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The symbolic effect of minority representation and perceptions of the majority: how majority citizens perceive marriage-based immigrant representation in the South Korean government

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KEYWORDS

Representative bureaucracy; Marriage-based immigration; symbolic representation; survey experiment

ABSTRACT

This study investigates how minority representation affects the trust and perceived legitimacy of the government among the majority. To that end, this article examines the effect of marriage-based immigrant representation in the South Korean government in shaping native Koreans' perceptions of job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness of the government through the utilization of survey experiment data. The analyses show that a greater representation of the marriage-based immigrant population does not produce positive effects on the native Koreans' perceptions of the government. This finding indicates that the positive effects of minority representation may come at the expense of the majority's trust and perceived legitimacy of the government. However, this article argues that representative bureaucracy may be able to reduce reputational damage among the majority by increasing and advertising their organizational competency.

Introduction

While representative bureaucracy literature has predominantly been conducted in the American context, scholars have recently sought to apply the theory of representative bureaucracy in various non – US settings (Andrews, Ashworth, & Meier, 2014; Meier & Funk, 2017; Naff & Capers, 2014; Park, 2013; Stevens, 2009; von Maravić, Peters, & Schröter, 2013). In particular, scholars in active representation literature have investigated how representative bureaucrats can improve policy outcomes by pushing for the needs and demands of those whom they represent in different contexts and found that the effect of representation on policy outcomes may be moderated by various contextual factors (Andrews, Groeneveld, Meier, & Schröter, 2015; Capers, 2017; Meier & Morton, 2015). However, symbolic representation studies, primarily focusing on how representative bureaucracy shapes the citizen's trust and perceived legitimacy of government, has still been discussed heavily within the US context. It is imperative to explore the symbolic effect of minority representation in non-US settings for the development of more rigorous and generalizable theory of symbolic representation (Meier & Morton, 2015). Furthermore, a majority of symbolic representation research has primarily investigated how minority representation shapes the trust and perceived legitimacy of a government among the represented group. Therefore, this article seeks to contribute to this line of work by exploring the effect of minority representation on majority citizen's trust and perceived legitimacy of government in a non-American context, South Korea.

South Korea has historically been homogeneous and has not experienced significant social conflict based on race, ethnicity or religion. With this background, public discourse in society has generally ignored the discussion of diversity. This, in turn, has developed societal prejudice and biases on a person's dissimilarity to the typical Korean. However, a steady influx of foreigners due to marriage-based immigration has contributed to increasing heterogeneity in the South Korean society since early 2000 (KOSIS Marriage Immigration Statistics, 2019). This fact has led to demand for diversity recognition within a previously homogeneous society and improvement in the rights of the marriage- based immigrant population.

Therefore, the central and local governments in South Korea are starting to

respond to this tension by hiring marriage-based immigrant women as public managers since the late 2000s.¹ The South Korean government expects that marriage-based immigrant public managers will be able to promote social integration by raising the voice of the marriage-based immigrant population within the government and implementing policies for this population more effectively.² In fact, several marriage-based immigrant public managers reported that those who they represent are more compliant and cooperative because they believe that the marriage-based immigrant public managers will represent them more effectively. A greater compliance and cooperation of the marriage-based immigrants may, in turn, increase the efficiency and effectiveness of policy implementation for their population.³

Scholars in symbolic representation literature have provided evidence which may support the expectations and experience of the South Korean government regarding hiring marriage-based immigrant public managers and their contribution to public policy particularly for marriage-based immigrant population. Symbolic representation scholars claim that the represented groups tend to trust and perceive a greater legitimacy of the government when the government is representative of their population (Gade & Wilkins, 2012; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Jackson, 2018; Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Lavena, 2014; Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2008). This consequently leads to greater cooperation and compliance from represented groups with government policies (Bovaird, 2007; Riccucci et al., 2018, 2014). Symbolic representation literature has primarily contributed to scholarly endeavors to understand the effect of minority representation on the perceptions and behaviors of those who are represented in government. However, the evidence of existing symbolic representation literature leads to an important question: how do the majority perceive the representation of minority groups in government?

It is important to investigate and understand the perceptions of the majority population with regard to minority representation in government. This is because the positive effects of minority representation may come at the expense of majority perceptions and attitudes toward the government. If this is the case, representative bureaucracy may lose the support of the majority and this may eventually affect the legitimacy of government, which is the most fundamental value in democratic society.

This relationship may be observed in countries particularly like South Korea where diversity is not a socially accepted norm. Therefore, it is important to explore the perceptions of the majority population for a government with minority representation and seek to reveal ways in which the government can address the potential loss of trust in a representative government among the majority, if required.

In the context of South Korea, this article expects that the representation of marriage-based immigrant population in the government may produce null or even negative effects on how the majority population perceives minority representation for several reasons. First, from a theoretical perspective, minority representation may be symbolically promising for minority population representation and therefore, those who are represented may perceive greater trust in government (Pitkin, 1967). However, there is insufficient theoretical reason to believe that the majority also considers minority representation in a similar manner. In fact, some scholars have argued that the majority population may perceive that minority representation benefits only minority groups (Andersen, 2017; Riccucci et al., 2018). In this case, the majority may not be favorable toward minority representation in government. In addition, this article claims that the unique social context of South Korea may also provide reason to believe that minority representation produces a null or negative effect on majority perceptions of the government with higher minority representation. Scholars have previously argued that the effect of representation may be moderated by various contextual factors (Andrews et al., 2015; Capers, 2017; Meier & Morton, 2015). The unique context of South Korea will be discussed in greater detail below.

To explore the perception of minority representation in the South Korean government among the majority, this article begins with a review of symbolic representation research. It then provides a background of South Korea and the policy of hiring marriage-based immigrant public managers to reach the expectations of this study. Next, this article utilizes survey experiment data to investigate how greater representation of a minority group, in this case marriage-based immigrants, shapes the perception of native Koreans, the majority group. The results indicate that the respondents are less likely to perceive a higher trustworthiness of government with higher marriage-based immigrant representation. However, this article suggests that

representative bureaucracy may be able to restore trust among the majority population by increasing and advertising organizational competency.

Representative bureaucracy and its symbolic effect

The theory of representative bureaucracy claims that the presence of representative bureaucrats who reflect the diversity of society can achieve democratic values such as accountability, social equity, and responsiveness by incorporating a more expansive spectrum of needs and opinions in the process of making and implementing public policy (Kranz, 1976; Selden, 2015). The earliest work of representative bureaucracy claims that bureaucracy should be representative of the dominant class in society (Kingsley, 1944); however, scholars have argued that the general demographic characteristics of the society should be considered in the formation of a representative bureaucracy (Meier, 1975).

While the vast majority of representative bureaucracy research has focused on active representation which deals with how representative bureaucrats can improve policy out- comes by pushing for the needs and demands of those whom they represent (Keiser, Wilkins, Meier, & Holland, 2002; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Meier & Nigro, 1976; Meier & Stewart, 1992; Meier, Wrinkle, & Polinard, 1999; Nicholson-Crotty, Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, & Redding, 2016; Sowa & Selden, 2003), a recent body of scholarship in representative bureaucracy has highlighted the symbolic effect of representative bureaucracy and this effect is denoted as 'symbolic representation'. Its primary argument is that representation in government agencies affects the citizen's perceptions of government, and this, in turn, leads to cooperation of citizens. Citizens' cooperation ultimately produces more effective policy outcomes without actions taken by the bureaucrats (Gade & Wilkins 2012; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Riccucci et al., 2014, 2018; Riccucci & Van Ryzin, 2017; Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Li, 2016; Roch, Elsayed, & Edwards, 2018; Theobald & Haider-Markel 2008).

The origins of this argument can be traced back to Pitkin's representation (Pitkin, 1967) who contends that 'the symbol is supposed to evoke or express feelings appropriate to what it stands for and what happens to a symbolic figure must be considered as happening to its referent as well (p.99).' According to this argument,

individuals look at the staffing of an agency as a symbolic promise of representation and this may increase their acceptance of the government organizations that represent them. To summarize, although the bureaucrats may not actively try to press the interests of those whom they represent, these individuals believe that representative bureaucrats will do something favorable for them. This belief consequently increases their trust and perceived legitimacy in the government. Furthermore, an increased perception of trust and legitimacy in government leads citizens to be more cooperative and compliant with government policies (Bovaird, 2007; Hong, 2016; Riccucci et al., 2016).

In light of these arguments, scholars have investigated if represented individuals perceive their government more positively when the government agencies are more representative. These studies suggest that greater representation positively affects the citizen's perceptions of trust and perceived legitimacy operationalized as job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness of government (Gade & Wilkins, 2012; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Riccucci et al., 2014, 2014; Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2008). In addition to this, scholars have found that greater representation leads to more cooperation with the represented population and that the cooperation of individuals consequently leads to improvement of policy outcomes (Hong, 2016; Riccucci et al., 2016).

While existing literature has primarily focused on the effect of representation on the perceptions of minority group whom the bureaucrats represent, scholars have also examined how the representation of minority groups shapes the perceptions of majority population. For instance, Riccucci and her colleagues find that majority population does not necessarily perceive greater job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness of organizations with greater representation (Keiser et al., 2002; Riccucci et al., 2016, 2018). Furthermore, it has also been found that individuals of the majority group are not more willing to be cooperative with government policy when there is a greater representation of the minority (Riccucci et al., 2016).

There are several potential explanations regarding these mixed findings. First, majority groups may be less favorable toward the minority representation if they do not perceive any benefits for themselves from the representation of the minority (Andersen,

2017; Riccucci et al., 2018). For instance, as previously stated, the South Korean government expects that hiring marriage-based immigrant population may promote social integration and reduction in the tension between native Korean and immigrants, which may eventually be beneficial for the entire population. However, if native Koreans consider that hiring marriage-based immigrant population only helps marriage-based immigrants by providing them employment, they may not see the benefits for the society as a whole. This may affect their support for minority representation. Furthermore, while scholars have found that minority representation does not produce detrimental effects on existing majority groups (Meier et al., 1999), the majority population may perceive that minority representation and its benefits may come at the expense of their own benefits (Subramaniam, 1967). More importantly, the theory of symbolic representation argues that the staffing of an agency with greater minority representation may be seen as a symbolic promise of representation among the minority. However, there is insufficient theoretical reason to believe that minority representation operates in the same way for the majority. Therefore, it may be reasonable to expect that minority representation may produce null or even negative effects on the perception of the majority population. In the next section, this article introduces the unique social context of South Korea in order to support the expected null and negative effects of minority representation.

Social context of South Korea

South Korea has not experienced significant social conflicts based on race, ethnicity or religion. This stems from the fact that South Korea has always been rather homogeneous from a racial and ethnic perspective. However, since early 2000, a steady influx of marriage-based immigration has contributed to increasing heterogeneity in the South Korean society (KOSIS Marriage Immigration Statistics, 2019). These interracial marriages were initially between Korean men from the lower class and foreign women from other Asian countries such as China, Japan, and Vietnam (Kim, 2017; Lee, 2008; Lee, Seol, & Cho, 2006). The number of marriage-based immigrants is relatively small in comparison to non-immigrant, native Koreans (KOSIS Marriage Immigration Statistics, 2019). However, the marriage-based immigrant population has

steadily increased since 2002 and so has the number of children born and raised in this multicultural family derived from interracial marriage (Song et al., 2017).

While the South Korean society becomes more diverse, its majority population has been developing prejudice and biases on a person's dissimilarity to the typical Korean, particularly toward the marriage-based immigrant population. This is primarily because public discourse in South Korea has generally ignored the discussion of diversity due to the previously homogeneous nature of its society. Furthermore, the fact that a majority of immigrant women marry Korean men due to economic motivations⁴ provides another reason for Koreans to discriminate against marriage-based immigrant women with locals identifying them as those who only follow economic interests, which is frowned upon in Korean Confucianism culture (Dalton, 2005). Under this circumstance, there has been evidence that not only marriage-based immigrant women but also their children have faced discrimination just due to their backgrounds.⁵ This has led to demand for diversity recognition and improvement in the rights of the marriage-based immigrants and their family.

Therefore, based on Local Public Official Acts,⁶ the central and local governments in South Korea are starting to respond to this tension by hiring marriage-based immigrant women as public managers since the late 2000s. The South Korean government expects that marriage-based immigrant public managers will be able to promote social integration by raising the voice of the marriage-based immigrant population within the government and by implementing policies for this population more effectively. Since then, when the government and its agencies decide to hire marriage-based immigrants as public managers, they accept job applications from the marriage-based immigrant population and hire them after one or two interviews.

The issue here is that native Koreans have a much more different route to obtaining a public manager appointment in South Korea. This position is considered to be very prestigious among native Koreans and numerous young Koreans spend a lot of time in preparation for the public official examination regardless of their major in college. The examination is well known for its difficulty and low selection rate. Under this circumstance, there has been evidence that some people are against hiring marriage-based immigrant public managers because the process may not be fair.⁷ Some people claim

that marriage-based immigrant public managers are not as competent as native Korean public managers due to the fact that they do not take the same exams whose contents are important for adequately executing the job of the public manager. Contrary to the expectations of the government, it has been observed that hiring marriage-based immigrant public managers may be seen to only benefit marriage-based immigrant population by providing them employment. Due to this unique circumstance, this article expects that marriage-based immigrant representation in the South Korean government may not produce positive effects on the perceptions of majority population, native Koreans.

Methods and measurements

To answer this study's question, this article collects data by utilizing a survey experiment. This survey experiment is designed to explore the perception of native Koreans regarding marriage-based immigrant representation in government. As a major treatment for this survey experiment, the level of marriage-based immigrant representation in a hypothetical organization is included. This article also includes another treatment given by the organizational competency of this hypothetical organization. Scholars have argued that organizational competency is another important factor affecting citizen's perceptions of trust and perceived legitimacy of government. They have shown that citizens trust government more when they perceive higher organizational competency (Van Ryzin, 2007; Vigoda-Gadot & Yuval, 2003). By controlling the effect of organizational competency, this article expects to properly place any effect of representation on citizen's trust and perceived legitimacy of government. In this article, organizational competency is operationalized as a reported client evaluation of the organization. Table 1 presents the four different survey experiment settings within two treatments: the level of marriage-based immigrant representation and reported client evaluation.⁸

The author recruited 446 college students in Seoul, South Korea.⁹ This decision provides for some homogeneity that reduces the need for statistical controls. Though the use of student samples may raise issues of generalizability, scholars have claimed that student samples are not problematic because students do not

necessarily act differently from the non-student general population (Anderson & Edwards, 2015; Bouwman & Grimmelikhuijsen, 2016). Furthermore, the experimental setting may ease the issue of confounding factors by assigning participants randomly into four survey types. All survey respondents in this article are native South Korean citizens and this homogeneity in the sample warrants exclusion of respondents likely to be notably different – particularly in their reaction to the treatment.

Table 1. 2x2 survey settings

		Client evaluation	
		Poor	Better
Representation	Lower	a. Lower representation + Poor performance	b. Lower representation + Better performance
	Higher	c. Higher representation + Poor performance	Higher representation + Better performance

Four types of survey (see Table 1) were randomly disseminated to these students between 30 May 2017 to 13 June 2017 (Type a = 117, Type b = 110, Type c = 104, and Type d = 115).¹⁰ Table 2 indicates the basic descriptive characteristics of survey participants by treatment group. Of all respondents, 56.7% are female college students. In addition, a majority of participants self-identify as political moderates (49.5%) or slightly liberal (23.5%)

Table 3 shows the experimental design of the survey. The survey provides a paragraph describing a hypothetical organization, which primarily aims to support the marriage-based immigrant population. The survey randomizes the presentation of marriage-based immigrant public managers and reported client evaluation of the hypothetical organization. After reading a paragraph regarding the hypothetical organization, the respondents were asked to rate the trust and perceived legitimacy of the government. The trust and perceived legitimacy among native Koreans were operationalized by the job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness of the South Korean government following previous studies of their operationalization (Ricucci et al., 2014, 2018). Job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness of government are

measured using a five-point Likert's scale: 1) fairness (1 = very unfair, 5 = very fair), 2) trust- worthiness (1 = not at all, 5 = very much), and 3) job performance (1 = very poor, 5 = very good). The experimental treatments (representation and reported client evaluations) are used as the key independent variables. This study codes 0, for lower representation and 1 for higher representation. Likewise, a poor evaluation score is coded as 0 while a good evaluation is coded as 1.

Table 2. Survey design

<p>Please read this paragraph Immigrant Support Team (IST) is a specialized unit within AAA City Hall. This unit is designed to help marriage-based immigrants to successfully settle down in South Korea and help to solve their problems they face. IST provides various services related to legal documents, job searching and other benefits to marriage-based immigrant population.</p>			
Type a	Type b	Type c	Type d
<p>The City Hall assigned 7 public managers to this specialized unit. 20% of public managers are marriage0based immigrants. According to a recent report, 20% of immigrants who used the service from IST reported that they were satisfied with the service of IST</p>	<p>The City Hall assigned 7 public managers to this specialized unit. 20% of public managers are marriage0based immigrants. According to a recent report, 70% of immigrants who used the service from IST reported that they were satisfied with the service of IST</p>	<p>The City Hall assigned 7 public managers to this specialized unit. 70% of public managers are marriage0based immigrants. According to a recent report, 20% of immigrants who used the service from IST reported that they were satisfied with the service of IST</p>	<p>The City Hall assigned 7 public managers to this specialized unit. 70% of public managers are marriage0based immigrants. According to a recent report, 70% of immigrants who used the service from IST reported that they were satisfied with the service of IST</p>

Based on what you have just read, please answer the following questions

1. How do you rate the job the IST is doing at helping marriage-based immigrants to settledown in South Korea? 1 = very poor 2 = poor 3 = only fair 4 = good 5 = very good
2. How much do you think citizens can trust the IST and its members to do what is beneficial for marriage-based immigrants? 1 = not at all 2 = rarely 3 = somewhat 4 = fairly 5 = very much
3. How fair, or unfair do you think the IST is likely to be in helping marriage-based immigrants to settle down in South Korea? 1 = very unfair 2 = unfair 3 = somewhat 4 = fair 5 = very fair.

Table 3. Characteristics of participants by treatment group.

	Type A (n=117)	Type B (n = 110)	Type C (n = 104)	Type D (n = 115)	Total (n = 446)
Gender					
Female	52.1	53.6	64.4	57.4	56.7
Male	47.9	46.4	35.6	42.6	43.3
Study Abroad (Yes)	15.4	21.8	15.4	14.8	16.8
Political Ideology					
Liberal	31.6	34.5	44.3	37.4	36.8
Moderate	53.0	51.8	43.3	58.3	51.8
Conservative	15.4	13.6	12.5	4.3	11.4

As previously stated, theoretically, there is insufficient evidence that minority representation is seen as symbolic promise for majority population as well. Previous studies have argued that the majority may assume that minority representation only benefits the represented population (Andersen, 2017; Riccucci et al., 2018). Furthermore, the unique context of the South Korean society may negatively affect how native Koreans perceive minority representation in government. Due to these reasons, this article expects that there are null or negative effects of minority representation on the perceptions of the government among the majority. As an exploratory investigation, this article reaches multiple expectations as follows:

Expectation 1. An increase in the level of marriage-based immigrant representation in an organization is not positively associated with the perceptions of the organization among native Koreans.

1-1 An increase in the level of marriage-based immigrant representation in an organization is not positively associated with how native Koreans perceive the job performance of the organization.

1-2 An increase in the level of marriage-based immigrant representation in an organization is not positively associated with how native Koreans perceive the trustworthiness of the organization.

1-3 An increase in the level of marriage-based immigrant representation in an organization is not positively associated with how native Koreans perceive the fairness of the organization.

In contrast, following the arguments of previous literature regarding trust and perceived legitimacy of government among citizens and organizational competency (Van Ryzin, 2007; Vigoda-Gadot & Yuval, 2003), this article expects that organizational competency, operationalized as reported client evaluation may produce positive effects on perceived job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness of the organization among native Koreans.

Expectation 2. An increase in the level of reported client evaluation in an organization is positively associated with the perceptions of the organization among native Koreans

2-1 An increase in the level of reported client evaluation in an organization is positively associated with how native Koreans perceive the job performance of the organization

2-2 An increase in the level of reported client evaluation in an organization is positively associated with how native Koreans perceive the trustworthiness of the organization

2-3 An increase in the level of reported client evaluation in an organization is positively associated with how native Koreans perceive the fairness of the organization

This study also includes other variables such as gender (1 = Female, 0 = Male), study-abroad experience (1 = Yes, 0 = No), and political ideology (1 = Strongly conservative to 5 = Strongly liberal) in a statistical analysis to control for potential confounding effects. This survey also collected the age of each respondent, although this information was excluded from the analysis due to its small variation. The study-abroad experience variable was included due to the expectation that students who were exposed to more diverse environments would be more or less likely to value the existence of representation depending on their experience. Given that the dependent variables are ordinal variables, this study performed utilized ordered probit regression to analyze data. Additionally, this article calculates and presents the first difference of significant treatment variables (either the level of representation or reported client evaluation) after

running the ordered probit regression models in order to place the effect of treatment variables on each categories of the dependent variable. First difference calculations show how the value of a dependent variable changes when there is a change in value of independent variable from one point to the next point, holding other variables constant.

Findings

Table 4 indicates the results of ordered probit regression models for native Korean's perception of job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness with respect to the hypothetical organization. In the following section, this article describes and discusses the results of each model with coefficient plots and the first difference model of treatments.

Minority representation and perceived job performance

Figure 1 displays the results for the ordered probit regression model for native Koreans' perceptions on job performance. The detailed results can be found in Table 4. Estimates in Figure 1 contain 95% confidence intervals and the dependent variable is the level of native Koreans' perception of the organizational job performance. The primary independent variables are the level of marriage-based immigrant representation and the level of reported client evaluation on the hypothetical organization. In addition to the measure of these two independent variables, this model contains political ideology, gender and study-abroad experience to control for confounding factors.

The results support the first two expectations of this study. While greater marriage-based immigrant representation does not produce any significant effects on perceived job performance among native Koreans (Expectation 1–1), Figure 1(a) indicates that people perceive a better job performance when they receive better reported client evaluations of the organization after controlling for other variables (Expectation 2–1). More specifically, As Table 4 indicates, a unit increase in reported client evaluations leads to 0.714 increase in the expected value of perceived job performance on the log-odds scale, while holding other

variables constant. This shows that reported client evaluation has a positive effect on the native Koreans' perception of organization.

Table 4. Ordered probit regression models for native Korean's perceptions of job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness with respect to the organization.

	Dependent variable		
	Job performance	Trustworthiness	Fairness
Representation	-0.006 (0.105)	-0.182* (0.105)	0.081 (0.103)
Client evaluation	0.714*** (0.108)	0.229** (0.104)	0.235** (0.103)
Political Ideology	0.186** (0.076)	0.206*** (0.076)	0.069 (0.074)
Study abroad	-0.300** (0.140)	-0.062 (0.139)	0.021 (0.137)
Female	-0.255** (0.107)	-0.223** (0.106)	0.031 (0.104)
Cut-point1	-1.3279*** (0.2920)	-0.7340 (0.2759)	-1.6088***
Cut-point2	-0.3153 (0.2712)	0.6864*** (0.2730)	-0.6584***
Cut-point3	0.8357*** (0.2732)	2.3103*** (0.2941)	0.6792*** (0.2691)
Cut-point4	2.9011*** (0.3090)		2.2901*** (0.2934)
Observations	446	446	446
AIC	1011.94	976.51	1060.32
BIC	1048.84	1009.316	1097.226

*p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

Under the circumstance where reported client evaluation produces significant effects on native Korean's perceptions, this article calculates the first difference of reported client evaluation. Figure 1(b) shows the first difference effect of reported client evaluation on native Korean's perceived job performance of the organization. This shows that the effect of the reported client evaluation is significant across the categories of job performance, holding other variables constant (Representation = higher, gender = female, political ideology = median, experience on study abroad = 0). The dots indicate that the predicted first difference values of the

reported client evaluation and the lines show 95% confidence intervals.

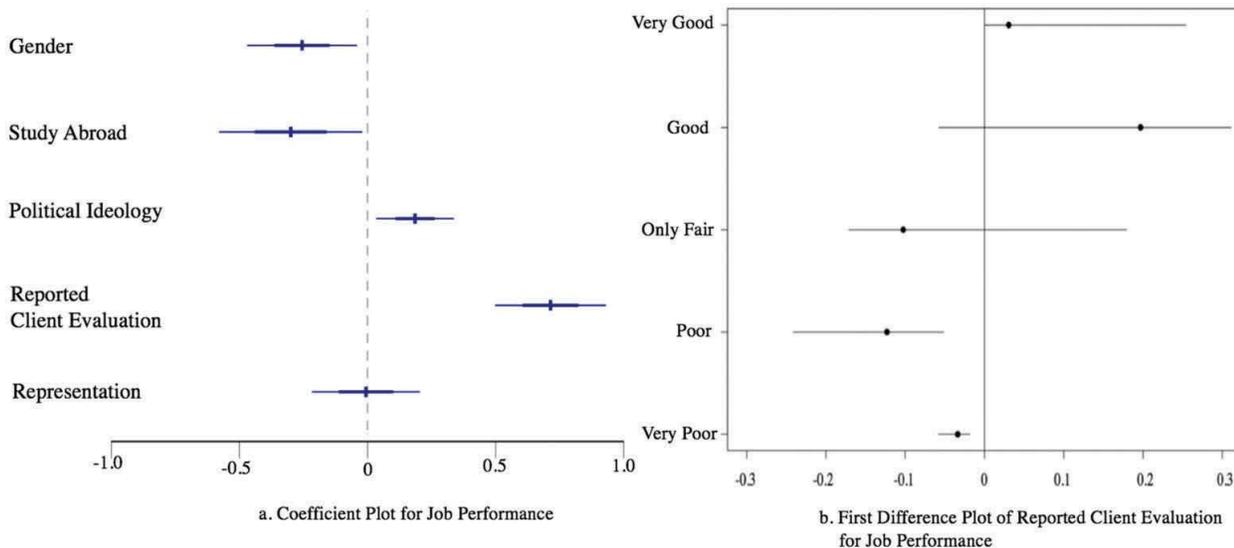


Figure 1. Plots for job performance. (a) coefficient plot for job performance. (b) First difference plot of reported client evaluation for job performance.

According to Figure 1(b), the reported client evaluation is positively associated with the 'very good' category of job performance. In other words, when the organization received better evaluations from their clients, the probability of native Koreans' perceiving a better job performance of the organization increases. In contrast, the probability of perceiving a poor job performance (falling into 'very poor' category of job performance) becomes lower when the organization received a better reported client evaluation.¹¹

Minority representation and perceived trustworthiness

Figure 2(a) shows the effects of variables on the native Koreans' perception of trustworthiness of government. The dependent variable, trustworthiness, was initially measured on five ordinal scales. However, the data description shows that no respondent answered 'not at all trustworthy'. Therefore, the dependent variables of trustworthiness are given by four ordinal scales which are 'Rarely', 'Somewhat', 'Fairly', and 'Very much.' The coefficient plot of trustworthiness (Figure 2(a)) indicates

that marriage-based immigrant representation is significantly and negatively associated with the perception of the trustworthiness of the organization. Specifically, a unit increase in marriage-based immigrant representation leads to 0.182 decrease in the expected value of perceived trustworthiness of the government on the log-odds scale, while holding other variables constant (Expectation 1–2). In contrast, the result indicates that the probability of people perceiving higher trustworthiness increases when better reported client evaluation on the organization is suggested, while holding other variables constant (Expectation 2–2). A unit increase in reported client evaluations leads to 0.229 increase in the expected value of perceived trustworthiness of the government on the log odds-scale (see Table 4 in Appendix).

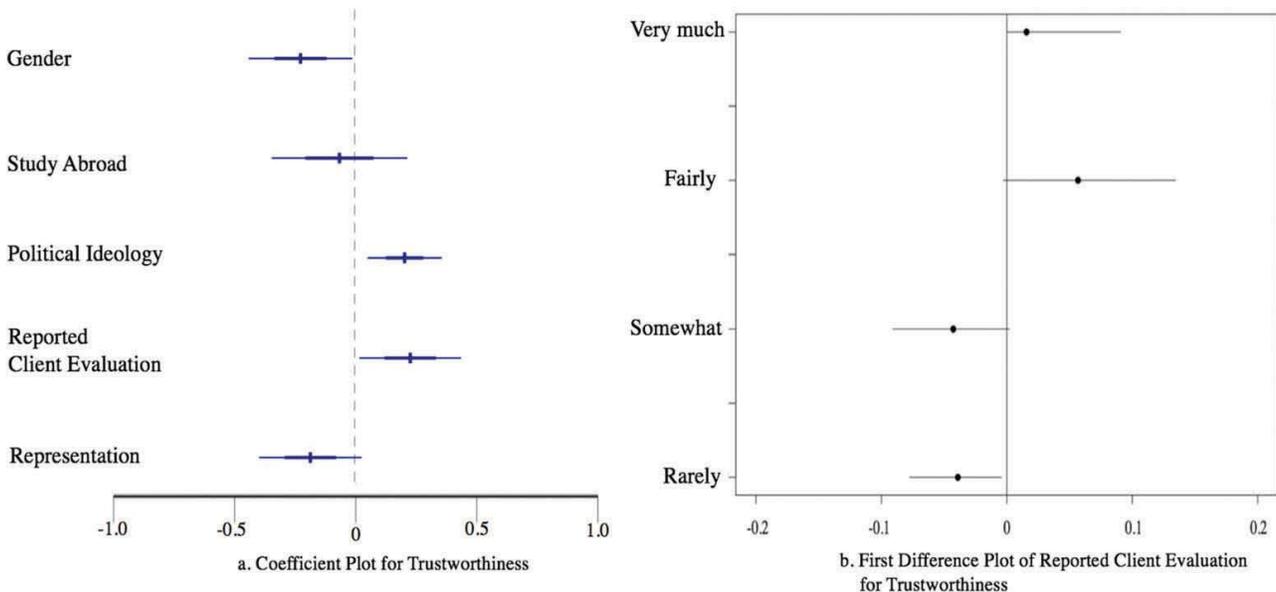


Figure 2. Plots for trustworthiness. (a) coefficient plot for job performance trustworthiness. (b) First difference plot of reported client evaluation for job performance trustworthiness.

This study also calculated the first difference effect of the reported client evaluation on trustworthiness, holding other variables constant (Representation = higher, gender = female, political ideology = median, experience on study abroad = 0). Figure 2(b) shows that the reported client evaluation is negatively associated with the probability of getting into the lower category of trustworthiness ('Rarely'). However, it is positively associated with the probability of falling into the higher category of trustworthiness ('Very much'). This is similar to the first difference plot for

job performance as shown in Figure 2 and the reported client's evaluation is statistically significant only for extreme values such as 'not at all trustworthy' and 'very much'

Minority representation and perceived fairness

Figure 3(a) is the coefficient plot of native Koreans' perceived fairness of government. This result indicates that people perceived higher fairness of organization when reading the high performance treatment. More specifically, as Table 4, a unit increase in reported client evaluations led to 0.235 increase in the expected value of perceived fairness on the log-odds scale (Expectation 2–3). However, marriage-based immigrant representation does not significantly affect the native Koreans' perception of fairness (Expectation 1–3). Figure 3(b) is the first difference plot of the reported client's evaluation on fairness, holding other variables constant (Representation = higher, gender = female, political ideology = median, experience on study abroad = 0). The first difference plot shows that the probability of getting into the lower category of fairness ('very unfair') is lower. However, the probability of getting into the higher category of fairness ('very fair') is higher when there is a report of better clients' evaluation. Similar to the previously presented results, the effects of the level of evaluation are significant only for extreme values.

To summarize, as expected, marriage-based immigrant representation in an organization does not positively or significantly affect the native Koreans' perceptions of perceived job performance and fairness (Expectation 1–1 and 1–3). Furthermore, the effect of marriage-based immigrant representation is negatively significant on trustworthiness (Expectation 1–2). In contrast, the findings show that the reported client evaluation, i.e., the organizational competency communicated by clients, matters. Even after controlling for other variables including the level of marriage-based immigrant representation, gender, experience on study abroad and political ideology, better reported client evaluations of the organization lead individuals to perceive better job performance as well as higher trustworthiness of government (Expectation 2–1, 2–2, and 2–3).

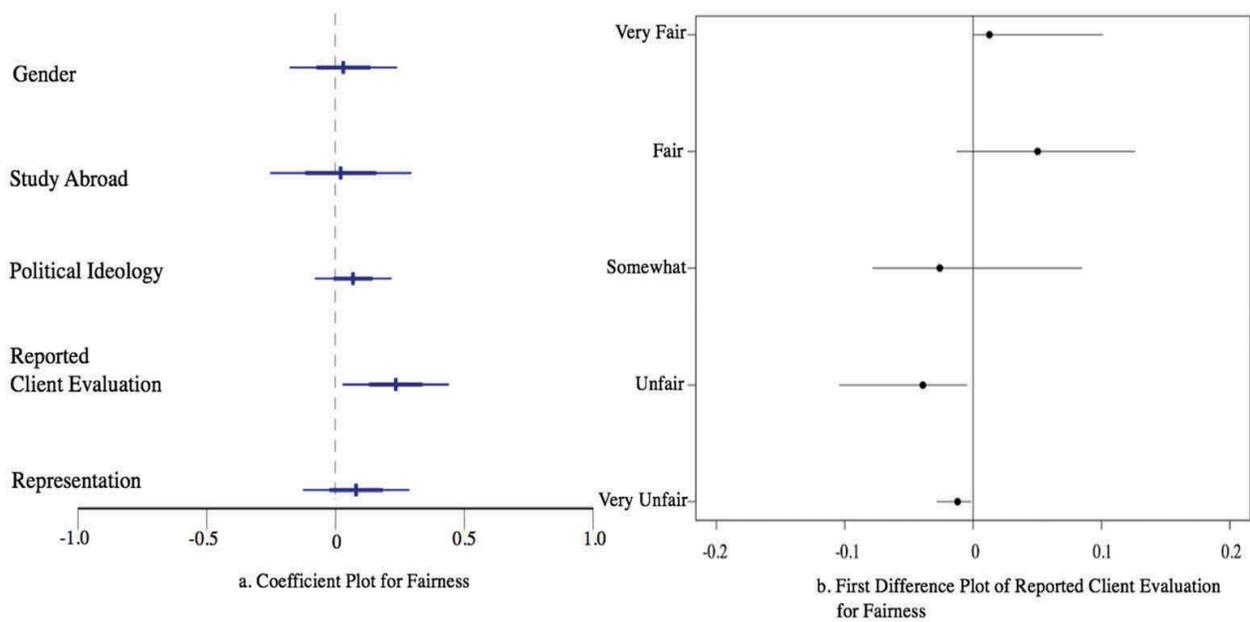


Figure 3. Plots for fairness. (a) coefficient plot for job performance fairness. (b) First difference plot of reported client evaluation for job performance fairness.

Discussion and conclusions

While previous literature in symbolic representation has heavily focused on the effect of minority representation in shaping the perception of government among minority population (Gade & Wilkins, 2012; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Riccucci et al., 2014, 2016; Roch et al., 2018; Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2008), this article sought to understand how minority representation affects the perceived job performance, trust-worthiness, and fairness of government among the majority population in a non-U.S context. Utilizing survey experiment data, the analyses showed that marriage-based immigrant representation does not produce positive effects on native Koreans' perception of government. There was no significant relationship between marriage-based immigrant representation and perceived job performance and fairness of the hypothetical organization. Furthermore, the analyses indicate that marriage-based immigrant representation is significantly and negatively associated with native Koreans' perception of government trustworthiness. In other words, the findings showed that marriage-based immigrant representation reduces the probability of individuals perceiving higher trust-

worthiness of government.

The results of this article support the evidence of previous studies. For instance, Riccucci and her colleagues (2018) have found in their racial representation and policing study that white citizens are less favorable to job performance, trust- worthiness, and fairness when the police force has a greater black representation. Scholars have argued that these findings may result from the fact that minority representation may be seen to only benefit minority population (Andersen, 2017; Riccucci et al., 2018). This may also explain the null and negative effects of minority representation in South Korea. Native Koreans may consider that greater representation of marriage-based immigrant population only benefits those whom they represent by providing them employment. Furthermore, as previously stated, the differences in hiring marriage-based immigrant public managers and native Korean public managers may have led native Koreans to negatively perceive the representation of marriage-based immigrant in the South Korean government. Most importantly, there may have been a lack of understanding of diversity and its significant effect on society due to the fact that South Korea is a historically homogeneous country and diversity has not become a widely accepted social norm. However, it is out of the scope of this article to test these potential arguments regarding the null and negative effects of minority representation due to the experimental mode of data collection. Further research is required to investigate the causal link explaining the null and negative effects of marriage- based immigrant representation and the perception of native Koreans, potentially by collecting and analyzing qualitative data.

These findings should be understood within the limitation of measurement. First, the experimental setting of the survey is beneficial for achieving internal validity by manipulating the treatments. However, the generalizability of the finding is rather limited. Therefore, further investigation should include broader and more representative respondents and consider other confounding factors to investigate how majority population perceive the minority representation in government potentially by utilizing a mass survey data. Second, this study asked native

Korean respondents to evaluate the representation of marriage-based immigrant population in an organization whose primary clients are marriage-based immigrant population. Given the situation where survey respondents are not the clients of the hypothetical organization in the survey setting, their indifference toward this specific organization may have affected their evaluation on job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness of the organization. Future investigations need to take account of various organizational settings so that the perception of the majority population on representation can be fully captured.

Nevertheless, this study has contributed to scholarly endeavor to understand the symbolic effect of minority representation by investigating the symbolic effect of minority representation in a non-US context. It is imperative to explore the symbolic effect of minority representation in non-US settings for the development of more rigorous and generalizable theory of symbolic representation (Meier & Morton, 2015). Furthermore, while the results show that the positive effects of minority representation may come at the expense of the majority's trust and perceived legitimacy of the government, which supports the findings of the previous studies, this article additionally provides a potential way in which government can reduce the loss in trust and perceived legitimacy among their constituents. The results show that organizational competency assessed and communicated by clients, reported client evaluations, seems to be significant when representation does not seem to be important. This article found that when the survey respondents were shown better client evaluation of the hypothetical organization, they were more likely to perceive higher and better job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness of the organization. In fact, literature in other disciplines, particularly public relations and communication support the findings of this article (Kim, Hung-Baesecke, Yang, & Grunig, 2013; Kim & Rhee, 2011). These scholars argue that organizational performance assessed by clients significantly affects the formation of a non-client's perception of organization. This finding indicates that representative government may reduce the reputational damage and restore the trust organizational may lose among their clients and citizens by improving and advertising organizational competency, particularly in the context of South Korea.

Notes

1. The South Korean Government has not officially announced statistics with regards to marriage-based immigrant population hiring or placement. However, according to Policy Briefing, a website of the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism and other news articles, it has been observed that the central and local governments started hiring marriage-based immigrant women as public managers since the late 2000s. See <http://www.korea.kr/news/reporterView.do?newsId=148711609#reporter>.
2. These expectations have been expressed by several top-ranked South Korean public officials in local governments. See http://www.ktv.go.kr/content/view?content_id=390762 as an example.
3. The interviews with marriage-based immigrant public managers are reported in a separate article under review.
4. According to Seol and his colleagues (2005), a majority of foreign women chose to marry abroad due to financial reasons. These foreign women expected reduced financial hardship in South Korea compared to their countries of origin, even though this meant having to marry among the lower economic classes in South Korea.
5. It has been shown that marriage-based immigrants and their children reported that they felt discriminated in their school, workforce, and other communities they belong to. (see National Human Rights Commission Report at <https://www.humanrights.go.kr/site/program/board/basicboard/view?&boardtypeid=16&tpage=11&menuid=001003001004&page size=10&boardid=606977>). For instance, one marriage-based immigrant woman the researcher met during her field trip in South Korea stated that her children could not interact with their classmates in school just because their mother is a marriage-based immigrant. The experiences of marriage-based immigrant women regarding discrimination are reported in a separate article under review.
6. Local Public Official Acts was enacted in 1963 to establish the basic standard for personnel administration. This Act, particularly Article 25 provides local governments the ground for affirmative action such as hiring immigrant public managers.

7. There has been National Petition regarding this issue. See <https://www1.president.go.kr/petitions/183517>.
8. The different levels of representation and client evaluation (20% vs. 70%) were chosen using the author's best judgment to represent the lower and higher level of representation and client evaluation.
9. The survey was written in Korean. The native language of the author is Korean and therefore, she designed and translated the survey experiment with advice from other scholars in South Korea. Furthermore, following the IRB requirements of her institution, she invited a scholar outside her institution who is fully knowledgeable about the language and the subject matter of this study to ensure the accuracy and appropriateness of the survey.
10. For randomization, the researcher used Excel XLMiner tool package to randomly assign each student to four types of surveys.
11. It should be noticed that Figure 1(b) shows that the reported client evaluation does not significantly affect the probability of falling into the moderate categories of job performance. This is due to the mixed processes of lower rating moving into the middle rating and some of the middle ratings moving higher; so the '3' category adds former '2' and loses some to '4'. This is common in ordered models with these many categories.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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