contestable (Sniderman & Piazza, 1993) because each policy combines a variety of sometimes conflicting ends and means. Particularly, policies related to race require sacrifices from existing residents (Hetherington, 2005). In America, many racial policies ask whites to make sacrifices in the name of future racial progress (Hetherington, 2005). As mentioned earlier, such policy patterns resemble the form of client politics where benefits are concentrated, and costs are widely dispersed (Wilson, 2005). Despite

the argument that these policies impose minimal burdens on the individuals bearing the costs (Wilson, 2005; see also Lee, 2023), it is not easy for them to sacrifice their own interests (Gilens, 2009). According to Gilens (2009), individuals are reluctant to bear their sacrifices willingly in government redistribution policies, going as far to argue that Americans perceive redistributions based on race as unfair.

Therefore, to garner support for policies like immigration, where one's own interests are not directly involved, it is important not only to design the policies themselves but also to build trust in government, enabling acceptance (Kum & Baek, 2010). Chanley et al. (2000) found through time-series analysis that a decline in trust in government reduces support for government policies. Hetherington and Globetti (2002) studied why some white individuals who do not support racial equality policies still support or do not support policies, and the results show that trust in government does indeed substantially affect support for racial policies.

South Korea's immigration policy can also be viewed through the lens of client politics, as defined by Freeman. According to Lee (2011), research on foreign laborers in South Korea began in the early 1990s, primarily focusing on controversies surrounding the influx of foreign workers. Subsequently, in 1995, a landmark decision by the Supreme Court recognized foreign industrial trainees as workers under the Labor Standards Act, prompting a response from the central government (Lee, 2011). In 1995, the Ministry of Labor aimed to implement the Special Act on Employment and Management of Foreign Workers based on the Employment Permit System but faced opposition from other administrative agencies, leading to its suspension due to factors such as the IMF economic crisis, and it was later passed by the National Assembly in 2003 (Lee, 2008). Since 2004, South Korea's immigration policy has shifted towards seeking social integration beyond merely accepting immigrants as laborers (Lee, 2011). As part of this trend, a

study on international marriage families was conducted in 2005 (Seol et al., 2005). Subsequently, not only foreign workers but also marriage immigrants, multiracial individuals, and the establishment of the Foreigner Policy Committee and the Korea Immigration Service under the Ministry of Justice expanded (Lee, 2011). Following this, the focus shifted to multicultural families after 2009 (Lee, 2011). Currently, South Korea is engaged in discussions regarding the establishment of an immigration administration (Kwon, 2021; Koo & Lee, 2023).

Table 2 presents policies from the 1960s to the 2010s summarized by Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service (2023). Within this policy context, the number of foreigners continued to increase, and diversification progressed (Lee, 2023). Lee (2023) noted a significant increase in long-term foreign residents, emphasizing the need to consider how these individuals, who have similar living conditions to foreigners, will affect Korean society economically and socially, and to seek social integration accordingly.

According to the Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service (2022), visas are classified based on seven criteria. According to the Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service (2022), there are a total of ten criteria: (1) Student General Trainee, (2) Intra-Company Transferee, Foreign Investor, International Trade, (3) Job Seeker, (4) Professional Employment, (5) Non-professional Employment, (6) Family visitor, Dependent family, (7) resident, (8) marriage migrant, (9) permanent resident, and (10) other, dividing the residence, and Table 3 classifies the composition. This classification allows examination of the qualifications of resident foreigners. The Korean government relies on this classification to determine how long foreigners can reside in the country or whether they will be eligible for permanent residency after their stay (Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service, 2022). This paper aims to examine the composition and scale changes of foreigners based on the domestic residence registration reported by Lee (2023).

Lee (2023) compared the composition and scale using statistics from the Ministry of Justice. According to Lee (2023), the classification includes: study and research (D1-D4), professional workers (E1-E7), non-professional workers (E9-E10), overseas Koreans (F4, H2), marriage immigrants (F6), residents and permanent residents (F2, F5), accompanying and cohabiting family members (F1, F3), and others. Table 4 illustrates the proportion and numbers of foreigners residing in Korea. It serves to highlight the major immigrant groups residing in Korea and identify which groups are commonly encountered as foreign residents in the country (Ministry of Justice, 2019; 2022). According to Lee (2023), the influx of migrant workers, the entry of Chinese Koreans into the domestic labor market, and the recent surge in marriage immigration have created a new topic of multiculturalism in Korean society, which has not been experienced before. This diversification indicates a trend toward social integration in line with the immigration policies of liberal democracies worldwide (Lee, 2017; Freeman, 1995; Hollifield et al., 2022). Integration with foreigners living based on diversified visas is necessary in these times (Lee et al., 2011). Furthermore, it emphasizes the importance of incorporating talented individuals from diverse backgrounds into society (Lee et al., 2011).

Table 2. Korea's immigration policy from 1960's to 2010's (Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service, 2023)

Years		Policy
60's	1961	Ministry of Justice took over the responsibility for border control and foreign registration from Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	1963	Enacted Immigration Control Act
90's	1991	Expansion of the Overseas Investment Company Training Program as Industrial Trainee System
	1993	Created provisions and procedures on refugee recognition on Immigration Control Act Choose Industrial Trainee Program
	1997	Amendments of Nationality Law Adjust Overseas Investment Company Training Program
	1998	Enforcement Nationality Law
	1999	Enacted Law on Immigration and Legal status of Overseas Koreans
00's	2002	Renewed Alien Registration Card and Certificate of Residence Newly devised Permanent Residence status
	2004	Implemented Employment Permit System (EPS) Pronunciation of EPS and Industrial Trainee System
	2006	Established Council on Protection of Human Rights & Interests of Foreign Nationals Announcement of Social Integration Support Measures for Female Marriage Immigrant Families, Multicultural Individuals, and Immigrants
	2007	Unificate EPS, Launched H-2 Visa (work visit), Launched Korea Immigration Service Enacted Foreigners residing in Korea Treatment Act
	2008	Implemented Multicultural Family Law, 1 st Basic Plan for Immigration Policy (in 2024, 4 th Master Plan for Immigration Policy)
	2009	Launched Social Integration Program
10's	2010	Promulgation of the amended National Law, including revised Nationality Act relating to multiple nationality
	2012	The 2 nd Basic Plan for Immigration Policy finalized
	2013	Refugee Act enforced

Source: Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service (2023), Lee et al. (2011)

Note: Table 2 shows the policies in the context of South Korea's immigration policy, starting from the influx of foreign workers and continuing with the trend of diversification of immigration since 2009. These trends reveal the diversification of composition due to destination country policies. According to Lee (2008), such changing immigration policies in Korea demonstrate a trend converging with global trends.

Table 3. Classifies the composition (Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service, 2022)

Type of Visa	Experiment
Type A (A1, A2, A3)	Persons staying for diplomacy, official duty, or under international agreement
Type B (B1, B2)	Persons granted entry into the Republic of Korea under Visa Waiver Program, principle of reciprocity, etc.
Type C (C1, C3, C4)	Persons entering Korea for temporary stay within 90 days
Type D (D1 - D10)	Persons staying for educational, cultural, and investment-related activities
Type E (E1 – E10, H2)	Persons staying for professional, non-professional activities
Type F (F1 – F6)	Persons staying on Dependent family, Resident, Overseas Korean, Permanent resident, Marriage migrant status
Other (H-1, G-1)	Persons employed under agreement or staying on humanitarian grounds (H1: Working Holiday, G1: Miscellaneous)

Source: Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service (2023)

Note: Foreigners registered for domestic residence were classified according to visa categories (Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service, 2023). This classification allows the Korean government to determine who qualifies for residency.

Table 4. Composition and Scale Changes of Foreign Residents in South Korea between 2019 and 2022 (Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service, 2019; 2022)

Type of Foreigners	2019	2022
Study and Research (D1-D4)	178280 (10%)	194456 (12%)
Professional Workers (E1-E7)	44143 (3%)	47731 (3%)
Non-Professional Workers (E9-E10)	287882 (17%)	270949 (16%)
Overseas Koreans (F4, H2)	683509 (40%)	602177 (36%)
Marriage Immigrants (F6)	129200 (7%)	134278 (8%)
Residents and Permanent Residents (F2, F5)	196441 (11%)	220157 (13%)
Accompanying and Cohabiting Family Members (F1, F3)	143376 (8%)	125341 (7%)
Others	68972 (4%)	93766 (6%)
Total	1731803 (100%)	1688855 (100%)

Source: Ministry of Justice, Foreigner Policy Statistic Yearbook (2019; 2022)

Note: The proportion of immigrants is becoming more diversified over time and classifies the composition. This paper aim to examine the composition and scale changes of foreigners based on the domestic residence registration reported by Lee (2023)

2.2. Theoretical Approach related to Low Acceptability of Immigrants

Although the main reason of population movement involves relocating from one's current residence to seek a more favorable environment (Ravenstein, 1889), the purpose of migration is diverse, leading to various analyses. Consequently, research on migration influences a variety of fields including sociology, political science, economics, law and psychology (Brettell & Hollifield, 2023). Approaches to migration are diversely approached and considered as a single phenomenon that entails different causes (Haas et al., 2019).

2.2.1. Realistic Group Conflict Theory

According to LeVine and Campbell (1972), prejudice and discrimination are often based on conflicts of interest between groups. Campbell (1965) suggests that intergroup conflict becomes a crucial variable in determining the attitudes and behaviors between groups. He also states that this conflict arises because groups commonly seek to acquire limited resources, leading to resource competition (Campbell, 1965). Furthermore, Esses et al., (2010) argues that perceptions of competition can foster hostility between groups as individuals seek to protect their group's interests when they feel threatened. This argument suggests that the scope of resources can include not only economic resources but also power, with money and jobs being prime examples (Esses et al., 2010). Additionally, competition for jobs leads workers to hold negative attitudes towards immigration (Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). According to Scheve and Slaughter (2001), low-skilled workers tend to have a higher preference for policies that restrict immigration, a discussion supported by both the factor proportions analysis model and the Heckscher-Ohlin model. According to Rowthorn (2008), unskilled workers may impose higher costs on taxpayers. In South

Korea's context, Park (2019) also argues that individuals who reject immigrants tend to weigh their own gains and losses based on their perception of the gains and losses of the community. Therefore, Park (2019) suggests the need for designing immigration policies and programs that consider individual profit and loss.

2.2.2. Dual Labor Market Theory

The dual labor market theory, first discussed by Doeringer and Piore (1971), suggests that the labor market is composed of two segments: the primary labor market characterized by high wages and job security, and the secondary labor market characterized by the opposite features. According to this argument, the primary sector is already filled by natives, so migrants are found in the secondary sector. This analytical process is explained by economic duality of society (Piore, 1979). Jobs in the secondary labor market are characterized by low wages, poorer working conditions, high turnover rates, and limited opportunities for advancement (Piore, 1972). Groups recruited in the secondary labor market with such characteristics are found to be influenced by skill level, gender, and racial background compared to the primary labor market (Duncan & Trejo, 2011; Hirsch, 1980; Kalleberg et al., 2000; Pivovarova, M., & Powers, 2022). Additionally, research has found that the income levels of immigrants are lower compared to local workers (Huang & Anderson, 2019; Kalleberg et al., 2000), and similar results have been observed in South Korea as well (Lee, 2001; Cho, 2010). Several studies confirm that the labor market in South Korea has already developed a dual structure (Lee, 1992; Nam, 1995). These findings indicate that not only immigrants, but also existing members of society are positioned within the dual labor market, where they must make choices. If such a structure is already established in South Korea, it can be said that immigrants to South Korea will find it very difficult to enter the primary labor market

and will mainly be positioned in the secondary labor market (Lee, 2001; Cho, 2010). According to immigration statistics in South Korea (Ministry of Justice, 2022), more than 85% of employed immigrants in South Korea are those who have found jobs in South Korea for simple functions. Despite the diversification of inflows, this appearance remains that many immigrants who have found employment in South Korea are working in the secondary labor market (Choi, 2013). According to Kessler (2001), a multivariate analysis of data from the National Election Study surveys spanning from 1992 to 2000 reveals a robust correlation between an individual's position in the labor market and immigration policy. Kessler (2001) confirms, based on economic effects, that preferences towards foreigners in the labor market are inversely proportional to one's level of skill. Furthermore, in the context of immigration, women are also exposed to unfavorable positions, not only in low-wage labor markets but also in the sex industry (Haas et al., 2019; Piper & Yamanaka, 2005). Overseas, immigration of foreign women as domestic helpers facilitates their liberation from traditional household chores and childcare responsibilities, enabling easier access to better employment opportunities (Huang & Yeoh, 2005). These realities signify that foreign female laborers may become entrenched in hierarchically disadvantaged markets compared to women in the host society.

2.2.3. Sacrifice-based Theory

As mentioned in Wilson (2006), in the context of foreign policy, the phenomenon of benefits being concentrated for a few while costs are widely dispersed translates to a situation where the burden of costs falls broadly on residents while only a minority of foreigners receive the benefits. High levels of distrust towards the government are likely to correlate with skepticism towards policies (Hetherington and Globetti, 2002). However, in cases where there is high trust in the

government, individuals may willingly sacrifice their current benefits in anticipation of future gains (Hetherington and Globetti, 2002). This perspective diverges from discussions such as those proposed by Comaroff and Stern (2012), which suggest that individuals act to maximize their interests given the available information. Hetherington (2005) explains this phenomenon through the "sacrifice-based theory", suggesting that an individual's level of trust in the government influences their willingness to bear sacrifices. Hetherington (2005) observed that the effect of government trust is stronger in support for redistributive policies (e.g., welfare policies, child protection policies) compared to other allocative policies (e.g., crime prevention, environmental protection). Rudolph and Evans (2005) similarly argue that ideological sacrifice in situations of coercion affects government trust and influences spending on redistributive and allocative policies, thereby having broad policy implications. Furthermore, Hetherington and Rudolph (2015) contend that the polarized nature of political parties diminishes the willingness of citizens to sacrifice their ideological inclinations for the public good, thus hindering consensus-building on public policies. This trust in the government extends to its impact on public policies and political behavior (Hetherington & Rudolph, 2008).

2.2.4. Government Intervention Marriage System

The intervention of the Korean government in the influx of foreigners has affected not only labor issues but also the marriages of foreign women. It is challenging to separate the issues of marriage migrants and labor migrants. Piper and Roces (2003) emphasized the interconnected nature of migration, labor, and marriage, rejecting the notion that women immigrate solely to quit their jobs after marriage or to support their families. One significant factor in the immigration of foreign women to Korea is marriage with Korean men (Yang & Kim, 2007; Haas et al., 2019).

While temporary rights were granted to laborers, marriage migrants were recognized for their ability to settle as permanent residents in Korea (Kim, 2006). This demonstrates that in the context of immigration in Korea, while labor migration predominantly involves men, women experience simultaneous increases in both labor and marriage migration (Hwang, 2009). The recognition of South Korea's international marriages as a social phenomenon began in the 1990s when it was perceived to address the marriage issues of unmarried rural men (Kang, 2016; Cho, 2013). Lee (2005) observed a significant increase in marriage migrant women as women started to avoid marriage with men from rural and urban lower classes (see also Kim, 2006). Some regions in Korea even promoted projects to marry unmarried rural men through agreements between urban and rural areas (Lee, 2005). Subsequently, Korea's international marriages were influenced by commercial forms observed in Europe and the United States, facilitated by commercial intermediaries and social networks (Lee et al., 2016; Kim, 2006). This trend led to the perception of international marriages as commercial commodities (Kim, 2006). Administrative-led international marriages resulted in marital practices that did not consider the male individual as the subject of marriage (Kim, 2006). Moreover, despite the Korean government's encouragement of international marriages and recognition of the emergence of multicultural families, marriage migrants were treated as tools for instrumental purposes (Kim, 2006).

III. Hypotheses Development

This study aims to examine how perceptions of legislative bodies responsible for the legal status of foreigners and administrative bodies responsible for foreigner support affect attitudes towards foreigners. Specifically, this study investigates the perceptions of South Korean society members towards these bodies based on attitudes towards foreigners, trustworthiness, perceived

integrity, and perceived fairness. Firstly, this study identifies whether South Korean society members perceive conflicts between foreigners and existing members in Korean society and determine which groups they view as key actors in addressing these issues. Subsequently, hypothesis testing explores whether attitudes of South Korean society members towards legislative and administrative bodies influence actual behaviors. Additionally, this study aims to derive policy implications from these results, expecting that improving perceptions of legislative and administrative bodies will contribute to a more inclusive society in multicultural South Korea.

3.1. Influence of Fairness on Acceptance of Foreigners

To effectively resolve societal conflicts, the government must understand the conditions that enable it to act as a mediator (Yoon & Seo, 2016). Yoon and Seo (2016) suggest that if the government is ethically endorsed, it can mediate and manage social conflicts more easily, fostering intergroup interaction. Consequently, trust in the government has been emphasized regarding responsiveness to citizens' expectations (Kum & Baek, 2010). Heatherington and Globetti (2002) describe government trust as a general impression that supports specific policies even without detailed knowledge. Rudolph (2009) argues that the government's role in mediating and managing social conflicts can influence preferences and support for government policies. Moreover, Lee and Ha (2016) found that perceptions of fairness, particularly in ensuring social equality of opportunity, significantly affect trust in the government. Studies have included fairness as a variable influencing trust in the government (Lee, 2001; Park, 2006). Additionally, research suggests that fairness and trust can influence each other but can also independently impact attitudes (Cremer & Tyler, 2007). Therefore, this study hypothesizes that perceptions of fairness and trust in the administrative and legislative bodies as mediators of conflicts can influence the acceptance of foreigners.

Fairness is simultaneously a variable for assessing governmental capacity (Alesina & Angeletos, 2005) and a factor in garnering support or opposition for redistributive policies (Jang, 2017; Rudolph & Evans, 2005). Jang (2017) noted the necessity of a belief in fairness within social procedures and processes for the expansion of welfare and taxation. Rudolph and Evans (2005) observed that higher evaluations of fairness in governmental capacity correlate with increased support for welfare expansion and fiscal expenditure. Alesina & Angeletos (2005) argued that societal fairness influences redistribution and tax-paying behaviors. Multicultural policies, which allow foreigners to benefit, encompass educational, cultural, and welfare programs characterized by supportive, non-coercive measures (Jeong, 2010). As a result, these studies show that multicultural policies available to foreigners will likely include redistributive measures such as welfare, which can be perceived as granting benefits to newly arrived individuals rather than existing citizens. Consequently, the evaluation of these two groups by the populace is anticipated to play a crucial role in the establishment by the legislative and executive branches, even if some individuals do not directly benefit from these policies. Therefore, a lack of fairness in the legislative branch responsible for policy formulation and implementation may undermine support for such policies, potentially fostering negative attitudes towards the foreigners benefiting from them. As a result, the role of the legislative branch in formulating such policies is crucial. However, the importance of the executive branch's role is also significant. Apart from the process of creation, the role of the government in implementation is paramount. Therefore, if there is a lack of perceived fairness in policy formulation and implementation, both the government and the legislature may face criticism. Conversely, the establishment of trust in these branches is expected to foster positive attitudes towards foreigners. Therefore, believing in fairness may also influence

acceptance of redistributive benefits by foreigners. Hence, this paper proposes the following hypotheses:

H1: Perceptions of fairness in the South Korean executive branch will influence the acceptance of foreigners.

H2: Perceptions of fairness in the South Korean legislative branch will influence the acceptance of foreigners.

3.2. Influence of Trust on Attitudes Towards Foreigners

The significance of social trust is a well-established topic in the social sciences (Rothstein & Uslaner, 2011). Notably, the level of trust citizens place in their government has garnered extensive attention (Lee & Park, 2019; Cole, 1973). This trust operates as a pivotal variable in policy formulation, particularly when considering social costs (Lee & Park, 2019). Chanley et al. (2000) precisely defined government trust as the citizens' expectation that their entrusted government will competently fulfill its duties for the welfare of the people. When implementing policies, trust in the government plays a pivotal role in soliciting support from members of society (Cole, 1973; Jeon et al., 2013). Instances of low trust in the government often correlate with negative attitudes towards expansions in welfare programs (Lee & Park, 2016; Lee, 2013; Kim, 2010), indicating that the level of trust citizens hold towards their government significantly influences their stance on policy matters, particularly in areas characterized by strong redistributive tendencies, in other words, welfare policies. Suh (2004) underscored the importance of social interaction and consensus-building in establishing government trust, also arguing for a correlation between the effectiveness of public policies and government trust. Implicit within the support for governmental

policies lies a fundamental trust in the government itself, as noted by Kum and Baek (2015). Mayer et al. (1995) conceptualized government trust as a psychological attitude wherein citizens willingly support the government, even when it may result in personal harm, regardless of their ability to monitor or control governmental actions. Hence, an increase in trust in the government may lead individuals to support policies benefiting foreigners even at personal costs, consequently fostering greater acceptance of foreigners. These studies indicate that citizens' trust in the actions of the legislative and executive branches can serve as a crucial variable in garnering support. Thus, having trust in these branches enables individuals to express support for both the formulation and implementation of foreign policies, without harboring animosity towards the beneficiaries of such policies, namely foreigners. Consequently, it is anticipated that the concept of trust in the legislative and executive branches will influence the receptivity towards foreigners. The legislative branch is responsible for drafting legislation and allocating tax funds, while the executive branch is tasked with implementing legislation and executing tax allocations. As such, each group plays distinct roles. Therefore, the two branches are separated, allowing for the examination of which process, whether it be the enactment or implementation of legislation or policy, has a greater impact on each branch.

H3: Perceptions of trust in the South Korean executive branch will influence the acceptance of foreigners.

H4: Perceptions of trust in the South Korean legislative branch will influence the acceptance of foreigners.

3.3. Influence of Integrity on Attitudes Towards Foreigners

Integrity is a crucial concept in political science as it influences trust in individuals and confidence in their actions (Rose & Heywood, 2013). Perceived integrity also lends support to the authority of legislative and executive members in representing citizens' rights and the judicious use of tax funds (Rose & Heywood, 2013). Consequently, nations legally mandate integrity obligations to maintain a pristine state among public officials (Kim, 2010). In the case of Korea, scholarly discourse predominantly defines integrity in contrast to corruption, focusing on the clarity of the concept (Kim, 2010). However, prevailing regulatory policies in Korea often emphasize combating corruption, construed as the negative counterpart of integrity, rather than actively promoting integrity as a desirable state (Kim, 2010). Rose and Heywood (2013) suggested that corruption, often juxtaposed with integrity, is not entirely antithetical to it, thus underlining the necessity of discussions on integrity in political science, particularly through an approach that contrasts with the commonly utilized notion of corruption in Korea.

Firstly, the legislative branch comprises the body responsible for drafting policies through bill formulation. Cho and Lim (2008) pointed out that Korean legislators have been implicated in acts of misconduct and corruption, leading to a loss of trust among the populace. Moreover, they found statistically significant evidence that perceptions of political corruption significantly impact public distrust in the legislature (Cho & Lim, 2008). In light of these observations, if members of the legislative branch are perceived as honest and incorruptible, the public will likely have greater trust in the actions of the legislature, potentially influencing legislative decisions positively.

Secondly, the executive branch is tasked with enforcing legislation. When the executive branch is tainted by corruption, it not only leads to economic ramifications such as capital flight but also fosters political instability, potentially culminating in scenarios like coups, which undermine national unity (Nye, 1967). So (2018) confirmed a preference among the general

populace for anti-corruption policies independent of government oversight bodies. Furthermore, they highlighted how the perception of anti-corruption capabilities directly affects trust in the government, thereby playing a mediating role in enhancing governmental trust (So, 2018). Considering these points, the integrity and non-corrupt nature of the executive branch are likely to instill greater trust in the government among citizens, potentially positively influencing the implementation of governmental policies

H5: Perceptions of integrity in the South Korean executive branch will influence the acceptance of foreigners.

H6: Perceptions of integrity in the South Korean legislative branch will influence the acceptance of foreigners.

In various studies, integrity, fairness, and trust are often conceptualized either as closely related constructs grouped together (Choi, 2016), or described as variables that can influence each other individually (Choi, Y., 2016; Kang & Lee, 2021; Lee, 2016; Uslaner, 2008; Shin & Lee, 2016). Choi (2016) viewed trust, integrity, and fairness as institutional capacities of the executive and legislative branches. The institutional capacity defined by Choi (2016) refers to assessing whether social institutions operate according to the expectations of citizens and entails a fundamental evaluative orientation towards institutions. Furthermore, studies exist that verify the trustworthiness of local governments based on their integrity (Choi, Y., 2016), and that consider the level of government integrity as a crucial condition for government trust (Kang & Lee, 2021). Additionally, research indicates that integrity encompasses traits such as honesty, trustworthiness, fairness, and objectivity (Lee, 2014). However, even within similar concepts, there may be

differences in scope. This study also assumes fairness, trust, and integrity as distinct domains. Instead, to prevent multicollinearity issues arising from respondents perceiving these variables as similar concepts, this study verified through Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) whether respondents perceive these variables as similar concepts. If the VIF exceeds 5, it can be considered that the concepts are indeed similar, whereas if the VIF is below 5, it can be concluded that each variable independently contributes explanatory power to the dependent variable.

IV. Methodology

4.1. Data Collection and Analysis Method

This research makes use of research material produced by the Korea Institute of Public Administration (KIPA) and has been authorized for use according to KIPA'S regulations on the ownership and use of said research material. The rationale for utilizing the raw data from the 2021 Social Integration Survey in this paper is for the following reasons. Firstly, it aligns with the aim to evaluate and connect conflicts between foreigners and members of society to the evaluation of the executive and legislative branches. This survey data was surveyed to serve as foundational material for formulating national policies aimed at minimizing social conflicts and contributing to national unity by assessing the level of social integration in South Korean society (Korea Institute of Public Administration, 2023). Survey items included questions regarding individuals' subjective assessments of life, social and political participation, social communication, trust, governance, fairness, social inclusion, and social security (Korea Institute of Public Administration, 2023). Furthermore, the high level of trust in this data is notable. It obtained the highest grade among nationally approved statistics through the Statistics Korea's self-assessment of statistical quality (Statistics Korea, 2022). The fact that the survey, conducted on a nationwide scale rather

than regional, received certification underscores the high level of trustworthiness of this dataset in observing society comprehensively.

The data collection took place from September 1st to October 31st, 2022, spanning a total of two months. The Korea Institute of Public Administration commissioned the study to the Korea Gallup Research Institute for its execution (Korea Institute of Public Administration, 2023). The study targeted adults aged 19 and above residing in South Korea at the time of the survey. Interviews were primarily conducted through face-to-face interviews by surveyors visiting households, with the Computer-Assisted Personal Interview (CAPI) method being employed when preferred by respondents (Korea Institute of Public Administration, 2023). The data collection took place from September 1st to October 31st, 2022, spanning a total of two months. The Korea Institute of Public Administration commissioned the study to the Korea Gallup Research Institute for its execution (Korea Institute of Public Administration, 2023). The study targeted adults aged 19 and above residing in South Korea at the time of the survey. Interviews were primarily conducted through face-to-face interviews by surveyors visiting households, with the Computer-Assisted Personal Interview (CAPI) method being employed when preferred by respondents (Korea Institute of Public Administration, 2023).

The objective of this study is to empirically analyze the factors influencing the perception of the government and the legislative branch, the key entities responsible for policy formulation and implementation, on foreigner acceptance. The dependent variable, foreigner acceptance, is measured on a single-item scale ranging from 0 to 10. On this scale, 0 represents "Strongly Disagree," and as the score increases, it indicates a greater degree of acceptance, with 10 representing "Strongly Agree". The independent variables are trust of government, belief of

integrity of government, belief of fairness of government, trust of assembly, belief of integrity of assembly, belief of fairness of assembly. Trust in the legislative and executive branches, designated as independent variables, was measured on a 4-point scale, perceptions of fairness on a 4-point scale, and perceptions of integrity on a 4-point scale. Additionally, there were variations in responses depending on the questions. For "trust," responses ranged from "not at all" as 1 point to "very well" as 4 points for questions related to performance. Regarding "fairness," responses ranged from "strongly disagree" as 1 point to "strongly agree" as 4 points for the question "fairly represent the interests of the people". Lastly, for "integrity," responses ranged from "not integrity" as 1 point to "very integrity" as 4 points for the question "following institutions in terms of integrity". Furthermore, demographic and socio-economic variables were controlled as control variables. Variables such as gender, age categorized in 10-year intervals, marital status, and residency in urban areas, level of education, income level categorized in units of 1 million KRW, and political orientation were all distinguished as control variables.

The after mentioned control variables include socio-demographic variables, such as gender, ages, marriage, living area, education level, household income, and political spectrum. Additionally, Ordinary Least Squares Regression (OLS) analysis was conducted, assuming a normal distribution for the dependent variable of the ordinal model. The following is the equation for the model constructed to test the hypothesis:

$$1) \text{ Acceptance of Foreigners}_n = \alpha_n + \beta_n \text{Government } \chi_n + \varepsilon_n \quad (n = 1,2,3)$$

$$2) \text{ Acceptance of Foreigners}_n = \alpha_n + \beta_n \text{Assembly } \chi_n + \varepsilon_n \quad (n = 4,5,6)$$

$$3) \text{ Acceptance of Foreigners}_7 = \alpha_7 + \sum_{n=1}^3 \beta_n \text{Government } \chi_n + \sum_{n=4}^6 \beta_n \text{Assembly } \chi_n + \varepsilon_7$$

4.2. Descriptive Statistics of Variables

First, this paper examined multicollinearity among the selected independent variables by checking the Variance Inflation Factors (VIF). The VIF values of the variables designated as independent variables in Table 5 were all less than 5, indicating no significant multicollinearity among the variables. Next, the demographic characteristics of the respondents used in this study are as follows: Among the total sample of 8,077 individuals, males accounted for 51.65% and females for 48.35%, indicating a balanced distribution. Age was classified into age groups starting from the 20s to over 60s, with the majority being in their 50s and 60s. Regarding residential areas, individuals residing in relatively large administrative divisions classified as “dong” were categorized as urban, while those living in towns or rural areas were classified as rural. Approximately 80% of respondents were found to live in urban areas. In terms of marital status, nearly 70% were married, while the unmarried (including widowed, single and other types of living together without spouse) comprised about 30% of the sample. Educational attainment showed that 13.19% had less than a high school education, 34.64% had a high school diploma or equivalent, and 51.16% had at least a college or university degree, with only 1.02% having a graduate degree or higher. Household income was categorized based on million won as a threshold: less than 1 million won accounted for 4.73%, 1-2 million won for 7.61%, 2-3 million won for 12.12%, 3-4 million won for 15.76%, 4-5 million won for 16.73%, 5-6 million won for 19.45%, and over 6 million won for 23.6%. Finally, in terms of political orientation, moderates constituted the largest group at 46.13%, followed by strong conservatives at 4.78%, conservatives at 25.94%, progressives at 20.45% and strong progressives at 2.7%. These characteristics are as shown in

Table 6 below. Table 7 presents observations, mean, minimum, and maximum values for independent variables, which are not control variables. Since the independent variables were measured on a 4-point scale in the survey, the minimum value is 1, and the maximum value is 4. Additionally, it was observed that all values were consistent at 8,077. For variables related to the legislature, the median perception of trust was 2.181, perception of integrity was 2.107, and perception of fairness was 2.476. Regarding variables related to the executive branch, the median perception of trust was 2.553, perception of integrity was 2.485, and perception of fairness was 2.908, indicating values comparably higher than the legislature. Lastly, the dependent variable, receptivity towards foreigners, was measured on a scale of 0 to 10, with a median value of 5.564. Therefore, no significant skew was observed in the data for both independent and dependent variables. Lastly, Table 8 summarizes the survey questions and variable types.

Table 5. Variance Inflation Factors

Variable	VIF	1/VIF	Variable	VIF	1/VIF
Gender	1.11	0.902	Political Spectrum	1.13	0.882
Age	2.28	0.439	Government. Trust	1.82	0.549
Marriage or Not	1.38	0.724	Government. Integrity	1.85	0.542
Urban or Rural	1.05	0.955	Government. Fairness	1.22	0.820
Household Income	1.49	0.669	Assembly. Trust	1.80	0.556
Education Level	2.18	0.459	Assembly. Integrity	1.79	0.558
Working	1.17	0.852	Assembly. Fairness	1.33	0.750

Table 6. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Variable	Classification	Observation	Per cent
Total Amount		8077	100%
Gender	Male	4172	51.65%
	Female	3905	48.35%
Age	20's	1277	15.81%
	30's	1169	14.47%

	40's	1294	16.02%
	50's	1883	23.31%
	Over 60's	2454	30.38%
Marriage	Yes	5592	69.23%
	Not Marriage now	2485	30.77%
Living Area	City	6410	79.36%
	Rural	1667	20.64%
Education	Less than High School	1065	13.19%
	Graduate High School	2798	34.64%
	Graduate University or College	4132	51.16%
	Over Graduate School	82	1.02%
Income	Less than KRW 1Million per month	382	4.73%
	KRW 1Million-2Million per month	612	7.61%
	KRW 2Million-3Million per month	979	12.12%
	KRW 3Million-4Million per month	1273	15.76%
	KRW 4Million-5Million per month	1351	16.73%
	KRW 5Million-6Million per month	1571	19.45%
	More than KRW 6Million per month	1906	23.60%
Political Spectrum	Very Conservative	386	4.78%
	Conservative	2095	25.94%
	Center	3726	46.13%
	Liberal	1652	20.45%
	Very Liberal	218	2.70%

Table 7. Dependent Variables and Independent Variable of Respondents

Classification		Variables	Observation	Mean	Min.	Max
Independent Variables	Legislative Branch (Assembly)	Assembly. Trust	8077	2.181	1	4
		Assembly. Integrity	8077	2.107	1	4
		Assembly. Fairness	8077	2.476	1	4
	Executive Branch (Government)	Government. Trust	8077	2.553	1	4
		Government. Integrity	8077	2.485	1	4
		Government. Fairness	8077	2.908	1	4
Dependent Variable		Accept Foreigners	8077	5.564	0	10

Table 8. Descriptive Statistics of Variables

Variable	Variable	Question
Dependent Variable	Acceptance of Foreigner	What do you think about accepting foreigners as citizens of our country? (0) Strongly disagree – (10) Strongly agree
Independent Variable	Government Trust	How well do you believe the following institutions are performing their tasks? – Government (1) Not at all – (4) Very well
	Government Fairness	What do you think about the following institutions? – The Government fairly represents the interests of the people. (1) Strongly disagree – (5) Strongly agree
	Government Integrity	What do you think about the following institutions in terms of integrity? - Government (1) Not integrity – (4) Very integrity
	Assembly Trust	How well do you believe the following institutions are performing their tasks? – Assembly (1) Not at all – (4) Very well
	Assembly Fairness	What do you think about the following institutions? – The National Assembly fairly represents the interests of the people. (1) Strongly disagree – (4) Strongly agree
	Assembly Integrity	What do you think about the following institutions in terms of integrity? - Assembly (1) Not integrity – (4) Very integrity
Control Variable	Gender	(0) Female, (1) Male
	Age	Age of Interviewer (1) 20years (2) 30years (3) 40 years (4) 50 years (5) over 60years
	Marriage	Marriage (1), Except marriage (0)
	City	(1) City, (0) Rural
	Household Income	Household Income per month (1) Less than 100M (2) 100M-200M (3) 200M-300M (4) 300M-400M (5) 400M-500M (6) 500M-600M (7) More than 600M
	Education Level	Highest level of education (1) Less than High school (2) Graduate High school (3) Graduate University or College (4) Over Graduate school

	Working	(1) Yes, (0) No
	Political spectrum	Interviewer's political inclination {(1) Very conservative – (5) Very liberal}

V. Data Analysis Results

The table below analyzed whether the government (executive branch)'s trust, integrity, and fairness, along with socio-economic variables, affect the receptiveness to foreigners. The data considered situations where only control variables were examined, as well as situations where all three government variables were included. The analysis results are as follows: Firstly, demographic variables such as gender, age, marital status, urban residency, household income, education level, employment status, and political orientation were included as control variables. In case number (1), only control variables were considered to examine their relationship with the dependent variable, which is the acceptance of foreigners. The controlled model indicated that age, household income, and political orientation influence the acceptance of foreigners. In particular, older age, higher household income, and a more progressive political orientation were associated with a more positive attitude towards foreigners. Subsequently, in case number (2), trust in the executive branch was included in the basic model, revealing a positive relationship between trust in the executive branch and acceptance of foreigners. In case number (3), perceptions of executive branch's integrity were found to positively correlate with acceptance of foreigners. Similarly, in case number (4), perceptions of executive branch's fairness were associated with increased acceptance of foreigners. These findings suggest that various independent variables positively influence the acceptance of foreigners, while the level of acceptance based on age, which was controlled, decreases. Furthermore, in case number (5), a comprehensive model incorporating trust in the executive branch, perceptions of executive branch integrity, and perceptions of executive

branch's fairness revealed that acceptance of foreigners increased only when respondents perceived the executive branch as having integrity. This underscores the importance of perceived executive branch integrity among various assessments of the executive branch. Table 9 illustrates how perceptions of executive branch integrity, trust, and fairness individually and collectively influence the outcome.

Table 9. Result of Regression Analysis – Government (Executive Branch)

	(1) Accept Foreigner	(2) Accept Foreigner	(3) Accept Foreigner	(4) Accept Foreigner	(5) Accept Foreigner
Gender	0.0378 (0.0407)	0.0409 (0.0407)	0.0436 (0.0407)	0.0397 (0.0407)	0.0438 (0.0407)
Age	0.0398* (0.0202)	0.0386+ (0.0202)	0.0379+ (0.0202)	0.0380+ (0.0202)	0.0372+ (0.0202)
Marriage or Not	-0.0423 (0.0492)	-0.0485 (0.0492)	-0.0483 (0.0491)	-0.0463 (0.0492)	-0.0492 (0.0492)
Urban or Rural	-0.0085 (0.0489)	-0.0125 (0.0489)	-0.0126 (0.0488)	-0.0096 (0.0488)	-0.0123 (0.0488)
Household Income	0.0467*** (0.0132)	0.0481*** (0.0132)	0.0476*** (0.0132)	0.0472*** (0.0132)	0.0476*** (0.0132)
Education Level	0.1261** (0.0394)	0.1218** (0.0394)	0.1202** (0.0394)	0.1228** (0.0394)	0.1193** (0.0394)
Working	-0.0309 (0.0461)	-0.0321 (0.0461)	-0.0334 (0.0461)	-0.0316 (0.0461)	-0.0334 (0.0461)
Political Spectrum	0.1816*** (0.0234)	0.1724*** (0.0237)	0.1667*** (0.0236)	0.1772*** (0.0234)	0.1665*** (0.0237)
Government. Trust		0.0685* (0.0269)			-0.0126 (0.0343)
Government. Integrity			0.1207*** (0.0275)		0.1161*** (0.0350)
Government. Fairness				0.0847** (0.0325)	0.0474 (0.0347)
_cons	4.4129*** (0.1535)	4.2789*** (0.1623)	4.1787*** (0.1624)	4.1939*** (0.1750)	4.0896*** (0.1778)
N	8077	8077	8077	8077	8077
adj. R ²	0.0145	0.0152	0.0168	0.0152	0.0167

Standard errors in parentheses ⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Next, the relationship between perceptions of the national assembly (legislative branch) and acceptance of foreigners was examined. In case number (6), controlling for control variables, the

relationship between trust in the legislative branch and acceptance of foreigners was observed to be positively correlated. In case number (7), perceptions of legislative branch integrity were found to positively influence acceptance of foreigners. Similarly, in case number (8), perceptions of legislative branch fairness were associated with increased acceptance of foreigners. Finally, in case number (9), when considering trust in the legislative branch, perceptions of legislative branch integrity, and perceptions of legislative branch fairness together as variables, acceptance of foreigners increased only when respondents perceived the legislative branch as fair. This highlights the significance of fairness perceptions within assessments of the legislative branch. Table 10 demonstrates how perceptions of legislative branch integrity, trust, and fairness individually and collectively influence the outcome.

Table 10. Result of Regression Analysis – National Assembly (Legislative Branch)

	(1) Accept Foreigner	(6) Accept Foreigner	(7) Accept Foreigner	(8) Accept Foreigner	(9) Accept Foreigner
Gender	0.0378 (0.0407)	0.0425 (0.0407)	0.0467 (0.0407)	0.0588 (0.0404)	0.0598 (0.0404)
Age	0.0398* (0.0202)	0.0382+ (0.0202)	0.0377+ (0.0202)	0.0298 (0.0200)	0.0298 (0.0200)
Marriage or Not	-0.0423 (0.0492)	-0.0476 (0.0491)	-0.0463 (0.0491)	-0.0420 (0.0487)	-0.0418 (0.0487)
Urban or Rural	-0.0085 (0.0489)	-0.0090 (0.0488)	-0.0083 (0.0488)	-0.0106 (0.0484)	-0.0104 (0.0484)
Household Income	0.0467*** (0.0132)	0.0473*** (0.0132)	0.0471*** (0.0132)	0.0450*** (0.0131)	0.0450*** (0.0131)
Education Level	0.1261** (0.0394)	0.1207** (0.0394)	0.1223** (0.0393)	0.1191** (0.0390)	0.1195** (0.0390)
Working	-0.0309 (0.0461)	-0.0371 (0.0461)	-0.0463 (0.0461)	-0.0594 (0.0458)	-0.0619 (0.0458)
Political Spectrum	0.1816*** (0.0234)	0.1734*** (0.0234)	0.1722*** (0.0234)	0.1723*** (0.0232)	0.1718*** (0.0233)
Assembly. Trust		0.1068*** (0.0236)			-0.0289 (0.0297)
Assembly. Integrity			0.1393*** (0.0238)		0.0425 (0.0301)
Assembly. Fairness				0.2694*** (0.0219)	0.2642*** (0.0245)

_cons	4.4129*** (0.1535)	4.2251*** (0.1589)	4.1701*** (0.1588)	3.8431*** (0.1591)	3.8307*** (0.1616)
N	8077	8077	8077	8077	8077
adj. R ²	0.0145	0.0169	0.0186	0.0325	0.0325

Standard errors in parentheses ⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Finally, we examined the relationship between perceptions of acceptance towards foreigners and perceptions of the legislative and executive branches, as well as controlling variables. In scenario (10), regarding the controlling variables, it was observed that higher income levels and higher education levels correlate with greater acceptance of foreigners. Additionally, a more progressive political orientation was associated with higher levels of acceptance towards foreigners. Moving on to the independent variables, it was noted that, except for the fairness of the legislative branch, all other significances disappeared. However, the effectiveness of fairness in the legislative branch was notably high. This indicates that as perceptions of fairness in the legislative branch increase, acceptance towards foreigners also tends to increase. Therefore, considering all factors, only research hypothesis 1- Perceptions of fairness in the South Korean executive branch will influence the acceptance of foreigners- can be supported. Table 11 demonstrates the outcomes when all factors are considered.

**Table 11. Result of Regression Analysis - Government & Assembly,
and Summary of Regression Analysis**

	(10) Accept Foreigner	
Gender	0.0601 (0.0404)	
Age	0.0303 (0.0200)	
Marriage or Not	-0.0399 (0.0488)	
Urban or Rural	-0.0104 (0.0484)	
Household income	0.0446*** (0.0131)	
Education level	0.1202** (0.0391)	
Working	-0.0617 (0.0458)	

Political Spectrum	0.1711*** (0.0235)	
Assembly. Fairness	0.2703*** (0.0253)	Accepted alternative hypothesis 1
Government. Fairness	-0.0465 (0.0354)	Rejected alternative hypothesis 2
Assembly. Trust	-0.0283 (0.0312)	Rejected alternative hypothesis 3
Government. Trust	-0.0228 (0.0355)	Rejected alternative hypothesis 4
Assembly. Integrity	0.0317 (0.0315)	Rejected alternative hypothesis 5
Government. Integrity	0.0535 (0.0366)	Rejected alternative hypothesis 6
_cons	3.8965*** (0.1774)	
N	8077	
adj. R2	0.0326	

Standard errors in parentheses ⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

VI. Conclusion and Policy Implications

This study aimed to investigate whether the receptivity towards immigrants in Korea could be improved through the perceptions of societal members towards the legislative and executive branches, given the increasing presence of foreign immigrants in the country. While discussions on policies for immigrant integration have taken place (Lee, 2017; Kang, 2006), the effectiveness of such policies could be compromised without the consent and support of societal members. Thus, this study sought to examine whether enhancing perceptions of the executive and legislative branches could foster a more favorable attitude towards immigrant integration, potentially mitigating societal conflicts.

Summarizing the findings of this study reveals several key points. Firstly, individuals from higher-income households, with higher levels of education, and politically progressive groups tend to exhibit favorable attitudes towards immigrants living as Korean citizens. This trend can be inferred from the case of migrant women in Singapore (Huang & Yeoh, 1998), where policies were enacted to formalize the employment of migrant domestic workers, leading to greater acceptance of migrant women by professional Singaporean women seeking household assistance. Similarly, in Korea, individuals with higher household incomes and education levels may not

directly compete with foreign laborers in the job market, potentially contributing to their positive attitudes towards immigrant workers. While further scrutiny is needed regarding political factors, the findings align with previous research indicating a positive association between political progressiveness and multiculturalism (In, 2009).

Regarding perceptions of the executive branch, responses indicating perceptions of fairness, integrity, and trustworthiness all positively influence receptivity towards foreigners. However, when considering perceptions of trust, fairness, and integrity altogether, only integrity emerges as a significant factor influencing receptivity. This suggests that the integrity of the executive branch is crucial for enhancing receptivity towards foreigners. Moreover, while these variables may appear independent, previous studies have discussed the possibility of them acting as moderators or mediators (Hoi et al., 2016; Kang & Lee, 2021; Lee, 2016; Uslaner, 2008; Shin & Lee, 2016), indicating avenues for future research.

Similarly, perceptions of the legislative branch's fairness, integrity, and trustworthiness all show positive correlations with receptivity towards foreigners. However, when considering perceptions of trust, fairness, and integrity simultaneously, only the perception of fairness in the legislature emerges as influential. This underscores the significance of fair legislative practices in fostering public trust and, consequently, increasing receptivity towards immigrants. Again, the possibility of moderator or mediator roles among these variables should be further explored in future research.

Ultimately, the finding that perceived fairness in the legislative branch could enhance receptivity towards foreigners in all scenarios underscores the pivotal role of South Korea's legislature in addressing immigrant issues. Increased perception of legislative fairness may lead to greater trust in legislation and budget allocations, fostering a more inclusive society. Moreover, as

previous research has demonstrated the positive impact of perceived executive fairness on trust in the executive branch (Shin & Lee, 2016), enhancing trust in the executive may further positively influence perceptions of the legislative branch among citizens. Thus, improving perceptions of fairness in both branches of government holds promise for addressing societal conflicts and fostering greater receptivity towards immigrants.

While this study indicates correlations rather than causation, it underscores the potential significance of legislative and executive branch perceptions in shaping attitudes towards immigrants. However, further research is warranted to determine whether the diffusion of perceived legislative fairness directly translates into expanded receptivity towards immigrants. Despite these limitations, the discussion of how positive evaluations of government branches by societal members can play a pivotal role in societal transformation remains pertinent.

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