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REASSESSING REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY:
AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS USING ROLE PERCEPTION

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Abstract

Despite theoretical and empirical advances in the field of representative bureaucracy, scholars have yet to come to consensus on how to best define and measure the term. Many contemporary studies of representative bureaucracy are contextually circumscribed focusing primarily on descriptive representation of race and gender, street and executive level employees and redistributive agencies. In addition, few studies have examined the potential for negative effects of representative bureaucracy. These limitations appear to be driven in part by theoretical restrictions and data availability as most studies rely on quantitative policy output. In order to overcome these limitations, this project examines bureaucrats' role perception, focusing specifically on how they view their role as representatives. The primary methodological tool is Q Methodology. Using a mixed methodology, this project provides a comprehensive and inclusive approach to representative bureaucracy thus avoiding limitations from data availability. The findings suggest current understanding of representative bureaucracy may be incomplete. Q sort analysis reveals four possible bureaucratic worldviews toward representation suggesting the concept requires a more comprehensive and nuanced theoretical approach. Additionally, the data suggests the current theoretical boundaries may be unnecessarily restrictive. For example, the data shows representative bureaucracy may occur without descriptive representation, and characteristics other than race and gender may be important. Additionally, all organizations appear to be valid subjects for empirical analysis although

organizational variables may influence representation. The data also reveals possible alternative data sources that may be used in future studies. Examining potential negative effects, the data suggests that scholars may have actually overlooked additional positive effects. In order to truly understand and utilize the concept of representative bureaucracy, the theoretical framework and empirical lens by which we study representative bureaucracy needs to be revisited.

CHAPTER ONE
THE PUZZLE OF REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY

INTRODUCTION

Representation is the cornerstone of American democracy. While scholars have extensively explored the concept of representation as it applies to legislatures, they have given this concept considerably less attention as it applies to non-elected bodies such as bureaucracies. Modern bureaucracies hold considerable power throughout the policy process, yet they lack electoral accountability mechanisms. This power coupled with a lack of accountability mechanisms leads to fundamental problems for democratic theory. Scholars have sought to reconcile democratic theory and the power of bureaucracy through the theory of representative bureaucracy. Given the power of modern bureaucracies in the policy process and their lack of electoral accountability, the field of representative bureaucracy is imperative for scholars in American politics and public administration as well as policymakers.

The idea of representation is central to democratic theory. Bureaucracies, while comprised of primarily unelected officials, are powerful institutions in contemporary democracies that exercise power throughout the policymaking process. While they exercise considerable power, bureaucracies lack electoral accountability which raises questions of their legitimacy under democratic theory. The concept of representative bureaucracy is a key component of understanding contemporary democracy. Government reform has made this an increasingly

important topic of discussion. Movements such as New Public Management further increase the power of the bureaucracy to influence policy through increasing bureaucratic discretion (Kelly, 1998). Bureaucratic discretion is a key element of representative bureaucracy (Sowa and Selden, 2003; Meier and Bohte, 2001). As this discretion increases, so does the potential for representation to occur in the bureaucracy. As the potential for representative bureaucracy increases, it is important to understand the extent to which bureaucrats see themselves as representatives, under what circumstances they see themselves as representatives and what the effects may be of this role.

Scholars have studied and debated the concept of representative bureaucracy as far back as Kingsley (1944). The basic premise of representative bureaucracy is that a diverse bureaucracy will lead to more responsive public policy. In this way, representative bureaucracy may help ensure that all interests are represented in the formulation and implementation of policy (Selden, 1997). While there is consensus among contemporary scholars regarding the most basic underlying idea of representative bureaucracy, many questions remain unanswered in this literature.

Scholars have yet to develop a consistent definition and measures of representative bureaucracy. Lack of consensus on the definition of representative bureaucracy may impede progress in this field both theoretically and empirically. Without an agreed upon definition, scholars may be in danger of conceptual stretching. According to Collier and Mahon (1993), conceptual stretching is the distortion that occurs when a concept is applied to an increasing number of new

cases in which it may not have a sufficiently similar meaning from one case to the next. Conceptual stretching threatens validity and accuracy of measurement. Thus, without a sound definition, scholars are not able to verify the accuracy of their measurements when examining the presence or effects of representative bureaucracy. It poses additional problems when trying to aggregate results across studies. Accurate measurements with some ability to aggregate across studies are imperative for evaluating important policy decisions such as the success and consequences of affirmative action policies.

Scholars have long noted the positive consequences of representative bureaucracy. The benefits include: symbolic commitment to equal access to power for various groups in society, bureaucratic expertise and experience, accurate reflection of group preferences through policy outputs as well as agenda setting, group willingness to cooperate, and more efficient use of resources (Selden, 1997). These are all required at some level for government to function properly. If representative bureaucracy has the potential to provide the ingredients necessary for effective government, it stands to reason that scholars must devise more consistent and meaningful definitions and assessments of representative bureaucracy.

Additionally, most contemporary works are contextually circumscribed focusing almost exclusively on descriptive representation of race and gender among street and executive level bureaucrats within redistributive agencies. In addition, few studies compare representation across levels or policy areas. Other bodies of literature, such as organizational theory and policy, have explored the differences

between levels and policy types. Scholars have not yet analyzed how these differences may shape the process of representation. .

Representative bureaucracy is a concept that is important for scholars as well as policymakers. In addition to the positive effects, it is imperative that scholars pay close attention to the potential costs of representative bureaucracy. There are several possible areas where trade-offs may occur. First, increasing representation for one group may occur at the expense of another group. This possible zero-sum effect should be taken into account in the overall analysis of representative bureaucracy. Additionally, representative bureaucracy may have negative effects on organizational goals such as efficiency and accountability. Scholars need to understand the potential costs of representative bureaucracy in order to develop mechanisms by which to mediate them. To date, studies of these questions have been limited and produced contradictory findings.

A recent case that illustrates the potential for group trade-offs is the New Haven firefighter's case. In *Ricci v. DeStefano* (2009), the city of New Haven did not accept the results of promotion examinations based on statistical disparate racial impact as white candidates had outperformed minority candidates. The lower courts upheld the city's decision, but the Supreme Court reversed this decision by a 5-4 vote arguing the city's action violated Title VII (McConnell and Pierre, 2009). This case highlights the enduring questions of potential group trade-offs as the results of the exam pitted Hispanics against African Americans, persons with disabilities against persons of color.

The existing limitations in the field of representative bureaucracy appear to be driven in part by theoretical restrictions and data availability. Most empirical studies rely on quantitative policy output. For example, education studies typically use standardized test scores to measure active representation. In order to overcome the limitations created by a lack of data availability, this project will examine bureaucrats' role perception, focusing specifically on how they view their role as representatives. While a significant amount of legislative literature focuses on role perception, scholars have yet to fully explore whether and how bureaucrats view themselves as representatives.

Understanding how bureaucrats see themselves as representatives is important for several reasons. First, as previously noted, relying on quantitative policy outputs restricts the context by which representative bureaucracy can be studied. The concept of role perception has the potential to allow scholars to break through the restrictions created by problematic data collection that have limited studies of representative bureaucracy to relatively few contexts. Focusing on bureaucratic role perception allows this concept to be studied regardless of the organizational context. In addition, it offers the possibility to make comparisons between bureaucrats at different levels of the bureaucracy and different types of agencies. Understanding how bureaucrats' view their role as representatives and how these perceptions differ or remain constant across levels and agencies is a critical step in developing more precise definitions and measures of representative bureaucracy and its consequences. Finally, studying role perception offers the

potential to provide insight into future empirical possibilities that have been ignored up to this point.

This type of exploratory work is useful in a field that is riddled with so many gaps and inconsistencies. The results of this project will provide fertile grounds for more narrow and specific empirical inquiry in the future. This project will attempt to clarify our existing understanding of representative bureaucracy as well as expand the way we study this concept. The analysis provides guidance on how to define and measure representative bureaucracy in a more specific and subsequently more meaningful way.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Despite the growing body of representative bureaucracy literature, there are still many unanswered questions in the field. The three primary research questions this project seeks to answer are:

1. How should we define representative bureaucracy? Theoretically, what does the term representation mean as it applies to bureaucracy?

This project seeks to provide insight to this question by exploring how bureaucrats conceptualize representation. Despite inconsistencies throughout the literature, most scholars use the term representative bureaucracy as a synonym for descriptive representation. In other words, representative bureaucracy is based on demographic similarities between bureaucrats and the population. Does representative bureaucracy require descriptive representation? Furthermore, when studying descriptive representation as it applies to the bureaucracy, what

characteristics are important to consider? Kingsley's original treatment of representative bureaucracy dealt primarily with social class. However, most contemporary scholars focus exclusively on race and gender.

In order to better define representative bureaucracy, this project shifts the level of analysis seeking to provide clarity to the concept of representative bureaucracy by examining how bureaucrats conceptualize representation as it applies to their role. Bureaucrats are asked directly whether and how they see themselves as representatives. Additionally, this project seeks to further enhance our understanding of the concept of representative bureaucracy by exploring the possibility of representative bureaucracy outside of descriptive representation and looking beyond the most commonly studied characteristics of race and gender.

2. How should we measure representative bureaucracy?

Most studies of active representation focus exclusively on quantitative policy outputs from street or executive level bureaucrats at redistributive agencies. The most common setting for studying active representation is education studies which rely on quantitative measures such as standardized test scores. Studies of other organizations have also relied on similar policy outputs. For example, Selden (1997) examines active representation in the Farmers Home Administration using the number of rural housing loans awarded as the dependent variable.

By exploring the concept of bureaucratic role perception, this project seeks to expand our understanding of representative bureaucracy and how active

representation can be measured empirically. For example, during focus groups and interviews bureaucrats are asked to describe the tasks that they perform that they consider acts of representation. Using more qualitative data, rather than relying strictly on quantitative policy outputs illuminates the concept of active representation and provides insight into alternative data sources that may be used in future studies to measure active representation. In other words, this qualitative data provides insight into future quantitative measures. Analyzing this data also facilitates understanding of potential differences between bureaucrats at types of agencies and levels of the bureaucracy.

3. What are the challenges and implications of representative bureaucracy?

Theoretical and empirical research demonstrates multiple positive effects representative bureaucracy can have, particularly for groups in society previously under-represented or facing discrimination. For example, Meier and England (1984) find that increasing the number of black teachers leads to less discrimination toward black students. There are many similar studies in the literature. However, little research examines the potential costs of representative bureaucracy. Are the effects of representative bureaucracy ever zero-sum? For example, as one group increases in substantive policy representation, are there any negative consequences for other groups? In addition, is there a trade-off between organizational values such as efficiency or accountability and representative bureaucracy? The existing literature on these questions is very limited, contradictory, and inconclusive.

This project will take a new approach to analyzing the effects of representative bureaucracy. It will specifically examine how bureaucrats view potential trade-offs in three different contexts:

A) Does increasing descriptive representation in bureaucracies produce a trade-off between one minority group and another minority group (or non-minority group)?

B) Does increasing descriptive representation in bureaucracies produce costs related to organizational efficiency?

C) Does increasing descriptive representation in bureaucracies produce costs related to political accountability?

This is another area that the concept of role perception can help illuminate. To this point, scholars have relied solely on quantitative policy outputs to measure potential trade-offs. This creates an obstacle for the field of representative bureaucracy because it limits the study of to those instances where quantitative policy outputs are readily available. Instead, this project will examine bureaucrats' views of the potential trade-offs. In addition, this project will compare these views at different levels and agencies.

METHODOLOGY

To improve our understanding of representative bureaucracy, this project will first critically analyze the existing literature in the field of representative bureaucracy in order to gain a comprehensive portrait of the understanding of this concept to date. In addition to a comprehensive literature review, a database will be

constructed which will facilitate a meta-analysis of the literature to this point. This critical analysis will include both theoretical and empirical pieces and will demonstrate the prevalence of the previously noted weaknesses in the literature. This analysis will highlight the specific weaknesses in the area of representative bureaucracy and provide direction for future research. In addition to highlighting the existing weaknesses, this project seeks to broaden our understanding of the concept of representative bureaucracy. This study informs the field by highlighting ways to disaggregate the term theoretically and broaden the empirical lens by which we study representative bureaucracy.

The primary methodology for this project is Q Methodology. Q Methodology is a mixed method which incorporates both quantitative and qualitative techniques for inductive research. Due to the current state of the literature and lack of research in certain areas of the field, an exploratory approach is necessary in order to inform and move the field forward. Q Methodology is an appropriate tool for this type of inductive, exploratory research.

Q Methodology is a two step process. For the initial phase of research, in-depth interviews and focus groups were conducted with government employees. From these responses, a representative sample of statements was selected. For the second phase of the project, respondents were asked to read these statements and rank-order them according to their level of agreement or disagreement. These responses were then factor analyzed and interpreted in order to uncover various perspectives on representative bureaucracy.

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

Factor analysis of the Q sorts reveals four distinct bureaucratic worldviews – Leaders, Traditional Bureaucrats, Identity Empathizers, and Diversity Advocates. The four perspectives reveal important possible nuances in the theory of representative bureaucracy. These differences merit further theoretical and empirical attention.

Leaders and Traditional Bureaucrats do not strongly reflect the values of representative bureaucracy theory but instead emphasize the role of organizational leadership and hierarchy. Leaders emphasize the importance of individual values and organizational leadership over diversity and demographic characteristics. Traditional Bureaucrats highlight differences in discretion and accountability according to the level of the organization. While Traditional Bureaucrats agree that everyone in the organization should see representation as part of their role, they suggest those at higher levels of the organization have a greater representational role, and they designate the public interest rather than specific groups as the target of this representation.

Identity Empathizers and Diversity Advocates present views more consistent with theories of representative bureaucracy; however, there are important differences between the two perspectives. Identity Empathizers reveal a perspective reflective of contemporary theories of representative bureaucracy emphasizing the role of descriptive representation and specific demographic characteristics while Diversity Advocates present a view more consistent with

traditional theories of representative bureaucracy. Diversity Advocates emphasize general organizational diversity and representation of the public interest as opposed to specific demographic characteristics or representation of specific groups. One of the key differences between these two groups is that Identity Empathizers appear to embrace a personal relationship with constituents based on shared identities through demographic similarities while Diversity Advocates focus on general organizational diversity.

These four worldviews are important because they suggest the concept of representative bureaucracy may be multi-faceted, and current approaches to its study may not be adequate. For some, representation is linked to descriptive representation, while for others it is not. Additionally, some designate the public interest as the target of representation rather than specific groups. Finally, some highlight the importance of individuals at higher levels of the organization. These varying perspectives will be further explored in the remaining chapters.

Additionally, the project uncovers several nuances not yet explored in representative bureaucracy literature. First, the results suggest that representative bureaucracy may occur without descriptive representation, and characteristics other than race and gender may be important. These characteristics include language, education, income, socioeconomic background, whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area, occupation, ideology, gender, age, race, religion, whether or not you have children, and place of birth. The possibilities of active representation without descriptive representation as well as characteristics other than race and

gender have received little attention in contemporary literature. This project suggests that these are potentially important areas for the field of representative bureaucracy that merit further attention.

Second, the data reveals all agency types and levels of the bureaucracy should be considered valid for empirical studies in the field of representative bureaucracy. However, organizational factors such as the policy type and level of the organization may play a role in shaping how representation occurs. Third, there may be alternative data sources that can be used to measure active representation other than policy outputs. Respondents indicate a variety of tasks that they perform in their organization which they consider acts of representation, and empirical studies should broaden how they operationalize this concept. For example, respondents indicate policy input as a task of representation. This policy advocacy should be explored as a way to measure active representation. In addition, respondents also indicate the possibility that indirect representation may occur in organizations whereby individuals shape how others in the organization perceive their role as a representative and/or bureaucrats shape the behavior of their clients in a way that positively affects policy outcomes. This possibility also needs further empirical investigation.

Finally, bureaucrats do not appear to perceive much cost to representative bureaucracy. In fact, the respondents in this study overwhelming suggest that in addition to the aforementioned positive consequences, additional positive effects may occur such as increasing organizational accountability and efficiency.

All of these results point to additional empirical work that is needed in the field. Scholars should further examine the different perspectives on representative bureaucracy revealed in the Q Sort analysis. Additionally, empirical studies should examine the extent to which representation may occur outside of descriptive representation and further explore the characteristics that may be important outside of race and gender. The relationship between organizational variables and the process of representation also merits further attention. Alternative data sources may be necessary in order to assess representative bureaucracy in different contexts. Finally, the potential trade-offs of representative bureaucracy need further exploration.

OUTLINE OF REMAINING CHAPTERS

Chapter Two focuses on the existing literature in the field of representative bureaucracy. The origins and importance of representative bureaucracy are discussed. In addition, a meta-analysis of the literature to date is performed which reveals weaknesses in the existing literature and highlights potential for future research. Chapter Three describes Q-methodology, explains why it is appropriate for this study, and details its application to this project. Chapters Four through Seven describe the empirical insights from this project. Chapter Four describes the different perspectives on representative bureaucracy revealed by the Q sort analysis. Chapter Five focuses on defining and measuring representative bureaucracy, exploring how bureaucrats see representation and the role of descriptive representation. Additionally, it examines how the organizational context affects

representative bureaucracy. Chapter Six explores alternative data sources and the possibility for direct and indirect representation within organizations. Chapter Seven analyzes the potential trade-off in representative bureaucracy. Chapter Eight summarizes the results and implications and highlights future research possibilities in the field.

CHAPTER TWO
BUREAUCRACY AS AN INSTITUTION OF REPRESENTATION

Modern bureaucracies hold considerable power, the legitimacy of which occupies a central debate in the field of public administration. The political power vested in the bureaucracy coupled with a lack of direct electoral accountability raises important questions about the role of the bureaucracy in a constitutional democracy (Selden, 1997). The notion of representative bureaucracy arises partly as a way to reconcile the legitimacy of bureaucratic power and democratic theory.

BUREAUCRATIC POWER AND LEGITIMACY

Bureaucratic Power

While scholars have not developed a consensus regarding how to best define and measure bureaucratic power, scholars agree that modern bureaucracies are powerful institutions in contemporary democracies (Krislov, 1974; Hill, 1992; Selden, 1997). Government bureaucracies in the United States are no exception. In fact, there are environmental conditions within the American political system that may make bureaucracies in the United States even more powerful than their international counterparts.

Hill (1992) outlines the various sources of bureaucratic power, distinguishing between powers inherent in the nature of bureaucracy and those unique to the American political system. Inherent sources of bureaucratic power include: legal resources, material resources, strategic-organizational resources, and

political-action resources. Modern bureaucracies are created, defined, and legitimized by law. In addition, relative to their private counterparts, bureaucracies have important material resources including large budgets, staff, and equipment. Strategic-organizational resources include monopoly status, expertise, and decision-making powers. Finally, bureaucracies harness all of their resources in order to put policies into action through implementation.

According to Hill (1992), the unique political environment in America gives its bureaucracies additional bases of power. Due to the separation of powers, no specific branch of government is charged with overseeing or protecting bureaucratic agencies resulting in a politically proactive bureaucracy. In addition, the legislature, through necessity or convenience, drafts vague legislation which bureaucratic agencies must implement, thus giving them latitude in the policy process.

Bureaucracies have power in each stage of the policy process: agenda setting, formulation, adoption, implementation, and evaluation (Selden, 1997). This bureaucratic discretion falls into two broad categories:

> "(1) the authority to make legislative-like policy decisions, and
>
> (2) the authority to decide how general policies apply to specific cases" (Bryner, 1987; 6).

The bureaucratic power that results from this administrative discretion leads to tension with democratic theory (Krislov, 1974; Cook, 1992; Selden 1997). Much of what the bureaucracy does is outside of the span of control of political officials and subsequently lacks electoral accountability mechanisms. How can an institution of

unelected officials be legitimate under a constitutional democracy? One way that scholars have sought to answer this question and to reconcile the emerging disconnection between democracy and bureaucracy is through the theory of representative bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic Legitimacy

Scholars have long noted the tensions between bureaucracy and democratic theory. Multiple theoretical approaches have been used to legitimize the bureaucracy. Early scholars tried to legitimize the bureaucracy by separating politics from administration. For example, Wilson (1887) prescribes the classic administration-politics dichotomy whereby policymaking should be left to political bodies (specifically Congress), and administrators should be subordinate to the wishes of the elected officials. Other early scholars echo Wilson's separation of what is political and what is administrative, arguing decisions of administrators should not be political, but should only involve decisions over policy execution (Goodnow, 1900; Willoughby, 1919). These early approaches reflect a principal-agent model where bureaucracies act as the agents whose appropriate role is to serve as instruments to carry out the will of politicians who are the principals (Cook, 1992).

The separation between what is political and what is administrative allowed early scholars to avoid questions over bureaucratic legitimacy and accountability (Selden, 1997). The ultimate failure of the administration-politics dichotomy is that it did not reflect reality. The nature of bureaucracies is inherently political, and

administration is inseparable from politics. Once this reality became clear, scholars began to raise questions about bureaucratic accountability, responsibility, and responsiveness (Dahl, 1947; Simon, 1947; Selden, 1997).

The questions that naturally emerge from this discussion are to whom are (or should) bureaucrats accountable, responsible, and responsive? And, how do we ensure accountability, responsibility, and responsiveness? Gilbert (1959) outlines four basic theoretical approaches to securing administrative responsibility: internal formal, external formal, external informal and internal informal. The formal approaches reflect the early principal-agent models and embody the same weaknesses. The first position, the internal formal, rests on Presidential direction and control of administrators. For example, the President has the authority to exercise control over bureaucratic agencies through processes such as budgeting and personnel management. The external formal works in a similar way but rests instead on Congressional and/or judicial control of the bureaucracy. Under this approach Congress should provide explicit directives to bureaucrats concerning policy implementation. Similarly, the judicial branch should exercise control over the bureaucracy because of an emphasis on the rule of law. Critics of these principal-agent approaches insist formal controls are not feasible, and additional mechanisms of control are necessary in order to ensure responsibility.

The now classic Friedrich-Finer debate illustrates the ongoing question of the best way to secure administrative responsibility and legitimacy. According to Friedrich (1940), the expansion of the scope and functions of bureaucracy inevitably

made securing bureaucratic responsibility more difficult. The prevalence of ambiguous and contradictory policy leads to a growth of bureaucratic power that is outside of the control of elected officials. As a practical matter, it is impossible for elected officials to enforce responsible behavior, and subsequently additional mechanisms are necessary.

In contrast, Finer (1941) maintains a principal-agent approach arguing that relying on internal responsibility is counter to democratic governance, and the administrator should be under the control of the elected official to the "most minute degree that is technically feasible"(336). Despite the problems doing so, rather than abandoning political responsibility, these difficulties should be fixed in order to provide more external control rather than turning to internal control mechanisms.

The questions raised by Friedrich and Finer as to how to best secure administrative responsibility are central to reconciling bureaucracy and democratic theory. Like Friedrich and Finer, other scholars have espoused different views on the best way to secure administrative responsibility. In addition to formal control mechanisms, Gilbert (1959) argues there are two additional approaches: external informal and internal informal. The external informal approach rests on relationships between the bureaucracy and interest groups. These pluralist theories suggest that bureaucratic legitimacy rests in the functional representation of organized interests. Cook (1992) states, "The actions of the state are justified when groups of citizens with common interests are well represented in the policy process, or better yet, when the policy process is in essence the interaction of organized

groups" (412). Friedrich's argument reflects this approach. Friedrich concludes, "Still if all the different devices are kept operative and new ones developed as opportunity offers, democratic government by pooling many different interests and points of view continues to provide the nearest approximation to a policy-making process which will give the 'right' results" (24). Critics of the external informal approach maintain that the pluralist approach not only fails to confer legitimacy on the bureaucracy but further contradicts constitutional theory. Cook states,

> Organizing executive agencies along pluralist lines is not a confirmation but a contradiction of the fundamental operating principal of the constitutional system. When Madison speaks of 'supplying, by opposite and rival interests, the defect of better motives' he does not mean government, including its administrative component should be an arena for tournaments of factions, so that agreement is achieved 'by the parceling out of relative advantage….(Cook, 1992).

Cook goes on to explain additional problems with the external informal or pluralist approach. He argues that the fundamental mission of some agencies is to serve a particular group of interests. Introducing the pluralist approach to these agencies would undermine this mission.

Shortcomings in the principal-agent and pluralist models led to the development of additional approaches to bureaucratic legitimacy (Cook, 1992). The informal internal approach emphasizes characteristics within the bureaucracy such as professionalism, ethics, and demographic representation as mechanisms ensuring bureaucratic responsibility (Gilbert, 1959).

The theory of representative bureaucracy falls under the informal internal approach and has been advanced as a way to reconcile the previously noted tensions

between bureaucracy and democratic theory. According to representative bureaucracy theory, while formal control mechanisms are not viable for ensuring adequate responsibility and accountability from the bureaucracy, a sufficiently diverse bureaucracy and one that is demographically representative can ensure that policies are responsive to the public (Cook, 1992).

REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY LITEATURE: AN OVERVIEW

Early Literature

Kingsley (1944) is given credit for the term representative bureaucracy. While Kingsley never explicitly defines representative bureaucracy, his argument embodies the internal informal approach to bureaucratic responsibility. According to Kingsley, bureaucratic responsibility hinges on broad representation. Kingsley states, "As a matter of fact, of course, the essence of responsibility is psychological rather than mechanical. It is to be sought in an identity of aim and point of view, in a common background of social prejudice, which leads the agent to act as though he were the principal" (282-283). Thus, through achieving a bureaucracy that reflects the public, one can maintain the essence of bureaucratic responsibility without external or formal mechanisms of control.

Kingsley's theory of representative bureaucracy rests on the idea of descriptive representation. Pitkin (1967) explains, unlike formal representation which relies primarily on what one does, descriptive representation relies on what one is like. Under theories of descriptive representation, something is said to represent if it is "sufficiently like" what it attempts to represent. From this

perspective, a body is representative if it accurately mirrors the composition of the public at large or reflects public opinion. Pitkin (1967) states, "Other writers require that the legislature be a 'mirror of the nation' or of public opinion, that it 'mirror' the people, the state of public consciousness, or the movement of social and economic forces in the nation" (61).

Kingsley's work is based on the British Civil Service. Due to the class structure of Britain, his major concern is the class composition of the civil service. Kingsley states,

> No group in society can safely be entrusted with power who do not themselves mirror the dominant forces in society; for they will act in an irresponsible manner or will be liable to corruption at the hands of the dominant group. Neither alternative has occurred in England since 1855, for the British bureaucracy has been representative of the ruling middle classes since that time (283).

Long (1952) provides additional support for the notion that representative bureaucracy can help to reconcile questions of constitutional legitimacy raised by the power of the bureaucracy. According to Long, legislative supremacy or the idea that the legislative branch can control the bureaucracy is not possible. Bureaucracies are powerful actors in the policy process, and that power is a permanent part of policymaking in the U.S. Due to bureaucratic discretion, the bureaucracy is not simply an instrument to translate the will of the legislature, but it is a medium for determining public will. While some suggest that the power of the bureaucracy poses problems under constitutional theory, Long disagrees. He suggests that under constitutional theory, all values must be represented, and the bureaucracy is instrumental in achieving this representation.

According to Long, Congress fails to adequately represent all interests, and the bureaucracy provides more effective representation of otherwise under-represented interests. Several factors make the bureaucracy a more effective instrument of representation. First, it is under the executive branch which is set up to be more responsive toward long range, broad interests and expert opinions. This is due to national constituency and the shield of executive power which restricts tyranny of narrow interests that may emerge in Congress. In addition, the recruitment procedures used in the civil service help to ensure that civil servants reflect the general population. Long concludes that the bureaucracy is more representative of the general public and subsequently more likely to represent broad interests. In order to fill this representative role, the bureaucracy must reflect the public both in ethos and composition.

While Kingsley and Long provide initial theoretical justifications for representative bureaucracy, they never explicitly define the concept. Subsequent scholars such as Van Riper (1958) provide more explicit definitions of the term.

According to Van Riper,

> A representative bureaucracy is one in which there is a minimal distinction between the bureaucrats as a group and their administrative behavior and practices on the one hand and the community or societal membership and its administrative behavior, practices and expectations of government on the other. Or to put it another way, the term representative bureaucracy is meant to suggest a body of officials which is broadly representative of the society in which it functions and which in social ideals is as close as possible to the grass roots of the nation (552).

Passive and Active Representation

Kingsley's original treatment of representative bureaucracy rests solely on demographic similarity. Since the term's inception, scholars have added to our understanding of representative bureaucracy by including policy aspects along with demographic characteristics. In other words, demographic similarities in the bureaucracy are important because they may lead to more responsive public policy. While several early scholars, such as Long, discuss policy aspects of representative bureaucracy, it is Mosher (1968) who is most often given credit for the division of representation into passive and active forms, and most scholars of representative bureaucracy divide representation into active and passive representation based on his discussion (Lim, 2006).

According to Mosher, passive representation refers to simply mirroring the public demographically. Mosher states, "The passive (or sociological) meaning of representativeness concerns the source of origin of individuals and the degree to which, collectively, they mirror the total society" (12). Active representation is when bureaucrats actually make policy decisions in favor of the group they passively represent. Mosher explains, "There is an active (or responsible) representativeness wherein an individual (or administrator) is expected to press for the interests or desires of those whom he is presumed to represent, whether they be the whole people or some segment of the people"(12).

Both passive and active forms of representation are important to the democratic nature of the bureaucracy. Passive representation, or the degree to

which the bureaucracy demographically reflects the population, provides legitimacy and symbolic benefits because it demonstrates equal opportunity to all groups (Mosher, 1968; Krislov, 1974; Selden 1997). Most early empirical research focused on measuring passive representation. These studies examined the level of diversity within the bureaucracy or the extent to which the bureaucracy reflected the demographic make-up of the population. For example, Krislov (1974) compares the percentage of minority federal employees to the percentage of minorities employed in the private sector.

Contemporary scholars have shifted their attention to studying active representation. The focus of active representation studies has been measuring the extent to which passive representation leads to favorable policy outcomes for minority groups. These favorable policy outcomes may occur in several ways. First, minority bureaucrats may use their discretionary powers to make decisions that favor the minority group. This is the most commonly studied form of active representation (Lim, 2006).

Empirical studies of active representation have found that increasing minorities in an organization can produce favorable benefits for minority constituents. For example, Meier and Stewart (1992) examine the link between the race of school teachers and administrators and various discretionary decisions made on behalf of students. The findings suggest that as the number of minority teachers and administrators increases, there are positive outcomes for minority students. The dependent variables used in this study are ability grouping and discipline. These are

both discretionary decisions that have been subject to litigation based on racial bias. Ability grouping is the classification of students to different categories based on perceived abilities. Examples of groupings include educable mentally retarded, trainable mentally retarded and gifted students. Several discipline measures are also studied including corporal punishment, in-school suspension, out-of-school suspension, expulsion, and court referrals. The findings suggest that across these two measures, increasing the number of minority teachers and administrators leads to positive results for minority students.

Other studies of the potential link between passive and active representation have found similar evidence supporting the claim that descriptive representation leads to favorable policy outputs. For example, Selden (1997) examines the possible link between passive representation and favorable policy outcomes in the Farmer's Home Administration's Rural Housing Loans program and finds that increasing minority loan officers leads to increasing numbers of loans awarded to minority applicants.

Similarly, Hindera (1993) examines the relationship between minority officers at the EEOC and the number of charges filed on behalf of minorities. The evidence from this study suggests that increasing the numbers of African American and Hispanic officers led to an increase in the numbers of charges filed on behalf of these groups.

According to Lim (2006), there are additional ways that favorable outcomes may occur as a result of descriptive representation. Lim argues that passive

representation may also lead to positive outcomes if increasing the presence of minorities induces changes in the behavior of the client. For example, increasing the number of female math teachers may lead to increased performance by female math students if the female students perceive the female teachers as role models and are subsequently motivated to perform better. Lim (2006) terms this type of representation co-production and argues it is rarely studied in the representative bureaucracy literature. While there is a growing body of literature that deals with the issue of co-production, representative bureaucracy scholars have not incorporated this concept into this literature.

The lack of attention to co-production is problematic for the field of representative bureaucracy on several grounds. First, ignoring this phenomenon may overlook important instances when passive representation leads to positive policy outcomes. Additionally, as Lim argues, the failure to examine issues of co-production is problematic because scholars are not able to distinguish the source of the policy outcome. In other words, is the positive output due to acts of discretion by the bureaucrat or positive action taken by the client because of the bureaucrat? This concept will be further analyzed throughout the remaining chapters.

A META-ANALYSIS OF THE LITERATURE

Since Kingsley introduced the term, the field of representative bureaucracy has advanced both theoretically and empirically. Scholars have demonstrated the importance of representative bureaucracy as well as empirically analyzed its presence and effects. Despite these advancements, many questions persist in the

field. The remainder of this chapter will report a meta-analysis of the existing literature in the field of representative bureaucracy. The focus of the analysis will be how scholars define and measure representative bureaucracy. This analysis will provide a detailed and more systematic overview of existing literature and highlight existing questions in the field.

Method

A database was constructed which facilitates a meta-analysis of the literature to this point. The database, while not exhaustive, is designed to represent the work characteristic of this field. Several criteria were used in order to identify article selection and ensure a representative sample of work. First, each piece included in the database deals specifically with the concept of "representative bureaucracy". In order to provide analytical clarity, works dealing with related topics such as affirmative action/workplace diversity are not included in the current analysis.

Second, an internet search was performed on the term "representative bureaucracy" through both JSTOR and Google Scholar. From this search, the top twenty-five articles/books returned from each database were included in the analysis. The search was restricted to the top twenty-five works because moving beyond this, the concept of representative bureaucracy becomes less central to the overall aim of the piece. Book reviews and rejoinders were excluded if lacking all the relevant information needed for the database. Third, works were selected based on their historical significance to the development of this topic, and multiple articles of the most prominent scholars in this field were included in the analysis. The

historical relevance and prominence in the field was determined by repetition of citation throughout the other pieces included in the database. Finally, a search was performed to locate the most recent publications on this topic.

This method produced a total of fifty scholarly articles whose central focus is representative bureaucracy. The overall sample includes theoretical and empirical pieces with a publication range from 1944 through 2007 written by a variety of authors.[1] Again, this list is not exhaustive but should reflect the central works characteristic to this field.

Variables

The articles were coded according to ten central variables. Variables were selected based on their ability to assess how scholars define and measure representative bureaucracy.

Method: Is the methodology quantitative or qualitative? According to King, Keohane, and Verba (1994), quantitative research relies primarily on numerical measurements and statistical methods. Qualitative research, on the other hand, includes a variety of approaches such as in-depth interviews and historical analysis but generally does not rely on numerical measurements. For the purposes of this study, pieces were categorized as quantitative, qualitative, mixed method, historical or theoretical. While historical and theoretical studies are generally considered qualitative, for the purposes of this analysis, it was useful to further separate these

[1] See Appendix 1 for a full list of citations included in the database.

studies from other qualitative analyses such as those using interviews or focus groups.

Definition: Does the article provide a formal definition of representative bureaucracy?

Active/Passive: Does the article discuss and/or measure passive or active representation? The distinction between these two types of representation is based on Mosher (1968) whereby passive representation implies that the bureaucracy mirrors the public demographically. Active representation suggests substantive policy representation rather than simple descriptive representation.

Forms of representation: Does the article discuss or measure any forms of representation other than descriptive representation? For the purposes of this study, a person descriptively represents another if they have similar backgrounds or share demographic characteristics.

Unit of analysis: What specific bureaucrats are studied (i.e. Teachers, police officers, etc.)?

Level: What level of the bureaucracy is examined? The categories included in this variable are street level, middle management, and upper level bureaucrats. This specific division reflects Guyot's (1998) head, shoulder, and body analogy of the bureaucracy. These three levels offer broad applicability across a wide number of pieces analyzing a variety of agency types and policy areas.

Lowi's typology: What type of policy area does the article examine? The categories for this variable are based on Lowi's (1985) typology and include Distributive,

Regulatory, Redistributive, and Constituent. Lowi (1985) classifies agencies according to four models based on the primary policy area of the agency. Each of these agency types has a distinct political culture, political process, elites and group relationships. Regulatory agencies, such as law enforcement agencies, implement control policies, generally through coercive measures. Distributive Agencies, such as the Department of Highway Safety and Motor Vehicles, are based on client/patron relationships and they exist to foster and promote the needs of their clients. The primary function of Redistributive agencies is to reallocate wealth; examples include health, education and welfare agencies. Finally, constituent agencies, such as budgeting or personnel agencies, make rules that govern other agencies (rather than making rules that govern citizen conduct or status). These rules are usually jurisdictional or operating rules (Newman, 1994).

Measurement: How does the piece measure passive representation? Scholars use a variety of methods to measure passive representation: percentages, representative index, measure of variation, Lorenz curve or Gini index. Each method provides a somewhat different perspective on measuring representative bureaucracy. Scholars using percentages simply calculate the percentage of bureaucrats with the characteristic of interest (such as gender or race). The representative index is similar to this method except it compares the percentage of bureaucrats with a given characteristic to the existence of this characteristic within a relevant population. The measure of variation assesses the level of integration within an organization. According to Selden (1997), "The measure of variation is estimated by dividing the

observed number of racial/ethnic differences in an agency by the 'maximum number of differences that could occur given the total number of employees in the agency and equal representation of each racial/ethnic group'" (48-49). The Lorenz Curve and the Gini Index illustrate the representational equality between the bureaucracy and the population. These two measures illustrate the difference between perfect equality and the existing level of inequality (Selden, 1997).

Descriptors: What specific demographic variables (race, gender, etc.) are discussed and/or measured?

Target of Representation: Who is the target of representation? In the database, pieces were coded as representing the public interest, specific groups, or other interests such as legislative mandates.

Findings and Discussion

The literature suggests that theoretically, one of the major weaknesses in representative bureaucracy literature is a failure to adequately define the concept (Meier, 1975; Meier and Nigro, 1976; Subramanian, 1967; Evans, 1974). What does representation mean as it applies to bureaucracy? Lack of consensus on a definition is potentially problematic for the field because it could lead to conceptual stretching. Conceptual stretching is the distortion that occurs when a concept is applied to an increasing number of new cases in which it may not have a sufficiently similar meaning from one case to the next. Conceptual stretching threatens validity and measurement accuracy (Collier and Mahon, 1993). Without a more universally accepted definition, scholars are not able to easily verify the accuracy of their

measurements. In addition, without consistent measures it is difficult to aggregate studies in order to evaluate the overall presence and effects of representative bureaucracy. This in turn hinders evaluation of important policy decisions such as affirmative action.

Early representative bureaucracy literature introduces many of the definitional inconsistencies and difficulties noted in contemporary work. According to Subramanian (1967), the confusion begins with Kingsley. Kingsley (1944) never explicitly defines representative bureaucracy and, in fact, he offers several inconsistent definitions. On the one hand he uses representation in a manner consistent with classic interpretations of descriptive representation. For example, Kingsley points to the Foreign Service as "unrepresentative" arguing it is composed primarily of an elite social class, and it is out of touch with public opinion (163). Other times Kingsley presents an understanding of representation that is not consistent with classic interpretations of descriptive representation. At one point he argues the bureaucracy is representative when it reflects those who govern rather than the public at large. He goes on to argue the bureaucracy is representative when the ministers and civil servants share background characteristics (273). Sometimes Kingsley is simply ambiguous on the term's meaning. Toward the end of his argument he suggests the bureaucracy must represent those they serve (305). But, whom do they serve – the public or the legislature or the executive? These contradictory conceptions of representative bureaucracy point to one of the primary problems in this literature: how do we define representative bureaucracy?

As Table 2.1 shows, most of the works in the database make some attempt to define representative bureaucracy. However, 28% offer no definition, and an additional 4% include multiple definitions. While most works provide a formal definition, the definitions across pieces are inconsistent and sometimes contradictory.

Table 2.1: Defining Representative Bureaucracy

Does the work provide a definition of representative bureaucracy?	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Yes	34	68%
No	14	28%
Multiple Definitions	2	4%
Total (N=50)	**50**	**100**

The following examples illustrate the variation in definitions found throughout the literature.

Stahl (1975): "Years ago what we meant by representative bureaucracy was one to which all elements of society had access to public employment" (121).

Kranz (1975): "Representative bureaucracy is one in which the ratio of each minority group in a particular government agency equals that group's percentage in the population in the area served by that office" (123).

Rehfuss (1986): "Representative bureaucracies, composed of individuals with commitments to varied group interests, occupations and classes, presumably assure internal bureaucracy struggles will produce broadly representative policies" (454).

Meier (1993): "A bureaucracy is representative in the passive sense if the bureaucrats share the same demographic origins (race, sex, education, religion, etc.)

as the general population…A bureaucracy is an active representative if it produces policy outputs that benefit the individuals who are passively represented" (393) Meier, Wrinkle, and Pollinard (1999). "Representative bureaucracy suggests that if a bureaucracy is broadly representative of the public it serves, then it is more likely to make decisions that benefit that public" (1026).

Over the years some scholars acknowledge the literature's shortcomings in defining representative bureaucracy, yet these weaknesses remain. By continuing to use a variety of definitions that are inconsistent and sometimes incompatible, current scholarship maintains the weaknesses of early scholarship. Examining the various definitions of representative bureaucracy highlights several unanswered questions. The following questions form the basis of the remaining analysis.

1. Does representative bureaucracy require passive representation?
2. What demographic characteristics should be included in studies of representative bureaucracy?
3. What level of bureaucracy and policy areas should we study?
4. How should we measure passive representation? Active representation?
5. What are the potential costs or negative effects of representative bureaucracy?

A Descriptively Representative Bureaucracy

While there is no consensus in the literature as to the formal definition of representative bureaucracy, most scholars in the field of implicitly link the term to descriptive representation. Citing Kingsley (1944) as the origin, Meier and England

(1984) argue that representative bureaucracy is *inextricably linked* to descriptive representation. For Kingsley, the major concern is the demographic composition of the bureaucracy in terms of social class composition. Most scholars continue to implicitly define representative bureaucracy as a concept linked to descriptive representation and ignore the possibility for representation to occur without descriptive likeness.

As Table 2.2 illustrates, 70% of the pieces focus exclusively on descriptive representation and do not consider the possibility of representation occurring without descriptive reflection. Of the articles that do look beyond descriptive representation, few attempt to examine representative bureaucracy (particularly active representation) empirically.

Table 2.2: Descriptive Representation

Does the piece consider any form of representation other than descriptive?	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Yes	15	30%
No	35	70%
Total (N=50)	**50**	**100**

Passive v. Active Representation

While most contemporary scholars agree that there are two separate types of representation, passive and active, there is still some ambiguity as to the specific uses of these terms. Most scholars posit that passive representation *leads to* active representation. In other words, bureaucrat A shares a characteristic such as gender with a segment of the population. Because of this shared characteristic, bureaucrat

A is more likely to actively represent this segment of the population compared to bureaucrat B who does not share this characteristic. While Mosher's definition and discussion allows for this type of linkage, Mosher also argues that active representation can occur *without* this type of passive representation. For example, Mosher argues that top level appointees in the bureaucracy do not passively represent the population in terms of wealth, education, and region. However, he contends that they may assure active representation of broad interests due to their education, experience and political orientations.

Scholars' failure to consider this important aspect of Mosher's argument results in the aforementioned weakness whereby theory and research in this area relies solely on descriptive representation without adequate consideration of representation beyond demographic congruence. Despite the field's pre-occupation with descriptive representation, recent empirical evidence supports the idea that bureaucrats that do not demographically represent their constituents are capable of (and perhaps necessary for) making policy decisions that favor them. For example, Slack (2001) argues that both direct (descriptive) and indirect representatives (those who are sympathetic but not part of the social group in question) are necessary for representative bureaucracy. In his study, Slack finds evidence of both direct and indirect representation among those involved in advocating on behalf of AIDS victims. Specifically, he finds considerable support among heterosexual and uninfected persons in the community. These findings suggest that scholars may be

ignoring critical areas where representative bureaucracy exists which may limit our overall image of its prevalence.

What characteristics should we study?

Examining the early works by scholars such as Kingsley, Long, and Van Riper, one important question emerges: if descriptive representation is important, what characteristics should be included? There does not appear to be consensus among early scholars as to what characteristics are important to the study of representative bureaucracy. Scholars of representative bureaucracy initially examined a variety of value sources such as income and religion (Meier, Wrinkle and Pollinard, 1999). While early work considered a variety of characteristics, scholars were inconsistent in their choice of characteristics and few defended their selection theoretically.

While Kingsley's (1944) primary focus is social class, this treatment did not translate well into the American context. Krislov (1974) explains, "The concept of representative bureaucracy was originally developed to argue for a less elite, less class-biased civil service. As such it was hardly of great interest in the United States…" (20). Early American scholars such as Long and Van Riper took a broader approach to representative bureaucracy arguing the composition of the bureaucracy should broadly reflect the public, but they do not specify which characteristics are important for representative bureaucracy. Later scholars attempt to address issues of what characteristics are important. According to Krislov (1974), many characteristics may influence administrative behavior including race,

language, and gender. In evaluating the representativeness of the bureaucracy, he also examines characteristics such as education, income, religious preference, age, veteran status, disabilities, whether a person is from a rural or metropolitan area, and party identification.

In contrast to earlier work, contemporary scholars typically use a narrower view of descriptive representation, focusing primarily on race and gender rather than a variety of potential characteristics. Table 2.3 shows the top five characteristics scholars discuss or measure in the literature. Race and gender are the most commonly studied characteristics, both appearing in the majority of pieces. Education, class, and age also appear but in less than 25% of the pieces. A variety of other descriptors such as region of birth, marital status, religion, party affiliation, language and sexual orientation are found scattered throughout the literature. In addition, the majority of pieces using descriptors other than race and gender use strictly theoretical analyses. There were no empirical pieces linking active and passive representation using characteristics other than race and gender.

Table 2.3: Characteristics

What characteristics are included?	*Race*	*Gender*	*Education*	*Class*	Age
Frequency	35	27	12	9	8
Percentage	70%	54%	24%	18%	16%
Total (N=50)	50	50	50	50	50

Scholars argue that race and gender should be the primary focus in the field because these are the only salient characteristics with a major impact on attitudes in

the United States. Thus, other characteristics are not expected to influence administrative behavior (Meier and Stewart, 1992; Hindera, 1993; Meier et al 1999). While many scholars defend this restricted view of descriptive representation, there is a limited body of research indicating that other characteristics may also be important to study. For example, several recent scholars look at sexual orientation as a characteristic potentially influencing bureaucratic behavior (Theilemann and Stewart, 1996; Slack 2001). In addition, Kelly (1998) argues that age and whether or not a person is disabled may also be important characteristics to consider. Again, scholars' failure to examine other potential avenues for representation may lead to an incomplete image of representative bureaucracy. While race and gender are important (and possibly even the most important) scholars need to explore the potential relevance of other characteristics.

Measuring Representative Bureaucracy

In addition to (and partially as a result of) these unanswered theoretical questions, the literature on representative bureaucracy is riddled with empirical inconsistencies. What specifically should scholars measure in order to assess passive and active representation? To this point, scholars have relied primarily on physical characteristics and readily available quantifiable policy outputs, disregarding more qualitative evidence. For example, studies of passive representation have focused primarily on comparing the percentages of individuals in the population with a given demographic characteristic to the percentage of those in various agencies with the same demographic characteristics. Studies measuring

active representation have focused exclusively on agency outputs such as standardized test scores. Few studies have tried to explore the possibility of representative bureaucracy outside of descriptive representation. Additionally, few studies have tried to measure active representation with any type of data other than agency outputs. Qualitative data sources such as interviews and focus groups offer the possibility to provide information on the views of bureaucrats themselves and may provide valuable insight to this field.

In addition, the context in which both passive and active representation is studied has been somewhat circumscribed. Scholars have focused on very few types of agencies and policy areas in their analyses. Most studies focus on redistributive agencies and street or executive level bureaucrats. Additional data sources may also allow scholars to move beyond this restriction.

What is the most appropriate way to measure whether an organization's composition adequately reflects the public (passive representation)? Scholars in this field use a wide variety of techniques including: percentages (Meier, 1993); regression analysis (Stewart, England and Meier, 1989); and representation ratios (Selden, 1997). The most common method of measurement found in the database is simple percentages. Of the pieces specifying their method of measurement, 64% use percentages. The remaining pieces use a variety of methods including representation ratios, Gini Index and Lorenz curve, and regression analysis. Each of these methods is used in only one or two of the remaining pieces.

Some scholars argue these differences in choice of measurement are inconsequential. For example, Selden (1997) argues that despite these differences, the primary conclusions of the empirical work have been consistent across measures. However, others take issue with some of the measurement choices. Stewart et al. (1989) argues that representation ratios offer a distorted view of passive representation. Stewart et al (1989) state, "The representation index is a useful measure, but it has a significant flaw. When the black population is small, any black representation at all often results in extremely large numbers that distort the ratio" (289). This claim casts doubt on the compatibility of these measures.

Measurement issues are further complicated by the lack of a consistent definition. For example, according to some definitions, passive representation should be measured by the percentage of bureaucrats within an agency as compared to the population at large. According to other definitions, specific agencies should be compared to the specific population they serve. Again, this may distort any attempt to aggregate data or make an overall evaluation of the prevalence or effects of representative bureaucracy. The specific measurements of representative bureaucracy should be guided by the definition.

There are also several shortcomings within the literature's treatment of active representation. When measuring active representation, what should be the focus of empirical analysis? Most scholars to this point have dealt almost exclusively with quantitative analysis of policy outputs. For example, education studies typically use standardized test scores as the dependent variable. While this

method has been informative up to this point, over-reliance on these types of measures has (perhaps artificially) circumscribed the analysis and interpretation of representative bureaucracy. Recently, some scholars have begun to raise questions over the contemporary treatment of active representation. For example, Lim (2006) theoretically analyzes contemporary scholars' treatment of passive and active representation. Lim establishes a theoretical classification of the various possible sources of the substantive effects of passive representation. He then analyzes the literature according to these classifications. Through this classification he exposes various weaknesses embedded in the current understanding of passive and active representation and the potential for additional substantive effects of passive representation. Lim states,

> This article addresses perceived deficiencies in the study of representative bureaucracy by explaining and classifying the sources of passive representation's substantive effects. This classification is used to clarify existing empirical research and normative thinking on active representation. Doing so it produces a more modest but more accurate interpretation of existing research findings and helps to indicate future research needs (193).

Lim (2006) argues that scholars have taken a short-sighted view of the substantive effects of passive representation within the bureaucracy. According to Lim, studies of active representation typically focus on bureaucratic partiality. Lim (2006) states, "Partiality leads minority bureaucrats to provide more substantive benefits to members of their social group than to equally eligible members of other social groups…" (196). While conceding this is a valid form of active representation, Lim argues bureaucratic partiality is only one of the methods by

which substantive representation can occur. There are also other direct and even indirect methods by which representative bureaucracy can produce substantive effects. Other direct methods include shared values and beliefs and empathetic understanding. Even without bureaucratic partiality, through shared values and beliefs, bureaucrats sharing demographic characteristics with a group may better articulate this group's needs and interests and subsequently enhance the quality of services received by that group. Lim states, "Shared values and beliefs and empathetic understanding constitute sources of substantive effects because they lead minority bureaucrats to articulate the interests of their social group as decision inputs and to take these interests into proper account in their own decisions and actions" (196). According to Lim, shared values, beliefs and empathetic understanding can produce substantive benefits regardless of bureaucratic partiality, but they still require adequate representation of a social group in the bureaucracy in order to ensure fair service.

In addition, Lim (2006) contends there are also multiple indirect methods by which active representation can occur. Indirect methods occur by influencing the behavior of others – either by influencing the behavior of others in the organization or by the behavior of the constituents. One indirect method of representation occurs through physically checking the behavior of others. For example, a minority bureaucrat may express disapproval of discriminatory behavior. Perhaps more importantly, they may also prevent discrimination through prior restraint. Lim states, "More important is the prior restraint felt by other bureaucrats acting on their

bias (not just against the minority group but also in favor of their own) for fear of being disapproved of, exposed or otherwise checked by minority bureaucrats" (197). Additionally, increasing the number of minority bureaucrats may lead to re-socialization, a process by which over time the minority bureaucrats may actually change values and beliefs of others instead of just behaviors.

Lim (2006) also argues that bureaucrats may lead to more positive outcomes for their social groups by influencing the behavior of the client. He argues that this can happen in two ways: demand inducement and/or co-production. Under demand-inducement, the presence of minority bureaucrats may stimulate demand for more services from minority clients. Co-production inducement may lead to behavioral changes among minority clients that can improve program outputs and effectiveness for clients.

Lim's argument suggests that the literature to this point may be short-sighted in its evaluation of active representation. To this point, scholars have focus exclusively on bureaucratic partiality through analyzing quantitative policy outputs. Very few scholars discuss attempt to measure other sources of substantive representation. Lim argues that the field needs to move beyond the current passive-active framework and expand the empirical lens by which scholars study representative bureaucracy looking at additional substantive effects. Lim states, "This demonstrates the need to go beyond the passive-active distinction: It is more accurate and adequate to speak of representative bureaucracy and the sources of its

substantive effects" (194). Alternative data sources will be necessary to explore the additional possible sources of representation Lim describes.

Level of the bureaucracy

There is no consensus in the literature regarding which level of the bureaucracy to study. While some scholars focus on a specific level, in general scholars fail to theoretically differentiate the bureaucracy into levels when analyzing representative bureaucracy (Meier and Nigro, 1976). Additionally, little research has compared the effects of level of employment on representative bureaucracy.

As Table 2.4 illustrates, roughly half of the articles in the database use either a mixed or unspecified sample. Of the empirical research in representative bureaucracy focusing on specific levels of the bureaucracy, scholars provide inconsistent and incompatible justifications for their selections. Some scholars argue that top level bureaucrats must be representative because this is the level where important policy decisions are made (Meier, 1975; Riccucci and Saidel, 1997; Rehfuss, J. 1986; Kim 2003). In contrast, others argue that scholars should focus on street level bureaucrats because of their discretionary powers (Meier, 1993). As illustrated in Table 2.4, of the articles focusing on specific bureaucrats, the database shows a clear preference for studying street level and upper level bureaucrats. Studies of management are noticeably rare.

Table 2.4: Level of the bureaucracy

What level of the bureaucracy is used?	***Frequency***	**Percentage**
Street Level Bureaucrat	11	22%
Middle Management	4	8%
Executive	11	22%
Mixed	24	48%
Total (N=50)	**50**	**100**

There are also differences between studies of passive representation and active representation regarding the appropriate level of the bureaucracy to study. Of the studies which examine strictly passive representation, the preference is toward upper level bureaucrats. Most pieces use mixed or unspecified samples. Only three of the fourteen passive representation pieces specify their sample, and all focus on executive level bureaucrats. There is less consistency across pieces analyzing active representation, but again, studies of middle management are particularly sparse. Fifteen pieces focus exclusively on active representation. Of these, over half examine street or executive level bureaucrats, and only 13% of the pieces consider management level employees.

Scholars attempt to theoretically defend the choice to focus more attention toward lower level bureaucrats when studying the link between active and passive representation. Specifically, scholars argue that in order for active representation to occur and be measured, the bureaucrats in question must have discretion, and there must be a way to link their decisions to the passive characteristic. In addition, some argue that upper level bureaucrats are less important because as bureaucrats move up through the organizational hierarchy, they are not as likely to actively represent

constituents because socialization to organizational norms will at some point trump a bureaucrat's original values derived from demographic origins (Thompson, 1976; Meier, 1993). These theoretical restrictions have (perhaps artificially) circumscribed the study of active representation, restricting it to primarily street level bureaucrats.

This circumscription should be reconsidered on several grounds. First, the absence of a quantitative policy output with a direct linkage to a specific bureaucrat does not negate the presence of representative bureaucracy, and it should not preclude its study. For example, if bureaucrats are engaging in indirect representation as suggested by Lim, these acts may be overlooked by focusing strictly on agency outputs. More qualitative information such as surveys and interviews may help fill this gap. In addition, according to Lim, even if bureaucrats are socialized out of their social groups' values, they may still represent them through empathetic understanding, and there is some evidence supporting this claim. For example, Rosenbloom and Kinnard (1977) find that high ranking officials in the Department of Defense feel special responsibilities to try to meet the needs of minorities. Finally, scholars need to re-direct some of their attention toward middle level management's role in providing representation through the bureaucracy.

In addition, few studies to date have compared representative bureaucracy across different levels of the bureaucracy. Research in organizational theory and a smaller body of representative bureaucracy literature suggest that certain variables may differ according to the level of the bureaucracy in which one works. These

variables may, in turn, influence representative bureaucracy. Two important variables of consideration are decision-making incentives and discretion.

Other streams of research, such as organizational theory suggest differences commonly exist between the motivations of street level bureaucrats, management, and executives. For example, Lipsky (1980) provides an in-depth description of the environment in which street level bureaucrats work. According to Lipsky, street level bureaucrats have different interests from bureaucrats in management positions. Street level bureaucrats are typically motivated by an interest in expediency whereas management is driven by the need to maintain consistency and attain organizational objectives. Wilson (1989) echoes Lipsky's argument suggesting that bureaucrats' position within the hierarchy is one of the key factors motivating their decision-making. He divides the bureaucracy into three levels: operators, managers, and executives, arguing that each of these three levels of the bureaucracy have different motivations for the decisions they make. According to Wilson, operators are motivated by specific situational contexts, their own experiences and beliefs, peer expectations, and the interests of the organization. Managers, on the other hand, are shaped more by the political environment of the organization, and executives are primarily concerned with individual autonomy. These different organizational factors may influence how bureaucrats make decisions in the context of representative bureaucracy and may ultimately shape how and to what extent representation occurs in the bureaucracy.

Another important variation between levels of the bureaucracy is discretion. While discretion is a prevalent feature of contemporary American bureaucracy, the degree and type of discretion may vary within agencies at different levels. Scholars have shown the organizational context such as the level of the bureaucracy may influence the type of power that bureaucrats exercise. While upper-level officials may have the ability to shape broad programmatic goals, lower-level bureaucrats have discretionary power in the day to day implementation of these policies (Selden, 1997). Discretion may also be one of the key variables in representative bureaucracy. Sowa and Selden (2003) find that administrators who perceive themselves as having higher levels of discretion are more likely to actively represent minority interests. Similarly, Meier and Bohte (2001) find that increasing levels of discretion leads to greater likelihood of active representation.

A limited body of research in representative bureaucracy literature has systematically examined the level of employment as an independent variable. For example, Meier (1993) analyzes and compare the effects of increasing the number of minority teachers and administrators on measures of minority school performance. The findings suggest street level bureaucrats were more likely to actively represent than their management counterparts. However, increasing the numbers of minority administrators still produced positive results (albeit weaker).

The findings in the field of organizational theory and more recent representative bureaucracy literature suggest that the level of employment may be an important variable to consider in studying representative bureaucracy. While a

limited body of research has examined this variable, a more in-depth examination of this variable is necessary in order to have a thorough understanding of its effects.

Policy Area

When considering active representation, another important empirical question within this literature is what policy area to study. Much of the work up to this point dealing with specific bureaucracies and outputs uses redistributive agencies, and much of the work focuses on education. Selden (1997) argues that work measuring the link between active and passive representation has focused solely on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or studies of education policy. Selden examines the Farmers Home Administration, but few other scholars provide any variation in policy area.

As Table 2.5 shows, of the articles in the database, approximately 58% use a mixed or unspecified sample of agencies. Of those focusing on specific agencies, nearly 70% focus on some type of redistributive agency.

Table 2.5: Lowi's Typology

What policy area is studied?	***Frequency***	**Percentage**
Redistributive	14	28%
Constituent	3	6%
Regulatory	3	6%
Distributive	0	0%
Mixed	20	40%
Not Specified	10	20%
Total (N=50)	**50**	**100**

Scholars attempt to theoretically justify this exclusive focus arguing not all policy decisions are likely candidates for influence by representative bureaucracy.

As previously noted, Meier (1993) argues that passive representation is linked to active when: the demographic characteristic is salient (such as race); bureaucrats have discretion; and policy decisions are directly relevant to the passively represented characteristics. These conditions are clearly met with many redistributive policies. However, the importance of representation should not be overlooked in other agency types. If representation is the key to legitimizing the overall power of bureaucratic agencies, all agency types should be examined. It is difficult to evaluate the nature and scope of representative bureaucracy while maintaining an exclusive focus on one type of agency and excluding all others. In order to fully understand the concept of representative bureaucracy and to truly legitimize the power of bureaucracies, all agency types (distributive, regulatory, and constituent) need to be considered.

Scholars have recently expanded their scope of analysis and begun to look at other types of agencies such as law enforcement. For example, Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006) examine the relationship between the gender of police officers and sexual assault reports and arrests. The study found that police forces with larger numbers of female officers filed more sexual assault reports and made more sexual assault arrests. This study demonstrates the importance of extending studies of representative bureaucracy to different organizational contexts.

In addition to simply adding different types of agencies to representative bureaucracy studies, scholars also need to compare different types of agencies and their relationship to representative bureaucracy. According to Lowi's discussion, it

is reasonable to suspect that different types of agencies would also foster different cultures of representation. The variations Lowi discusses (political culture, political process, elites and group relationships) may also be important variables in the representational context.

Discretion, potentially a key variable in representative bureaucracy, may vary according to the agency's policy type. Some agencies operate under specific legal guidelines which give them little discretion while others operate under laws providing little guidance, thus giving the agency and the agents within that agency more discretion. Bryner (1987) notes the particular importance of discretion at regulatory agencies. Agencies administering programs such as public works, Social Security and defense procurement operate under specific statutory requirements, while regulatory laws provide less guidance.

Several scholars demonstrate empirical links between Lowi's typology or agency function and representative bureaucracy. For example, Newman (1994) uses agency type as a variable to explain female hiring and promotion in state agencies. Other authors also use agency function as a variable that influences hiring practices in administrative agencies (Cayer and Sigelman, 1980; Dometrius 1984). While scholars have established a representational link between agency function and hiring practices, the use of this variable has so far been restricted to studies of passive representation. It is possible that the same variables which structure hiring and promotion practices or relationships within the agency may also influence relationships between the bureaucrats within the agency and their clientele.

Quantitative Analysis

One of the factors potentially contributing to the aforementioned limitations is an over-reliance on quantitative data and analysis. Table 2.6 shows the distribution of methodologies throughout the database. A majority (62%) of the pieces analyzed are quantitative. Furthermore, only 12% of the works are both qualitative and empirical. Nearly one-third of these qualitative pieces rely strictly on historical analysis. While historical analysis is useful, these pieces do not answer the aforementioned questions in the field of representative bureaucracy. For example, historical analyses provide the theoretical foundation suggesting that characteristics other than race and gender are important to studies of representative bureaucracy; however, they do not test this relationship empirically. The remaining pieces use mixed methods or are completely theoretical with no empirical components.[2]

Table 2.6: Methodology

What type of methodology is used?	***Frequency***	**Percentage**
Quantitative	31	62%
Qualitative	4	8%
Mixed	7	14%
Historical	2	4%
Theoretical	6	12%
Total (N=50)	**50**	**100**

[2] It should also be noted that Newman's article was classified as mixed methods because the author suggested the use of qualitative data. However, the author's methodology did not meet the requirements of King, Keohane, and Verba for qualitative data analysis. In the section labeled qualitative, the author used very simple statistical techniques rather than more advanced regression analysis. However, the analysis was still based on a widely distributed survey instrument, the results of which were ultimately quantified.

The heavy use of quantitative data is potentially problematic for the field of representative bureaucracy for several reasons. First, as previously discussed, many theoretical ambiguities remain in the literature. More qualitative approaches may provide insight into these theoretical puzzles. Qualitative methods such as interviews and focus groups often lend useful insight into areas that need theoretical improvement. As Putnam (1993) explains, "The prudent social scientist, like the wise investor, must rely on diversification to magnify the strengths, and to offset the weaknesses, of any single instrument" (12). The field of representative bureaucracy needs to diversify its empirical techniques through the inclusion of more qualitative approaches. Qualitative analysis offers the potential to allow scholars to develop a more consistent definition of representative bureaucracy by expanding their understanding of this concept.

Second, the heavy use of quantitative data may have potentially skewed the bureaucrats and policy areas studied in this field. The decision to focus on street level bureaucrats and redistributive agencies appears to be partly driven by ease of data collection. Schools and agencies such as Farmers Home Administration have easily accessible quantitative data that readily lends itself to analysis. However, there are a wide variety of other policy areas, agencies, and bureaucrats that may provide further insight to our understanding of representative bureaucracy. As previously noted, many studies examine street level or upper level bureaucrats, but very few works focus on middle management. These bureaucrats may not be directly linked to a specific policy decision that is traceable through records such as

standardized testing. However, this does not mean that these individuals do not actively represent groups in society. Through qualitative analysis, scholars can actually question these bureaucrats in order to discern their role in the process of representative bureaucracy. This could allow evaluation across more agency types in a wide variety of policy areas.

The overly positivist approach to the study of representative bureaucracy also results in a narrow understanding of the relationship between descriptive representation and representative bureaucracy. Most studies focus exclusively on race and gender. This may be due to the fact that race and gender are categories that are easily discernable and quantifiable. Other characteristics such as sexual orientation may be hidden or undisclosed making their study more difficult. However, if these characteristics do in fact influence representative bureaucracy then some attention should be directed toward trying to develop measures that can capture this relationship.

Who does representative bureaucracy represent?

The competing groups

Another important yet unanswered question of representative bureaucracy is: who (or what) is represented by representative bureaucracies? The theory of representative bureaucracy grew out of debates over bureaucratic responsibility. But, to whom should bureaucrats be responsible? According to Selden, Brewer, and Brudney (1999), because of their discretion, bureaucrats must choose between "competing policies and interests-none of which are universally right or wrong"

(172). Literature on representative bureaucracy suggests there are several potential groups that representative bureaucracies may "represent". These competing interests include (but are not limited to): the clients of the agency, certain sub-groups of the agency's clientele, the public interest at large, and legislators. Scholars of representative bureaucracy have failed to theoretically specify or justify what exactly should be represented by representative bureaucracies. Various works have used each of these groups as the appropriate recipients of representative bureaucracy.

Scholars such as Long (1952) discuss the term representative bureaucracy as a concept that is supposed to ensure better representation for the public interest. According to Long, representative bureaucracy is one that represents "broad, national" interests. Unfortunately, Long provides no further insight about how scholars should measure public interest. Other scholars define more specific recipients of representative bureaucracy. For example, Andrews, Boyne, Meier, O'Toole, and Walker (2005) argue that representative bureaucracy is one which adequately reflects their constituent populations. In addition, some scholars use an even more narrow conception of descriptive representation. Under this view, bureaucrats represent a narrowly defined group within the population such as a racial or gender group (Meier, 1993). Finally, none of these views necessarily reflect Kingsley's original concept of representative bureaucracy. According to Kingsley, the bureaucracy should represent the governing body. Under this view, the bureaucracy would reflect and be responsive to political officials.

From the pieces in the database, 58% designate specific groups as the recipients of representation. Twenty-eight percent specify the public interest broadly as the target of representation. The remaining 14% examine multiple interests and/or legislative mandates as the target of representation.

Questions over the appropriate recipients of representative bureaucracy are particularly important if there is a potential for zero-sum effects or trade-offs between potential groups. There is a substantial amount of work highlighting the positive effects of representative bureaucracy. However, very little scholarship has addressed the potential for negative consequences as a result of representative bureaucracy (Lim 2006). The potential trade-offs of representative bureaucracy may take several forms as bureaucrats opt to make decisions in favor of one competing interest over another. These potentially negative effects may include trade-offs between representation and other organizational goals or trade-offs between groups. While these dangers may not outweigh the positive effects of representative bureaucracy or negate its overall value to society, in order to truly understand this concept, these potentials must be taken into account.

Representative Bureaucracy and the public interest

One potential trade-off may arise between representing specific groups in society and maintaining the public interest. Mosher (1968) is an early scholar who was notably critical in his discussion of representative bureaucracy. While Mosher values passive representation, he is opposed to active representation. He repeatedly expresses the dangers and potential incompatibilities between an active

representative bureaucracy and democracy. First, he argues that theories of representative bureaucracies have failed to deal with a crucial point. If bureaucracy is truly representative, then they must be based on and effectively deal with the internal conflict that would arise from competing interests (95). In addition, Mosher criticizes the idea of active representation. Mosher states, "It may be noted that active representativeness run rampant within a bureaucracy would constitute a major threat to orderly democratic government. The summing up of the multitude of special interests seeking effective representation does not constitute the general intent" (12). Mosher concludes that the concept of representative bureaucracy has taken on a meaning which does not ensure that the general public interest will be served. He argues that specific groups, including most professions and even the poor, successfully claim some representation within the bureaucracy, but he ultimately questions the ability of the bureaucracy to adequately represent the majority of the population who are not members of these groups (209).

In addition, Subramanian (1967) questions whether the bureaucracy can adequately serve both sectional and general interests. He argues if each member of the bureaucracy is focused on representing the specific sectional interests that they reflect the overall bureaucracy would be riddled with conflict and subsequently ineffective at serving the broad public interest. This possible conflict of interests leads to an important question for scholars of representative bureaucracy. What are the potential trade-offs between representing specific groups within society and maintaining representation for the public interest broadly?

Public interest is another concept that is empirically difficult to define. Barth (1992) argues, "Public interest is an ideal condition or state in which the nation as a whole benefits" (290). Under this definition, one way to measure "public interest" would be organizational performance and efficiency. Empirical evidence has found limited and inconclusive evidence regarding the relationship between representative bureaucracy and organizational performance. Some work has demonstrated the potential trade-offs between the two goals. For example, Andrews et al. (2005) examine the relationship between representative bureaucracy and organizational performance. Using both citizens' evaluations and objective measures of performance, the data suggest that representative bureaucracy is largely associated with poor performance on both measures. However, using management strategies as a control variable may reduce this negative effect. Given the limited body of research in this area, more empirical analysis is needed in order to evaluate the effects of representative bureaucracy and organizational performance.

Group Trade-offs

What trade-offs may occur between representing one specific group in society, such as women, and the potential effect on other groups, such as Hispanics? Slack (2001) argues that policy-making within the bureaucracy often occurs with a zero-sum perspective which produce clear "winners and losers". He argues this tendency is particularly pronounced when resources are scarce or perceived by the participants as scarce.

The literature measuring potential trade-offs between two groups is very limited, contradictory and inconclusive. Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard (1999) were the first to analyze the distributional equity between groups as a result of representative bureaucracy. The piece specifically asks whether minorities gain at the expense of non-minorities under conditions of representative bureaucracy. Looking at the effects of the percentage of black and Latino teachers on student performance rates, they conclude that increasing minority teachers enhances student performance across the board. Therefore, representative bureaucracy is not necessarily zero-sum; both minorities and non-minorities benefit from representative bureaucracy.

However, Nielson and Wolf (2001) question Meier, Wrinkles and Polinard's conclusion. Nielson et al. maintain that Meier et al. have a variety of methodological weaknesses including measurement and specification errors. Once these weaknesses are corrected, the data actually shows the opposite results from the original interpretation and that in fact, the data indicates that student performance declined in all groups as the percentage of minority teachers increases.

In addition, scholars have ignored the potentially negative consequences that active representation in the form of bureaucratic partiality may have on the specific minority groups they are assumed to help. Lim (2006) maintains that these negative consequences may occur through both aggravated costs and forgone benefits that may result because partiality does not encourage others not to discriminate and, in fact, may encourage them to discriminate. Lim concludes that bureaucratic

partiality should be normatively rejected. However, he also argues that the other forms of substantive representation provided by representative bureaucracy do not carry the same problems and should be further investigated. To date there has been too little research in this area to draw any substantive conclusions. However, these are important points and scholars should consider them more thoroughly both theoretically and empirically.

Representative Bureaucracy and Accountability

Very little research in the area of representative bureaucracy discusses the notion of accountability. However, this concept is central to public administration literature at large and is central to the idea of representation in general. The concept of accountability does appear in some theoretical work on representative bureaucracy. For example, Krislov (1974) argues that increasing the representation within the bureaucracy will lead to a more accountable bureaucracy. While some authors discuss the concept theoretically, they do not offer any empirical evaluation of the relationship between accountability and representative bureaucracy. The centrality of accountability to representation makes it an important area for empirical investigation.

ROLE PERCEPTION

One concept that offers the potential to illuminate the aforementioned weaknesses in the field of representative bureaucracy is role perception. While a considerable amount of work has examined bureaucratic behavior, very little work in representative bureaucracy has attempted to understand this phenomenon through

the use of role perception. In contrast, much work in the legislative representation literature focuses on the concept of role perception. In fact, Jewell (1983) argues that within the work on representation, the volume of work dealing with legislative roles is enormous. Furthermore, within legislative role literature, work dealing specifically with representational roles is the most dominant.

Existing Typologies

There is a limited amount of research linking role perception and representative bureaucracy. The first work linking role perception and representative bureaucracy is Selden (1997). This piece demonstrates the utility of this concept to representative bureaucracy. Selden juxtaposes two different bureaucratic role perceptions and examines their relationship to active representation. The first role is the traditional bureaucratic role and the second is the minority representative role. She finds that bureaucrats who accept the minority representative role are more likely to actively represent minorities in policy decisions. One of the key findings in Selden's piece was that both minorities and non-minorities took on the minority representative role. This affirms the ability and validity of role perception to allow scholars to study representative bureaucracy without descriptive representation.

In addition, Selden, Brewer and Brudney (1999) examine public administrator's role perceptions. Selden et al. define role as "a cohesive set of object-related values and attitudes that provides the public administrator a stable set of expectations about his or her responsibilities" (175). Selden examines

administrative roles along two dimensions. These dimensions form two intersecting continua. The horizontal is a continuum of political responsiveness v. pro-active administration, and the vertical is a continuum of managerial efficiency v. social equity. Administrative neutrality lies at the center where the continua intersect.

Under this framework, Selden et al. (1999) uses a q-sort and identifies five different administrative roles: stewards of the public interest, adapted realists, businesslike utilitarians, resigned custodians, and practical idealists. Stewards of the public interest want to participate in formulating policies targeted toward all citizens including disadvantaged groups. For this group, efficiency is overshadowed by social and political goals. Adapted realists attempt to balance fairness with efficiency. They appear equally concerned with management and equity. While valuing goals of social equity, they also recognize the need to operate within the rules of and around the organization. Businesslike utilitarians place higher value on organizational and individual efficiency relative to fairness or equity. They are also more willing to reject the wishes of more senior officials seeking the most efficient solution instead. Resigned custodians view themselves as neutral agents who place a premium on the rules of the organization and the difference between elected and unelected officials. Finally, practical idealists are committed to equity balanced with efficiency and proper management. This group emphasizes professionalism and efficiency but also advocates for policy in the public interest.

Selden's work provides a useful foundation for evaluating the questions this project proposes. Building on earlier work in the area of bureaucratic role

perceptions, this project will specifically examine bureaucrat's role perception as representatives. While some work has been done in this area, many unanswered questions remain. For example, scholars have not yet made any comparisons among different levels or agencies regarding bureaucratic role perceptions. Selden et al. (1999) concludes, "Future research should explore the prevalence of these roles, seek to explain variations among administrators, and examine the relationship between roles, work behaviors, and policy outcomes" (194).

DISCUSSION

Scholars' early treatment of representative bureaucracy has shaped contemporary studies in this area. While the field has progressed since Kingsley's introduction of the concept in 1944, some weaknesses have been recycled through generations of scholarship. There are two dominant streams of research in this field – theory and empirical research. The empirical work in this field has not yet fully capitalized on the existing theoretical work in this field, and theory building has been scarce in recent scholarship. Only 16% of the work in the database is purely theoretical. Most contemporary work can be classified as empirical studies relying on quantitative analysis of active representation. Lim (2006) serves as one of the few theoretical contemporary pieces in the field, and Selden et al. (1999) is one of the few interpretative pieces in the field to date. The findings of both of these studies indicate the important and interesting questions remaining in this field.

Scholars need to both refine and expand the notion of representative bureaucracy. One of the most illuminating ways that scholars can do this is to break

down the barriers created by an over-reliance on quantitative data. Qualitative analysis of this concept can increase understanding of the existing questions in the field of representative bureaucracy and may provide insight that will direct future scholarship. Qualitative analysis may provide insight into a more meaningful way to define and measure representative bureaucracy by providing contextual information that is currently missing from most scholarship on this topic.

One avenue for research in this area is representative role perception. While this concept has been extensively explored in legislative representation studies, very few scholars have attempted to analyze how bureaucrats see their role as representatives. This project will use the concept of role perception in order to explore representative bureaucracy. The primary methodology for this project is Q Methodology. This methodology is advantageous for this project for several reasons. First, because it is a mixed methodology, the qualitative data will allow this study to analyze representative bureaucracy from a perspective that may be restricted from analysis by quantitative analysis due to data limitations. In addition, because of q methodology's inductive nature, the results of this project will provide guidance on future possibilities for empirical inquiries in this field.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This project is designed to explore the following questions in the field of representative bureaucracy.

1) How should we define representative bureaucracy? More specifically, does representative bureaucracy require descriptive representation? Furthermore, when studying descriptive representation as it applies to the bureaucracy, what characteristics are important to consider?
2) How should we measure representative bureaucracy?
3) Are there any negative effects of representative bureaucracy? This project will specifically examine potential trade-offs in three different contexts:
    A) Does increasing representative bureaucracy produce a trade-off between individuals or groups?
    B) Does increasing representative bureaucracy produce costs related to organizational efficiency?
    C) Does increasing representative bureaucracy produce costs related to political accountability?

In order to answer these questions, this project will focus on bureaucratic role perception, specifically role perception as it relates to representation. Most research on representative bureaucracy relies solely on quantitative analysis of policy outputs. While this has provided great insight to this point, strict adherence to these techniques may restrict understanding in the aforementioned areas due to

difficulty of data collection. This project seeks to expand our understanding of representative bureaucracy by using a mixed methodology to explore questions of representative bureaucracy. Rather than testing hypotheses, this research strives for theoretical clarity and nuance. Combining qualitative and quantitative data can provide a broader, more complete understanding of representative bureaucracy. Since qualitative methods are not often used in this field and many of the questions under consideration have not been well researched, this project focuses on exploratory analysis with the primary goal of introducing new theoretical insight as well as many new empirical questions rather than testing hypotheses.

While there are no formal hypotheses, there are several assumptions of what the data will reveal about representative bureaucracy. These assumptions are based on the existing literature, and this project will explore these assumptions. First, I assume that elements of active representation may be independent of descriptive representation. In addition, I see no theoretical reason to limit active representation to cases where there is also descriptive representation or to limit the study of descriptive representation strictly to race and gender. Second, I assume elements of active representation may be present at all four policies types and across all levels of the bureaucracy; however, variations logically exist across these variables as well. For example, while both street level bureaucrats and executives may see themselves as representatives, the specific functions in their day to day job that they view as manifestations of this role will vary. Finally, I expect from the literature to find variations among policy areas and levels regarding individuals perceived trade-offs.

For example, upper level bureaucrats may perceive a greater trade-off between accountability and representative bureaucracy while lower level bureaucrats may feel that the relationship between efficiency and representative bureaucracy is more zero-sum.

ANALYATICAL TOOLS: Q METHODOLOGY

The primary analytical tool for this project is Q methodology. Q methodology has been used in a variety of fields including psychology, sociology, and political science (Durning and Osuna, 1994). Past studies have shown this to be an effective tool for studying role perception, and scholars have applied it to bureaucratic role perception (Durning and Osuna, 1994; Selden et al. 1999). Q methodology was selected because it will allow insight into the important area of representative bureaucracy without the data restrictions created by using strictly quantitative policy outputs. Because of its reliance on subjective information, Q methodology is an appropriate tool for exploring role perception.

Q methodology can provide insight into how individuals think about their work, their agencies, and their policy roles. This methodology will provide a more in depth understanding of how these bureaucrats see themselves and their agencies in the process of representation. In addition, this methodology facilitates understanding of individuals across policy types and levels of the bureaucracy which is central to the research questions. However, due to its inductive nature, it is not an appropriate tool for generalization of findings or estimating the frequency or occurrence of the worldviews uncovered.

This project will use multiple data sources in its analysis. In addition to the Q sort analysis, qualitative data from focus groups, interviews, and follow-up interviews will be individually analyzed. Utilizing different data sources will provide a rich context for understanding the current research questions.

Q Methodology Overview

Q Methodology was invented by William Stephenson and designed to allow for the systematic study of human subjectivity. The more common techniques used to study opinions and attitudes are surveys and questionnaires. Q methodology has several important differences and potential advantages over these conventional techniques. Rather than measuring the presence, absence, or frequency of pre-defined and operationalized constructs through survey data or questionnaires, Q Methodology allows a more flexible approach to the individual's perspective. It views each individual perspective from a neutral position. In this way, Q Methodology avoids potential biases created when operationalizing variables during scale construction. Brown (1980) explains when using such scales, "the individual's independent point of view, in effect, is considered to be dependent on the prior meaning of the scale" (4). In contrast, Q Methodology allows participants to express their views more freely.

Another advantage of Q Methodology is that it requires a relatively small number of participants. While R methodology is primarily concerned with generalizability, Q Methodology is more concerned with intensive studies of smaller

populations. In fact, it is not uncommon for Q Methodology to study single cases (Stephenson, 1953).

Essentially, Q technique is a sorting process of different statements to reflect the respondent's perspective on a given topic. Participants are given a set of statements and are asked to rank order them according to their level of agreement with each statement. The order in which the statements are ranked illustrates each participant's perspective. These perspectives are then analyzed, compared and interpreted. Brown (1980) explains,

> Simply stated, Q technique is a set of procedures whereby a sample of objects is placed in a significant order with respect to a single person. In its most typical form, the sample involves statements of opinion (Q sample) that an individual rank-orders in terms of some condition of instruction- e.g. from 'most agree' (+5) to 'most disagree' (-5). The items so arrayed compromise what is called a Q sort. Q sorts obtained from several persons are normally correlated and factor analyzed by any of the available statistical methods. Factors indicate clusters of persons who have ranked the statement in essentially the same fashion. Explanation of factors is advanced in terms of commonly shared attitudes or perspectives (6).

The Concourse and Q Sample

As Brown (1980) explains, there are multiple steps to using Q Methodology. First, the concourse must be identified. The concourse is the universe of possible statements about any given concept or situation. The concourse may be determined empirically through various methods and sources (Stephenson, 1986; Brown, 1991). The concourse may be naturalistic or ready-made. Naturalistic samples are constructed from communication directly from respondents such as interview data or written communication from subjects. Secondary sources such as newspaper commentaries may also be used. Alternatively, ready-made samples are those that

are derived from sources other than the study's participants. For example, previous studies and existing literature may be used to develop the concourse (McKeown and Thomas, 1988). The most common source for the concourse is interviews with subjects (Brown, 1991). For this study, the concourse is created from a naturalistic sample using interview and focus group data.

Once established, the concourse is then used to produce the Q-sample. The Q Sample is a subset of statements taken from the concourse. These are the statements that are eventually presented to participants for sorting (Brown, 1991). The statements used for the Q Sample are selected in order to adequately reflect the original concourse. Brown (1991) explains, "As with sampling persons in survey research, the main goal in selecting a Q sample is to provide a miniature which, in major respects contains the comprehensiveness of the larger process being modeled." There are two basic techniques that can be used in order to select the statements for the sample. With unstructured samples, relevant items are selected in order to produce a sample of statements that reasonably reflects all potential positions. However, not much effort is devoted to ensure that all possible sub-topics are represented. In contrast, structured samples are selected more systematically through techniques such as Fisher's experimental design principles (Fisher, 1935; McKeown, 1988; Brown, 1991).

Q-sort Process

Once the Q sample is determined, the statements are printed on cards. Each card contains one statement, and the cards are randomly numbered. Participants are

given the set of cards and then asked to rank order the cards according to some condition of instruction. Respondents are typically asked to assign values to the statements on a continuum according to how much they agree or disagree with the statement. For example, participants may be asked to rank order the statements from -5 to +5 with -5 being strongly disagree and +5 strongly agree (Brown, 1991).

Next, according to a set of instructions, the responses are arranged along a scoring continuum such as that shown in Table 3.1 (Brown, 1980). For this project, participants were first asked to sort the cards into three piles: those they agree with, those they disagree with, and those they are neutral toward. Participants were then asked to select the two statements from the "disagree pile" that they disagree with most and the two they agree with most from the "agree pile". Next participants were asked to select three statements they disagree and agree with most from the remaining cards in each pile. This process continued until all cards were sorted. Any remaining cards were placed into the neutral column.

Table 3.1: Sample Q Sort Scoring Continuum

	Most Disagree						Most Agree				
Score	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Number of Statements	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(7)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)

While the response array is often a forced quasi-normal distribution, the specific shape of the response distribution has not been found to affect factor loadings. Forcing a normal distribution is useful a tool for encouraging participants

to make explicit trade-offs between statements (Cottle and McKeown 1980; Brown, 1980).

Generally when the Q sort is complete, a brief follow-up interview is conducted in order to allow the participants to elaborate on their own thinking about the subject, and to add validity to the sort responses. The sort itself is used as a guide for this interview (Brown, 1980).

Participant Samples

The principles behind participant sample selection for Q Methodology are not the same as those guiding studies using more common statistical analysis such as R methods. McKeown and Thomas (1988) state, "Specific sampling principles and techniques important to mainstream behavioral research are not necessarily relevant to person sampling in Q given the contrasting research orientations and purposes" (36). Despite these deviations in Q Methodology, the selection of the person sample or P-set is not unimportant.

For studies employing R methodology, the purpose is generalization. Therefore, participant samples are typically large. For Q methodology studies, the purpose is directed at quality of information rather than quantity. The specific aim of each study may vary, and therefore the size of the P-set may also vary according to the purpose of the study. Some Q studies are intensive and interested primarily in 'intra-subjectivity'. Such studies analyze one subject in-depth. Other studies are interested inter-subjectivity. These studies are extensive with the goal of

uncovering a variety of different perspectives on an issue. For extensive studies, the P-set may range from 50-100 subjects (Mckeown and Thomas 1988).

A variety of factors may influence specific subject selection. An obvious pragmatic consideration is subject availability. In addition, theoretical concerns may also guide participant selection. Under purposeful sampling, individuals are selected based on their theoretical relevance specific to the study. Because Q Methodology is not aimed at generalizability, there is no assumption that all relevant population characteristics are reflected in the sample, and there is no claim that the viewpoints uncovered are representative or exhaustive of those in the population (McKeown and Thomas, 1988). While the purpose of the current study is not to generalize the findings, due to the focus on descriptive representation, some demographic diversity of the respondents is important.

Statistical Analysis

There are important methodological differences between R and Q Methodology. While R Methodology correlates and factors traits, Q Methodology correlates and factors individuals. Aside from these fundamental differences, however, the statistical procedures involved in Q factor analysis are no different from those in R.

The first step in Q analysis is to create a correlation matrix between the sorts. Once the sorts are correlated, factor analysis is performed. The purpose of the factor analysis is to explore the nature and number of outlooks identified by the Q Sorts. First, correlations of the Q-sorts are produced (typically using R) that

indicate how closely participants ordered the statements to one another. Then, given N respondents, an N x N correlation matrix is created. Factor analysis is performed on the matrix which indicates the different types of sorts (families). Families consist of answers that are highly correlated to each other but different from the other families. McKeown and Thomas (1988) explain, "Persons significantly associated with a given factor, therefore, are assumed to share a common perspective…Therefore each respondents factor 'loading' indicates the degree of association between that person's individual Q-sort and the underlying composite attitude or perspective of the factor" (17).

Different factor techniques may be used for the factor analysis in Q Methodology. Two options include Centroid and Principal Components analysis. While Stephenson and early Q Method proponents prefer Centroid analysis, the results between the techniques has not been found to differ substantively (McKeown and Thomas, 1988).

Once the factor analysis is complete, the factors are then rotated in order to simplify the structure. Under optimal conditions, Q sorts will load high on one factor and near zero on others. Like the factor analysis itself, there are multiple methods of factor rotation. They may be rotated manually according to theoretical considerations or mathematically by methods such as Varimax. The most common rotation method is Varimax rotation (McKeown and Thomas, 1988).

Interpreting the Factors

In Q Methodology, factor interpretation is based on factor scores. The

factor score is essentially an average of scores given by participants associated with a given factor (Brown, 1991/1992). The factor scores are determined by creating an "ideal type" Q Sort for each factor. The model sort is created by determining which sorts are solely and significantly loaded on a particular factor and merging these sorts together. These values are weighted according to the magnitude of association between the sort and the factor. These scores are then compared in order to determine which statements are the defining items for each factor (McKeown and Thomas, 1988).

Once the defining statements for the factors have been determined, they are analyzed contextually in order to describe what each factor means substantively. The contextual analysis may have several components. For example, factor types may be described according to statements that respondents agreed or disagreed with most and/or according to identifying which statements differ the most among respondents in each factor. Similarly, factors may be described by identifying commonalities or statements which respondents ranked similarly across factors (Durning and Osuna, 1994). Additionally, factors may be analyzed, described and interpreted according to characteristics of the subjects in the factor such as demographic correlates (McKeown and Thomas, 1988)[3].

[3] For additional summary of Q Methodology and applications see also Fox (1996); Selden et al. (1999).

Establishing the Concourse: Interviews and Focus Groups

This project involved several different phases of data collection. The purpose of the first phase of data collection was to establish the concourse. The concourse for this project was established through interviews and focus groups with government employees. In order to avoid any potential validity problems, separate respondent groups were used for the second phase of data collection, the Q sort process. During the first phase of data collection, there were a total of thirty-nine participants. The P set was selected using a purposive sampling technique. The primary concern when establishing the P set was including proportionate numbers of individuals from all three levels of the bureaucracy (street level, middle management, and executive) in all four policy areas (redistributive, distributive, regulatory and constituent). Figure 1 shows the employment make-up of the respondent sample.

Figure 1: Phase 1 Participant Matrix
N = 39

Level / Policy Area	Executive	Management	Street Level
Distributive	2	1	3
Redistributive	2	4	3
Regulatory	3	6	4
Constituent	2	6	3

Focus groups and interviews for the first phase of data collection were administered from October 2007-June 2008. Four focus groups were conducted which included twenty-seven respondents. Focus group size ranged from four to ten participants. Focus group participants were in-service MPA students at state universities in Georgia and Oklahoma. Participants were employed at various levels of local, state or federal agencies. Twelve additional interviews were conducted in order to more evenly represent levels of the bureaucracy and policy areas. Interview participants were identified through a web-based search according to their level and policy area within the bureaucracy. All interviewees were management or executive level bureaucrats employed at local, state, or federal agencies located in GA.

The sample includes eleven participants employed at local agencies, twenty-one state level employees and seven federal employees. A variety of different departments and agencies are represented in the sample: Public Works, Soil and Conservation, Parks and Recreation, Department of Human Resources, Community Development, Community Affairs, Department of Agriculture, Office of Planning and Budget, Public Health, Education, Police, Public Safety, Probation, Federal Aviation Administration, Human Resource Management, Public Information, Planning and Urban Redevelopment, General Services Administration, Veterans Affairs, Employment Security, Army, Air force, Human Rights, and Board of Regents.

The sample is less diverse in terms of demographic composition. Sixty percent of the sample is male and 40% female. Respondents' age range is 24-59

years with a mean age of 37 years. Whites are over-represented in the sample, making up 83% of the total participants. The other 17% include Black, Asian, and Native American respondents. The sample is also skewed in terms of education level. All respondents had completed a Bachelor's degree, and most had completed some graduate work. Income levels range from less than $20,000 to over $100,000 with a modal income range between $40,000 and $75,000. While not all demographic variables are representative in the sample, this is not atypical for this type of project. The purpose of Q-sort methodology is not to produce a generalizable sample; therefore, the representativeness of the group along these variables should not affect the overall quality of the data and analysis.

Focus Group and Interview Instrument

The questions for the interview/focus group instrument were written in order to tap into the three major research questions of this project: defining representative bureaucracy, measuring representative bureaucracy, and the potential trade-offs of representative bureaucracy. Participants were first asked a series of general questions about their possible role as a representative within the organization: "Do you see yourself as a representative within your organization? In other words, is representation or advocacy a part of your role in your agency? How central is this to your position?" In addition, respondents were asked about the role of others in the organization: "Do you think that individuals above or below you have more or less of a representative role in the organization?"

The next set of questions focus on active representation. Respondents who view themselves as representatives were asked to describe specific tasks they perform regularly in the organization that they consider acts of representation. Next, a series of questions were asked in order to examine the role of descriptive representation and potential characteristics that may influence the process of representation: "Do you feel that you relate more easily to clients who share your background or demographic characteristics? What sort of characteristics would you say are most likely to influence your ability to relate to clients?" In order to evaluate evidence of indirect representation, respondents were asked whether others in the organization helped shape their views on their role as a representative or advocate in the organization. Finally, respondents were asked a series of questions designed to analyze potential trade-offs or costs of representative bureaucracy. See Appendix 2 for interview and focus group instrument.

The primary purpose of the focus groups and interviews was to develop the concourse. In addition, the data provides rich qualitative insight to the current research questions. After establishing the concourse, this data was analyzed separately, and the results are reported in the following chapters.

The Concourse

The concourse[4] was developed from the responses given during the focus groups and interview sessions. The focus groups and interviews yielded a total of 198 statements categorized by six general areas of interest:

[4] See Appendix 3 for the entire concourse.

1. General representational role perception: These statements centered on respondents' general views toward their role and the role of others in the organization as representatives.
2. Objects of representation: These statements centered on how the individuals saw the object of their representation – in other words, do they represent specific groups, the public interest or specific legislative mandates?
3. Indirect active representation: These statements discuss the extent to which others have shaped their views on their role as a representative within the organization.
4. Direct active representation: These statements center on direct actions by the bureaucrat that may be considered representation and include alternative data sources such as those Lim introduces.
5. Descriptive representation: These statements examine the extent to which demographic characteristics shape an individuals' ability to understand and meet the needs of their constituents and what characteristics may be important.
6. Potential trade-offs: These statements center on the relationship between accountability, efficiency, and the potential zero-sum nature of representative bureaucracy.

From the concourse, fifty statements were selected and used as the sample. Statements were selected from each of the six major areas of interest using an

unstructured technique based on their overall representation of the original statements. See Table 3.2 for the sample statements.

TABLE 3.2 **SAMPLE STATEMENTS BY CATEGORY**
General Representational Role Perception
31. I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization.
14. Ideally, everyone in my organization should see representation as part of their role in the organization.
49. Those who work above me have more of representational or advocacy role, and those below me have less.
23. Everyone in my organization is an advocate, but we do not all advocate to the same groups.
9. I believe the front-line staff under me has a more direct role of representation, and those above me have less of a role.
43. Individuals at lower levels of my organization do not have the same power to influence policy as those at higher levels.
36. I work in a very top-down organization where policies are set at a much higher level. I do not have discretion or influence over policy.
Objects of Representation
26. My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, rather than specific groups or legislators.
45. My primary responsibility as a representative is to represent legislative mandates.
48. My primary responsibility as a representative is to advocate for specific groups.
35. I represent multiple interests including specific groups, the public interest and legislative mandates.
47. Individuals in my organization have a special ability and/or responsibility to represent groups that are otherwise under-represented.
Indirect Representation
29. My peers, staff and/or supervisors have helped to shape the way I see myself as a representative in my organization.
6. My peers, subordinates and supervisors have encouraged and supported my views as a representative but they have not really shaped these views.
38. I try to mentor my staff and/or peers and to empower them to be more effective representatives.

Direct Representation
40. I am able to influence policy-making and/or program development.
24. I advocate on behalf of my constituents but I do not personally have the power to make decisions about their case.
39. My organization encourages public input and participation.
11. I use informal procedures for needs' assessments.
32. Sometimes constituents misunderstand my organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive.
15. I have information which I can choose to give to my constituents that may help them get faster or better services from my organization.
16. I make decisions such as resource allocation or information provision that I consider acts of representation or advocacy.
28. We have formal outreach programs, and we target certain groups in our outreach programs such as lower income individuals.
3. I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.
5. It is part of my job to ensure quality service provision from my staff or others in the organization.
30. We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.
37. Constituents will be better served if they are more educated on the services of our organization.
Descriptive Representation
2. I sometimes feel that I am able to better relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics.
22. Race and gender are characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to understand the needs of my constituents and serve them.
10. It is important that our organization reflect the demographic make-up of the population we serve.
8. Whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area may influence my ability to understand and meet their needs.
21. Having a diverse workforce where our employees speak many different languages and understand differences in beliefs, customs and ways of interacting helps the organization to better serve our customers.
13. Language barriers are an important factor in service provision for my agency.
42. An individual's ideological beliefs influence my ability to understand and meet someone's needs.
25. Characteristics such as age, education, income, and occupation may influence my ability to understand and serve constituents.
33. A person's values such as honesty and hard work are more important than demographic characteristics in determining whether or not I can relate to them and understand their needs.

Trade-offs
17. Individuals in the organization above and below me have similar levels of accountability.
18. Our organization is primarily accountable to the community we serve.
1. I am accountable to multiple groups – my supervisor, my organization, the community, and legislators.
19. My primary accountability is to the public at large.
46. My primary accountability is to my supervisor.
27. I am primarily accountable to politicians or elected officials.
12. Representation or advocacy increases efficiency because it allows you to better understand the needs of certain groups and to better serve them.
44. Representation or advocacy decreases efficiency because the more interests you represent, the more difficult it becomes to make decisions.
34. Representation or advocacy by individuals in the organization decreases accountability.
4. If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability.
41. The services I provide to my constituents are not finite or zero-sum.
20. I do provide some services that are finite or zero-sum.
50. Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.
7. In my organization, I feel that assumptions are sometimes made about constituents based on their background or demographic characteristics.

Units of Analysis: The Q-Sort

As previously noted, separate respondent groups were used for the first and second phase of data collection. Possible participants for the Q sort were identified through a general internet search of government agencies. Like the first phase, participant selection for the second phase of data collection was based on purposive sampling techniques. Several factors were important in selecting the units of analysis for the second phase of this project.

Level: One of the primary goals of this project is to understand bureaucrats' role perceptions at different levels of the bureaucracy. As previously noted, most studies

to date have focused on street level bureaucrats with less on middle management and upper level bureaucrats. Respondents were selected in order to include relatively equal numbers of individuals from all three levels to facilitate comparison in terms of their role perceptions.

Agency Type: Another goal of this project is to understand bureaucrats in different types of agencies based on Lowi's classification. Respondents were selected in order to have relatively equal numbers of employees from each of Lowi's agency types. Since this project is not interested in examining policy outputs but bureaucratic perceptions, the specific agency was not as important as its classification within the typology.

Sample size: While Q-Methodology allows for sample sizes as small as fifty, since one of the goals of this project is comparison across levels and agency types, the N for this project is sixty.

Location: Since the Q sorts were administered in person, participants were selected based on proximity to the researcher. Agencies included in the survey were within 150 mile radius from Milledgeville, GA and within a 100 mile radius of Oklahoma City, OK. While this does not lead to a geographically representative sample of participants, given the exploratory nature of the project, it will provide an adequate pool of respondents.

Level of government: This project does not attempt to assess differences among levels of government. Therefore, in order to increase the pool of possible participants, the sample includes individuals from local, state, and federal agencies.

Q-Sorts were completed from September 2008 through January 2009. There were a total of sixty respondents from a variety of local, state, and federal agencies in both GA and OK. The majority of respondents were state level employees. Sixty-eight percent of respondents were state employees; 26% were local; and 5% were federal employees. Figure 2 illustrates the make-up of participants in terms of their level of employment and policy area of the agency. There were a total of nineteen executive level employees; twenty-one management level employees; and twenty street-level employees. There are a total of sixteen distributive level employees; fourteen redistributive employees; sixteen regulatory employees; and fourteen constituent employees.

Figure 2: Phase 2 Participant Matrix
N = 60

Level / Policy Area	Executive	Management	Street Level
Distributive	5	6	5
Redistributive	4	5	5
Regulatory	5	5	6
Constituent	5	5	4

Within each policy category, participants were employed at a variety of agencies. Distributive agencies include: Arts, Conservation, Forestry, Transportation, Grants, Planning, Environment, Commerce, and Extension Services.

Redistributive agencies include: Veterans Affairs, Education, Rural Development, and Disability Services. Regulatory Agencies include: Juvenile Justice, Police, Emergency Management, Zoning, License and Inspection, Food Safety, Childcare, Revenue, and Human Relations. Finally, Constituent Agencies include: Budgeting, Benefits, Central Services and Procurement, Civil Rights, Public Relations, Human Relations, and Elections. This sample provides wide variation from previous studies in this field.

Table 3.3 shows the demographic and organizational breakdown of the entire sample. Fifty-five percent of respondents were male, and 45% were female. Respondents' ages range from 26 years to 69 years old with a modal age range of 41-55 years old. Whites were over-represented in the sample, making up 85% of the respondents. The other 15% of respondents were black. The sample was also skewed in terms of education. All respondents reported some college. Ninety percent of respondents reported having a Bachelor's Degree or higher. Respondents reported income ranges from $20,000-over $100,000, with a modal income bracket of $40,000-$75,000. This sample is not demographically representative of bureaucrats at large, and this may complicate interpretation of the data somewhat. However, the purpose of the current project is not to provide generalizable findings. Therefore, the diversity of the group should not be detrimental to the overall analysis and interpretation.

TABLE 3.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS N = 60	
Policy	
Redistributive	23.3%
Regulatory	26.7%
Distributive	26.7%
Constituent	23.3%
Level	
Street Level	33.3%
Management	35.0%
Executive	31.7%
Level of Government	
Local	26.7%
State	68.3%
Federal	5.0%
Gender	
Male	55%
Female	45%
Race	
Black	15%
White	85%
Age	
50 – 70 years old	53%
35 – 49 years old	25%
25 – 34 years old	22%
Education	
Some College	10.2%
Bachelor's	40.7%
Some Graduate	6.8%
Graduate Degree	42.3%
Income	
$20-40,000	12.3%
$40-75,000	28.1%
$75-100,000	26.3%
over $100,000	33.3%

Q-Sort Analysis

Q-Sort respondents were given fifty randomly numbered cards each with a Q sample statement printed on it. Respondents were asked to order the cards by their level of agreement. See Appendix 4 for Q-sort Matrix and instructions. In addition, follow-up interviews were conducted at the end of the sort to allow respondents to give additional information on their evaluation of the statements. To create the follow-up interview, a general survey instrument was developed based on information from the data collected in the initial interviews and focus groups. See Appendix 5 for follow-up interview. The actual follow-up interviews were semi-structured interviews guided by participants' individual ordering of the sort. Therefore, all participants were not asked every question, and some respondents were asked additional questions. Finally, respondents were asked to fill out a survey providing demographic information. See Appendix 6 for Demographic survey.

The Q sort data were analyzed using PQMethod, software designed for the purpose of analyzing q-sorts. For the factor analysis, principal components analysis was selected based on its ability to maximize the proportion of variance accounted for by each factor. As previously noted, the specific method of factor analysis does not have much effect on the structure and composition of the factors (McKeown & Thomas, 1988). Varimax rotation was used in order to add clarity to the Q sorts. Manual rotations based on theoretical judgments may also be used. However, given

the exploratory nature of the project, Varimax rotations based on mathematical principles were the most appropriate.

The results of the Q sort analysis and discussion of results are presented in the remaining chapters. After the factors were identified and interpreted according to the identifying statements included in each factor, factors were also compared according to the participant characteristics in each factor. Of particular interest are the organizational factors of the participants such as the level of employment and policy area of the agency. These results are also discussed in the remaining chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR
ROLE PERCEPTION AND REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide an overview analysis of the sample statements and q-sorts. First, descriptive statistics are presented for each of the sample statements. Respondents rank ordered statements from -5 to +5 according to their level of agreement with each statement. For the purpose of this analysis, respondents are considered to agree with all statements ranked positively and disagree with statements ranked negatively. Respondents are considered neutral toward statements ranked zero. The descriptive statistics indicating what percentage of respondents agree and disagree with individual statements are provided in Table 4.1. These statements and descriptive statistics will be discussed in further detail throughout the remaining chapters.

After the descriptive statistics are briefly discussed, the general process of factor selection used for this project is explained, and the general contours of the factors are described. For each factor, the demographic and organizational characteristics are presented and the key features of each factor are discussed.

TABLE 4.1
SAMPLE STATEMENTS BY CATEGORY
PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO AGREE AND DISAGREE WITH EACH STATEMENT
N=60

Statement	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**
General Representational Role Perception			
31. I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization.	65%	12%	23%
14. Ideally, everyone in my organization should see representation as part of their role in the organization.	85%	8%	7%
49. Those who work above me have more of representational or advocacy role, and those below me have less.	40%	17%	43%
23. Everyone in my organization is an advocate, but we do not all advocate to the same groups.	23%	23%	53%
9. I believe the front-line staff under me has a more direct role of representation, and those above me have less of a role.	12%	17%	72%
43. Individuals at lower levels of my organization do not have the same power to influence policy as those at higher levels.	40%	15%	45%
36. I work in a very top-down organization where policies are set at a much higher level. I do not have discretion or influence over policy.	20%	12%	68%
Objects of Representation			
26. My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, rather than specific groups or legislators.	65%	13%	22%
45. My primary responsibility as a representative is to represent legislative mandates.	17%	15%	68%
48. My primary responsibility as a representative is to advocate for specific groups.	18%	8%	73%
35. I represent multiple interests including specific groups, the public interest and legislative mandates.	76%	10%	14%
47. Individuals in my organization have a special ability and/or responsibility to represent groups that are otherwise under-represented.	27%	18%	55%
Indirect Representation			
29. My peers, staff and/or supervisors have helped to shape the way I see myself as a representative in my organization.	65%	12%	23%

6. My peers, subordinates and supervisors have encouraged and supported my views as a representative but they have not really shaped these views.	13%	13%	73%
38. I try to mentor my staff and/or peers and to empower them to be more effective representatives.	77%	13%	10%
Direct Representation			
40. I am able to influence policy-making and/or program development.	80%	3%	17%
24. I advocate on behalf of my constituents but I do not personally have the power to make decisions about their case.	20%	20%	60%
39. My organization encourages public input and participation.	67%	22%	12%
11. I use informal procedures for needs' assessments.	38%	18%	43%
32. Sometimes constituents misunderstand my organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive.	38%	18%	43%
15. I have information which I can choose to give to my constituents that may help them get faster or better services from my organization.	57%	23%	20%
16. I make decisions such as resource allocation or information provision that I consider acts of representation or advocacy.	50%	20%	30%
28. We have formal outreach programs, and we target certain groups in our outreach programs such as lower income individuals.	35%	17%	48%
3. I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.	57%	17%	27%
5. It is part of my job to ensure quality service provision from my staff or others in the organization.	83%	7%	10%
30. We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.	15%	17%	68%
37. Constituents will be better served if they are more educated on the services of our organization.	72%	13%	15%
Descriptive Representation			
2. I sometimes feel that I am able to better relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics.	20%	20%	60%
22. Race and gender are characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to understand the needs of my constituents and serve them.	17%	8%	75%

10. It is important that our organization reflect the demographic make-up of the population we serve.	52%	20%	28%
8. Whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area may influence my ability to understand and meet their needs.	15%	18%	67%
21. Having a diverse workforce where our employees speak many different languages and understand differences in beliefs, customs and ways of interacting helps the organization to better serve our customers.	53%	20%	27%
13. Language barriers are an important factor in service provision for my agency.	25%	15%	60%
42. An individual's ideological beliefs influence my ability to understand and meet someone's needs.	12%	12%	76%
25. Characteristics such as age, education, income, and occupation may influence my ability to understand and serve constituents.	23%	7%	70%
33. A person's values such as honesty and hard work are more important than demographic characteristics in determining whether or not I can relate to them and understand their needs.	53%	22%	25%
Trade-offs			
17. Individuals in the organization above and below me have similar levels of accountability.	42%	10%	48%
18. Our organization is primarily accountable to the community we serve.	73%	8%	18%
1. I am accountable to multiple groups – my supervisor, my organization, the community, and legislators.	98%	2%	0%
19. My primary accountability is to the public at large.	60%	10%	30%
46. My primary accountability is to my supervisor.	28%	7%	65%
27. I am primarily accountable to politicians or elected officials.	8%	12%	80%
12. Representation or advocacy increases efficiency because it allows you to better understand the needs of certain groups and to better serve them.	62%	27%	12%
44. Representation or advocacy decreases efficiency because the more interests you represent, the more difficult it becomes to make decisions.	3%	18%	79%
34. Representation or advocacy by individuals in the organization decreases accountability.	2%	17%	82%
4. If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability.	63%	25%	12%
41. The services I provide to my constituents are not finite or zero-sum.	17%	37%	46%

20. I do provide some services that are finite or zero-sum.	12%	42%	47%
50. Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.	60%	23%	17%
7. In my organization, I feel that assumptions are sometimes made about constituents based on their background or demographic characteristics.	47%	12%	42%

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

A general analysis of the descriptive statistics reveals important information. There appears to be some pattern to the levels of agreement with various statements. In general, there are high levels of agreement (65% or higher) among statements that focus on representation in general but also those that highlight representation and balancing of broad and competing interests. Additionally, there are high levels of agreement with statements indicating positive effects of representation or advocacy. In contrast, there are high levels of disagreement for statements that indicate the representation of narrow interests, specific demographic characteristics, and negative effects of advocacy or representation. These statements and descriptive statistics will be discussed in more detail in the remaining chapters.

SELECTION OF SORTS

Using Principal Components Analysis coupled with Varimax rotation, a four factor solution was derived. As McKeown and Thomas (1988) explain, determining how many factors to keep is not straight forward. Both statistical as well as theoretical considerations should be taken into account when deciding on which factors to analyze. For this project, several Principal Factors Component solutions were tried. The four factor solution was selected on the basis of both statistical and well as theoretical considerations. While there is no objective rule for determining how many factors to keep and rotate, there are several guidelines that can aid in this decision. These include: simplicity, clarity, and distinctness. In order to maintain simplicity, all else being equal fewer factors may be preferred over more factors to

simplify interpretation. In addition, it is important to try to minimize the number of participants who either do not load on any factor or who load on multiple factors. Finally, the correlation between factors should be taken into consideration and minimized when determining how many factors to keep (Webler, Danielson, and Tuler, 2007).

The four factor solution explains 51% of the overall variance[5]. Figure 3 shows the correlation between factor scores. Correlations between factors vary from low to somewhat high. The correlation between factors 2 and 3 is the lowest (0.1711). The correlation between factors 1 and 3 is also fairly low (0.2909). Correlations between the other factors are higher. For example, the correlations between factors 1 and 2 are fairly high (0.5112). Correlations between factors 1 and 4 are the highest (0.6590). The higher correlations between factors indicate the distinctiveness of the specific factors is less than ideal. These correlations are created by respondents' shared views reflected in similar statement rankings across the factors. These shared views are illustrated in the multiple statements with high overall levels of agreement and disagreement.

While some of the correlations between factors are somewhat high, models with more or less factors maintained similar correlation levels between two or more factors. Under the four factor solution, fourteen sorts were excluded based on non-loading or multiple loadings. In other words, fourteen participants either did not load significantly on any factor or loaded significantly on multiple factors, and were

[5] The Eigenvalues for the four factors are: Factor 1: 19.8659; Factor 2: 4.0264; Factor 3: 3.6230; Factor 4: 2.9535

subsequently excluded from the sort analysis. These respondents were not excluded from the additional analyses such as the descriptive analysis or the follow-up questionnaires. While the three factor solution only excluded nine sorts, it explained less overall variance, maintained high correlations between factors and excluded a theoretically interesting factor.

Figure 3: Factor Score Correlations

	1	2	3	4
1	1.0000	0.5112	0.2909	0.6590
2	0.5112	1.0000	0.1711	0.4047
3	0.2909	0.1711	1.0000	0.3329
4	0.6590	0.4047	0.3329	1.0000

ANALYZING SORTS

The four factors identified illustrate different views toward representative bureaucracy. Important differences emerge between the factors and their relation to representative bureaucracy. Respondents in Factor 1 (Leaders) and Factor 2 (Traditional Bureaucrats) do not appear to associate strongly with the typical values of representative bureaucracy theory. Instead, their views are more consistent with traditional notions of bureaucracy. Both Factor 3 (Identity Empathizers) and Factor 4 (Diversity Advocates) present ideas consistent with representative bureaucracy theory. However, these views vary along certain key aspects of the theory. Identity Empathizers present a view of representative bureaucracy most closely in line with contemporary representative bureaucracy theory emphasizing the role of specific

demographic characteristics. In contrast, Diversity Advocates present a perspective more consistent with traditional notions of representative bureaucracy whereby general demographic reflection is important but not necessarily relying on specific demographic characteristics.

The high levels of correlation between Factors 1 and 4 indicate that respondents in these two factors may also share perspectives. In other words, Leaders may also embrace elements of the traditional representative bureaucracy theory. Similarly, Factors 1 and 2 have high levels of correlation indicating shared perspectives among Leaders and Traditional Bureaucrats. Each factor is discussed in further detail below.

Factor 1: Leaders

Of the forty-six respondents included in the final analysis, fifteen load significantly as Leaders. Table 4.2 shows the characteristics of Leaders including demographic characteristics as well as organizational variables. While most of the percentages would be expected based on the characteristics of the overall sample, there are a few unexpected patterns in the data. First, males are slightly over-represented in the sample. While they make up only 55% of the total sample, 66.7% of Leaders are male. There are also some differences along the organizational variables. Constituent employees are slightly over-represented while distributive employees are under-represented. In addition, executives are over-represented in this factor. Executives account for 31% of the overall sample, and 53% of Leaders

are executives. These aspects of the data will be discussed further in the remaining chapters.

TABLE 4.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERS N = 15	
Policy	
Redistributive	20.0%
Regulatory	26.7%
Distributive	20.0%
Constituent	33.3%
Level	
Street Level	26.7%
Management	20.0%
Executive	53.3%
Level of Government	
Local	40%
State	60%
Federal	0%
Gender	
Male	66.7%
Female	33.3%
Race	
Black	6.7%
White	93.3%
Age	
50 – 70 years old	40%
35 – 49 years old	46.7%
25 – 34 years old	13.3%
Education	
Some College	7.1%
Bachelor's	42.9%
Some Graduate	7.1%
Graduate Degree	42.9%
Income	
$20-40,000	6.7%
$40-75,000	46.7%
$75-100,000	26.7%
over $100,000	20.0%

Leaders do not appear to place much value on characteristics associated with representative bureaucracy. Instead, they emphasize the role of leadership in the organization and highlight the importance of individual values over diversity and demographic characteristics. Table 4.3[6] shows all of the statements that are distinguishing for Leaders.

Few statements relating directly to representation are distinguishing for this group. Participants in this factor do indicate that they possess at least some discretion (Statements: 3, 11). This group also emphasizes that leadership is more important than diversity for achieving the organizational goals of efficiency and accountability (Statement 50). Leaders also feel their ability to understand and meet the needs of their constituents is dependent upon their constituents' values as opposed to shared demographic characteristics (Statements 33). Most statements referencing specific demographic characteristics are not significant for this group. However, respondents in this factor reject ideology as a variable influencing whether or not they can relate to or serve the needs of their constituents (Statement 42).

While this group emphasizes the role of leadership, they also deviate somewhat from traditional theories of bureaucratic hierarchy by rejecting the notion that their primary accountability is to their supervisor (Statement 46). This may be due to the high levels of executives in this group.

[6] The table includes statement number, statement content, factor rankings and factor scores. The Rank column represents the average ranking of this statement for respondents in this factor. The Scores represent the normalized scores for this factor on this statement. The scores indicate statistical significance as well as the differences in standard deviations among respondents' rankings from different factors.

While not part of this respondent sample, quotes from initial interviews help to illustrate the perspective of Leaders:

"I think it comes more from the leadership rather than diversity. I've seen efficiency and inefficiency here and that was due to leadership…"

"You know I have a diverse background. I can relate to anybody – white, black, Hispanic…but I do believe in a strong work ethic. People have to work hard."

TABLE 4.3
DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS FOR LEADERS
(P < .05 ; ASTERISK (*) INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .01)

		Leaders		Traditional Bureaucrats		Identity Empathizers		Diversity Advocates	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
50	Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.	5	1.79*	1	0.70	-2	-0.76	-1	-0.37
33	A person's values such as honesty and hard work are more important than demographic characteristics in determining whether or not I can relate to them and understand their needs.	5	1.66*	1	0.49	2	0.80	-2	-0.84
3	I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.	1	0.65	1	0.23	4	1.41	3	1.23
11	I use informal procedures for needs' assessments.	1	0.63*	0	0.01	-2	-0.64	-1	-0.32
32	Sometimes constituents misunderstand my organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive.	1	0.18	1	0.69	3	1.10	-2	-0.84
30	We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.	0	0.08*	-5	-2.21	-3	-1.00	-1	-0.74
16	I make decisions such as resource allocation or information provision that I consider acts of representation or advocacy.	0	-0.26	0	0.15	2	0.82	3	1.21
15	I have information which I can choose to give to my constituents that my help them get faster or better services from my organization.	-1	-0.48*	2	0.84	1	0.18	1	0.48
28	We have formal outreach programs, and we target certain groups in our outreach programs such as lower income individuals.	-1	-0.55	0	-0.12	1	0.63	0	0.25
46	My primary accountability is to my supervisor.	-2	-0.83*	3	1.29	-5	-1.87	-5	-1.91
42	An individual's ideological beliefs influence my abilities to understand and meet someone's needs.	-3	-0.88	-4	-1.28	-1	-0.30	-3	-1.27

Factor 2: Traditional Bureaucrats

Ten participants load significantly as Traditional Bureaucrats. Table 4.4 shows the characteristics of Traditional Bureaucrats respondents including demographic characteristics and organizational variables.

TABLE 4.4 **CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADITIONAL BUREAUCRATS** **N = 10**	
Policy	
Redistributive	10.0%
Regulatory	30.0%
Distributive	40.0%
Constituent	20.0%
Level	
Street Level	20.0%
Management	60.0%
Executive	20.0%
Level of Government	
Local	30.0%
State	60.0%
Federal	10.0%
Gender	
Male	80%
Female	20%
Race	
Black	10%
White	90%
Age	
50 – 70 years old	60%
35 – 49 years old	10%
25 – 34 years old	30%
Education	
Some College	10%
Bachelor's	30%
Some Graduate	0%
Graduate Degree	60%
Income	
$20-40,000	10%
$40-75,000	20%
$75-100,000	30%
over $100,000	40%

Again, there are a few very interesting statistics which deviate from the overall sample make-up. First, management level employees are over-represented in this sample. Additionally, redistributive and constituent agency employees are under-represented whereas distributive agency employees are over-represented. Finally, males are even further over-represented in this factor compared to Leaders. Eighty percent of the sample is male and only 20% female. These variables will be discussed in further detail throughout the remaining chapters.

Traditional Bureaucrats rank statements in a way that most closely reflects traditional notions of bureaucracy rather than representative bureaucracy. The major emphasis of this group is hierarchy and differentiation between levels of the organization. Table 4.5 shows the distinguishing statements for this factor.

Traditional Bureaucrats indicate differences in both discretion and accountability depending on the level within the organization (Statements: 43, 36, 17). They indicate those at the lower level of the organization have little or no discretion (Statements: 43, 36). Also in line with traditional bureaucratic roles, this group indicates their primary accountability is with their supervisor (Statement 46). However, Traditional Bureaucrats also indicate that they are accountable to multiple other groups including the organization, the community and legislators (Statement 1). Like Leaders, this group emphasizes leadership above diversity in determining efficiency and accountability (Statement 50). However, the strength of agreement among this group is much weaker than for Leaders. The average Traditional Bureaucrats rank this statement 1 while the average Leader rank it 5.

Interestingly, this group suggests that everyone in the organization should see themselves as representatives, but they also suggest that individuals at higher levels of the organization have a greater role in representation (Statement 49). In addition, for this group, the target of representation is the public interest rather than specific groups or interests (Statements 26). Most statements dealing directly with the relationship between demographic characteristics and representation do not appear as significant statements that define this group. However, they do reject race and gender as factors that influence their ability to relate to or serve the needs of their constituents (Statement: 22).

A quote from one of the initial interviews reflects the role of the Traditional Bureaucrat:

> "No, the way our organization is set up is a top down approach…Within my department we do not set policy or have much input in policy. We are totally bureaucrats. We do the work that we are asked to do…"

TABLE 4.5
DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS FOR TRADITIONAL BUREAUCRATS
(P < .05 ; ASTERISK (*) INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .01)

		Leaders		Traditional Bureaucrats		Identity Empathizers		Diversity Advocates	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
1	I am accountable to multiple groups – my supervisor, my organization, the community, and legislators.	4	1.5	5	2.17*	2	0.89	5	1.50
49	Those who work above me have more of representational or advocacy role, and those below me have less.	-1	-.068	5	1.81*	-3	-0.92	-1	-0.73
43	Individuals at lower levels of my organization do not have the same power to influence policy as those at higher levels.	-4	-1.20	4	1.39*	-2	-0.85	0	-0.17
46	My primary accountability is to my supervisor.	-2	-0.83	3	1.29*	-5	-1.87	-5	-1.91
14	Ideally, everyone in my organization should see representation as part of their role in the organization.	3	1.42	2	0.94	-1	-0.44	4	1.39
50	Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.	5	1.79	1	0.70*	-2	-0.76	-1	-0.37
26	My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, rather than specific groups or legislators.	2	1.09	1	0.68	-2	-0.73	4	1.43
36	I work in a very top-down organization where policies are set at a much higher level. I do not have discretion or influence over policy.	-3	-0.94	1	0.43*	-5	-2.50	-3	-1.30
3	I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.	1	0.65	1	0.23	4	1.41	3	1.23
16	I make decisions such as resource allocation or information provision that I consider acts of representation or advocacy	0	-0.26	0	0.15	2	0.82	3	1.21

25	Characteristics such as age, education, income, and occupation may influence my ability to understand and serve constituents	-4	-1.48	0	-0.02*	3	1.01	-4	-1.54
4	If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability	3	1.12	0	-0.13	1	0.38	2	0.93
40	I am able to influence policy-making and/or program development.	2	1.12	0	-0.17*	5	1.90	2	0.97
39	My organization encourages public input and participation.	2	0.97	-1	-0.39*	4	1.28	2	0.95
17	Individuals in the organization above and below me have similar levels of accountability	1	0.70	-2	-0.97*	-4	-1.65	1	0.34
27	I am primarily accountable to politicians or elected officials	-5	-1.85	-3	-1.13	-2	-0.53	-4	-1.56
22	Race and gender are characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to understand the needs of my constituents and serve them.	-4	-1.63	-3	-1.19	1	0.40	-5	-1.81
30	We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.	0	0.08	-5	-2.21*	-3	-1.00	-1	-0.74

Factor 3: Identity Empathizers

Eight participants load significantly as Identity Empathizers. Table 4.6 shows the characteristics of Identity Empathizers respondents including demographic characteristics and organizational variables.

TABLE 4.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF IDENTITY EMPATHIZERS N = 8	
Policy	
Redistributive	0%
Regulatory	37.5%
Distributive	25.0%
Constituent	37.5%
Level	
Street Level	25.0%
Management	25.0%
Executive	50.0%
Level of Government	
Local	37.5%
State	50.0%
Federal	12.5%
Gender	
Male	75.0%
Female	25.0%
Race	
Black	25%
White	75%
Other	0%
Age	
50 – 70 years old	63%
35 – 49 years old	25%
25 – 34 years old	12%
Education	
Some College	12.5%
Bachelor's	50%
Some Graduate	12.5%
Graduate Degree	25%
Income	
$20-40,000	12.5%
$40-75,000	0%
$75-100,000	37.5%
over $100,000	50%

Like Leaders and Traditional Bureaucrats, there are some interesting characteristics of this group. First, there are no redistributive employees in this factor. This is interesting because it goes against what one would expect from the existing literature. To this point, most empirical studies have focused exclusively on redistributive organizations. Both regulatory and constituent organizations are slightly over-represented in the sample. Second, executive level employees are over-represented in the sample, which is also counterintuitive given the literature in the field. Most of the research to this point examining active representation has focused on street level bureaucrats rather than executives. Finally, blacks and males are also over-represented in this sample. These variables will be discussed in more detail throughout the remaining chapters.

Identity Empathizers exemplify many of the characteristics associated with contemporary literature in the field of representative bureaucracy. Table 4.7 illustrates the statements that are distinguishing for this factor. Identity Empathizers indicate having discretion (Statement 40, 36). They also suggest that demographic characteristics influence their ability to relate to and/or serve the needs of their constituents (Statement 2). In addition, they designate multiple characteristics that may influence whether or not they can understand and serve the needs of their constituents. These characteristics include: whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area, age, education, income, and occupation, race and gender (Statements: 8, 25, 22). Participants in this group reject the relationship between ideology and representation (42). Further, this group rejects central ideas embedded

in traditional theories of representative bureaucracy expressing disagreement with statements relating their responsibility and accountability toward the public interest (Statements 19, 26). Finally, this group rejects formal accountability indicating their primary accountability is not to legislative mandates or elected officials (Statements 27, 45).

Interestingly, while this group suggests demographic characteristics may influence their ability to relate to constituents, they are less consistent toward statements directly tapping into topics of representation and advocacy. For example, this group is neutral toward Statement 31: "I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization." Further, they reject the idea that everyone in the organization should see themselves as an advocate (Statement 14). This group presents inconsistent views on the relationship between representation and accountability. This group agrees with statements 4 "If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability" and also statement 34 "Representation or advocacy by individuals in the organization decreases accountability". Relative to the other groups, Identity Empathizers have a lower level of agreement with statement 4, and all of the other groups indicate disagreement with statement 34. This inconsistency is interesting for this group because it seems to suggest positive effects of representation or advocacy from the individual but a negative view toward representation or advocacy from others in the organization. Additionally, in contrast to the other groups, Identity Empathizers disagree that representation increases efficiency.

A participant in an early interview exemplifies this factor and the relationship between representation and demographic characteristics:

"I was a probation officer for seven years, and people would be happy to have a black probation officer. I guess they thought I would not put them back in jail. Women related to me and mothers. I had some prayers and scriptures in my office. This made them more at ease I guess, since I was a Christian. I think it matters."

TABLE 4.7
DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS FOR IDENTITY EMPATHIZERS
(P < .05 ; ASTERISK (*) INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .01)

		Leaders		Traditional Bureaucrats		Identity Empathizers		Diversity Advocates	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
40	I am able to influence policy-making and/or program development.	2	1.12	0	-0.17	5	1.90*	2	0.97
2	I sometimes feel that I am able to better relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics	-1	-0.56	-2	-0.73	3	1.21*	-3	-1.10
8	Whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area may influence my ability to understand and meet their needs.	-3	-1.13	-3	-0.97	3	1.02*	-4	-1.67
25	Characteristics such as age, education, income, and occupation may influence my ability to understand and serve constituents	-4	-1.48	0	-0.02	3	1.01*	-4	-1.54
1	I am accountable to multiple groups – my supervisor, my organization, the community, and legislators	4	1.50	5	2.17	2	0.89*	5	1.50
22	Race and gender are characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to understand the needs of my constituents and serve them	-4	-1.63	-3	-1.19	1	0.40*	-5	-1.81
4	If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability	3	1.12	0	-0.13	1	0.38	2	0.93
34	Representation or advocacy by individuals in the organization decreases accountability	-3	-1.13	-4	-1.24	1	0.22*	-3	-1.15
31	I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization	2	0.71	2	0.80	0	0.03*	4	1.42
19	My primary accountability is to the public at large	1	0.41	2	0.87	-1	-0.03*	1	0.74
42	An individual's ideological beliefs influence my ability to understand and meet someone's needs.	-3	-0.88	-4	-1.28	-1	-0.30*	-3	-1.27

14	Ideally, everyone in my organization should see representation as part of their role in the organization	3	1.42	2	0.94	-1	-0.44*	4	1.38
12	Representation or advocacy increases efficiency because it allows you to better understand the needs of certain groups and to better serve them	2	0.76	1	0.42	-1	-0.50*	1	0.66
27	I am primarily accountable to politicians or elected officials	-5	-1.85	-3	-1.13	-2	-0.53	-4	-1.56
26	My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, rather than specific groups or legislators.	2	1.09	1	0.68	-2	-0.73*	4	1.43
7	In my organization, I feel that assumptions are sometimes made about constituents based on their background or demographic characteristics	0	-0.20	-1	-0.29	-3	-0.17*	-1	-0.34
17	Individuals in the organization above and below me have similar levels of accountability	1	0.70	-2	-0.97	-4	-1.65*	1	0.34
45	My primary responsibility as a representative is to represent legislative mandates	-2	-0.78	-2	-0.78	-4	-1.84*	-2	-0.78
36	I work in a very top-down organization where policies are set at a much higher level. I do not have discretion or influence over policy	-3	-0.94	1	0.43	-5	-2.50*	-3	-1.30

Factor 4: Diversity Advocates

Thirteen participants load significantly as Diversity Advocates. Table 4.8 shows the characteristics of Diversity Advocates respondents including demographic characteristics as well as organizational variables.

TABLE 4.8 CHARACTERISTICS OF DIVERSITY ADVOCATES N = 13	
Policy	
Redistributive	30.8%
Regulatory	30.8%
Distributive	15.4%
Constituent	23.1%
Level	
Street Level	53.8%
Management	38.5%
Executive	7.7%
Level of Government	
Local	15.4%
State	76.9%
Federal	7.7%
Gender	
Male	46.2%
Female	53.8%
Race	
Black	31%
White	69%
Age	
50 – 70 years old	46%
35 – 49 years old	23%
25 – 34 years old	31%
Education	
Some College	15.4%
Bachelor's	53.8%
Some Graduate	7.7%
Graduate Degree	23.1%
Income	
$20-40,000	8.3%
$40-75,000	33.3%
$75-100,000	16.7%
over $100,000	41.7%

Several statistics stand out for this group. First, distributive organizations are under-represented, and redistributive organizations are over-represented. In addition, street level bureaucrats are over-represented while executives are under-represented. Finally, females and blacks are over-represented in this sample. These variables will be discussed in more depth throughout the remaining chapters.

Diversity Advocates emphasize ideas consistent with traditional notions of representative bureaucracy. Rather than emphasizing specific demographic characteristics, they highlight the importance of diversity and general demographic reflection.

Table 4.9 shows the distinguishing statements for Diversity Advocates. Diversity Advocates most closely reflect the views of traditional representative bureaucracy theory. They indicate seeing representation or advocacy as part of their role (Statement 31). They also indicate that it is important that the organization reflect the population that they serve (Statement 10). However, most statements specifying particular characteristics of importance are not significant for this group. This group rejects whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area as affecting their ability to relate to and/or serve their needs (Statement 8). They also reject the idea that a person's values are important to determining whether or not they can relate to and meet the needs of their constituents (Statement 33).

A respondent from the initial interviews made a statement that reflects this group's concern with diversity and representation:

"It is important to remember the make-up of your community. We have a growing Hispanic and Korean population. There have been specific efforts to hire someone who can speak Korean…there are a lot of people who do not speak English who need government services…."

TABLE 4.9
DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS FOR DIVERSITY ADVOCATES
(P < .05 ; ASTERISK (*) INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .01)

		Leaders		Traditional Bureaucrats		Identity Empathizers		Diversity Advocates	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
31	I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization.	2	0.71	2	0.80	0	0.03	4	1.42*
10	It is important that our organization reflect the demographic make-up of the population we serve	1	0.22	-1	-0.62	-1	-0.18	3	0.98*
37	Constituents will be better served if they are more educated on the services of our organization	3	1.22	4	1.38	4	1.46	0	0.24*
13	Language barriers are an important factor in service provision for my agency	-2	-0.79	-2	-0.90	-1	-0.40	0	0.09
43	Individuals at lower levels of my organization do not have the same power to influence policy as those at higher levels.	-4	-1.20	4	1.39	-2	-0.85	0	-0.17*
32	Sometimes constituents misunderstand my organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive	1	0.18	1	0.69	3	1.10	-2	-0.84*
33	A person's values such as honesty and hard work are more important than demographic characteristics in determining whether or not I can relate to them and understand their needs.	5	1.66	1	0.49	2	0.80	-2	-0.84*
8	Whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area may influence my ability to understand and meet their needs.	-3	-1.13	-3	-0.97	3	1.02	-4	-1.67*

Excluded Sorts

There are a total of 14 participants excluded from the factors based on either multiple loadings or non loadings. Table 4.10 shows the characteristics of this group of participants.

TABLE 4.10 CHARACTERISTICS OF NON AND MULTILE-LOADING RESPONDENTS N = 14	
Policy	
Redistributive	42.9%
Regulatory	14.3%
Distributive	35.7%
Constituent	7.1%
Level	
Street Level	35.7%
Management	35.7%
Executive	28.6%
Level of Government	
Local	14.3%
State	85.7%
Federal	
Gender	
Male	21%
Female	79%
Race	
Black	93%
White	7%
Other	0%
Age	
50 – 70 years old	64%
35 – 49 years old	14%
25 – 34 years old	21%
Education	
Some College	7%
Bachelor's	29%
Some Graduate	7%
Graduate Degree	57%
Income	
$20-40,000	25%
$40-75,000	25%
$75-100,000	25%
over $100,000	25%

For this group, constituent and regulatory agencies are under-represented while redistributive agencies are over-represented. Additionally, females are highly over-represented for this group.

DISCUSSION

The q-sort reveals four factors that represent distinct worldviews on representative bureaucracy: Leaders, Traditional Bureaucrats, Identity Empathizers, and Diversity Advocates. The four factors uncovered in this project add understanding to the theory of representative bureaucracy. First, there appear to be different degrees to which individuals emphasize the role of representation. Leaders and Traditional Bureaucrats do not present ideas that are consistent with theories of representative bureaucracy. However, Traditional Bureaucrats do indicate that they see representation as part of their role. Additionally, of the respondents reflecting views consistent with theories of representative bureaucracy, there appears to be at least two different perspectives. Identity Empathizers emphasize demographic characteristics and present views consistent with contemporary representative bureaucracy theory while Diversity Advocates highlight general diversity and reflect traditional theories of representative bureaucracy.

The organizational and demographic make-up of the factors reveals interesting and potentially important information as well. There appears to be some relationship between the policy and level of the organization and the factor. These variables will be examined in depth in the remaining chapters. Additionally, there

appears to be some relationship between gender and race and the factor make-up. The data suggests that future empirical research should examine the relationship between demographics and role perception more carefully.

CHAPTER FIVE
DEFINING AND MEASURING REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY

INTRODUCTION

Two important weaknesses remaining in the literature are how to define and measure representative bureaucracy. This chapter will explore how bureaucrats view representation as part of their role and the organizational factors that may influence this role perception. One of the perennial questions in the field of representative bureaucracy is how to best define the term. Theoretically, what does representation mean as it applies to bureaucracy? While scholars have long noted this problem in the literature, they have yet to come to a consensus. Throughout the literature, scholars continue to use multiple and contradictory definitions. The role of descriptive representation adds additional confusion to this question. Does active representation require passive representation? In other words, can a bureaucrat pursue policy objectives on behalf of constituents with whom they do not share demographic characteristics? In addition, when analyzing representative bureaucracy, what characteristics are important to consider? Specifically, are characteristics other than race and gender relevant to studies of representative bureaucracy?

Another question that remains in this literature is how organizational variables may influence the process of representation. Contemporary studies have limited the organizational context primarily to street level and executive level bureaucrats at redistributive agencies. Little attention has been paid to the role of

management or to distributive, regulatory, and constituent agencies. In addition, no work has analyzed how representation may differ according to these organizational variables. This project will explore the possibility for representation to occur at all levels and policy areas. It will also attempt to understand possible differences that may emerge as a result of the organizational context.

This chapter will explore issues related to defining representative bureaucracy as well as how the organizational context may influence representation or bureaucrats' role perception related to representation. A variety of data is presented for each research question. Descriptive statistics are explored and presented from the sample statements. The different factors are analyzed in relationship to the research questions. Finally, the qualitative data from focus groups and follow-up questionnaires is analyzed to provide a more nuanced look at the research questions.

THE ROLE OF REPRESENTATION

Each phase of data collection included measures designed to explore respondents' views toward representation broadly. In the initial interviews and focus groups, respondents were first asked a series of general questions about representational role perception. For example, respondents were asked "Do you see yourself as a representative within your organization? In other words, is representation or advocacy a part of your role in your organization? How central is this to your position?" Almost all participants said they view representation or advocacy as part of their role in the organization. The majority of respondents went

even further explaining that representation is very central to their role. A respondent who sees advocacy as central to their role states, "Yes, I would say that is fairly central. When you speak of advocacy, we have things we are required to do, and my role is to do whatever it takes to get that done, and to do that you have to be an advocate." However, a few respondents indicate that they do not see representation as part of their role. For example, one respondent states, "I do not see advocacy as part of my role. As a government agency, it is more formula driven than that. I have a problem with going outside of policy into advocacy. Once policies are set that should be it." Similarly, another respondent explains, "No, I don't think this is my role. Basically, this is not my role at all. My job is to make sure that the recipients are in line with federal laws. My role is not to advocate…."

In order to explore respondents' general views on representation more closely, statements were included in the sample related to whether or not respondents in general see representation as part of their role. The following statements were included in the sample to examine this question:

31. I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization.

14. Ideally, everyone in my organization should see representation as part of their role in the organization.

Table 5.1 shows the descriptive statistics for how the q-sort respondents rank each of these statements. The majority of respondents agree with both statements. Sixty-five percent indicate they see representation or advocacy as part of their role, and 85% indicate that ideally everyone in the organization should see representation

as part of their role. The large numbers of respondents agreeing with each of these statements suggests the importance of representation to bureaucratic role perception.

TABLE 5.1
GENERAL REPRESENTATION
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING OR DISAGREEING WITH STATEMENTS

Statement	% Agree	%Neutral	% Disagree
31. I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization.	65%	12%	23%
14. Ideally, everyone in my organization should see representation as part of their role in the organization.	85%	8%	7%

Examining the four factors individually reveals a more nuanced understanding of participants' views toward representation. While the majority of respondents agree with each statement, the two statements are not significant for all factors. No statements regarding general representation roles are distinguishing for Leaders, but they are distinguishing for Traditional Bureaucrats, Identity Empathizers, and Diversity Advocates. This supports claims by contemporary scholarship that there may be certain organizational contexts which preclude or at least minimize the occurrence of representative bureaucracy. For example, agency executives, because of the length of time in the organization, may have replaced their advocacy roles with organizational goals. However, the factors alone do not indicate what organizational or other variables may be associated with this view. This aspect of representative bureaucracy will be explored later in this chapter where the potential role of organizational variables and representation will be analyzed.

In contrast, distinguishing statements involving the role of representation emerge for Traditional Bureaucrats, Identity Empathizers and Diversity Advocates. Table 5.2 shows the distinguishing statements and factor scores related to general representation roles. As the Table illustrates, while representation is important to each of the factors, the degree to which participants see this as part of their role or the role of others in their organization varies by factor. Traditional Bureaucrats agree that everyone in the organization should see themselves as representatives, while Identity Empathizers disagree with this statement. Additionally, Diversity Advocates indicate they see representation or advocacy as their role in the organization, while Identity Empathizers indicate neutrality toward this statement. These patterns in the data are somewhat unexpected given the literature. From the existing literature, one or both of these statements would likely be distinguishing for Identity Empathizers.

TABLE 5.2
ROLE OF REPRESENTATION
(* INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .05; ** INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT .01)

		Traditional Bureaucrats		Identity Empathizers		Diversity Advocates	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
14	Ideally, everyone in my organization should see representation as part of their role in the organization.	2	0.94*	-1	-0.44**	4	1.39
31	I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization.	2	0.80	0	0.03**	4	1.42**

The data from focus groups, interviews, and q-sorts suggest that the majority of respondents view representation as a component of their role and the role of others in their organization. This highlights the continued importance of representation to bureaucratic role perception. However, representation does not appear significant for all factors, indicating the extent to which bureaucrats see this as part of their role may vary. These differences and the possible variables influencing respondents' views will be analyzed in depth in the remainder of this chapter and the chapters that follow.

DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION

Interviews, focus groups, and q-sorts included questions and/or statements designed to explicitly explore participants' views on the role of descriptive representation. In the initial focus groups and interviews, respondents were asked directly whether they feel that they can better relate to clients sharing their background characteristics and what characteristics are most important to this relationship. About half of the respondents indicate that this does influence their ability to relate to and serve the needs of their constituents. One respondent states, "I would hate to say no. I don't think you can say no. I think it's only natural." In contrast, another respondent feels that sharing demographic characteristics or background does not influence their ability to relate to and meet the needs of their constituents. "Looking at all of my constituents, I do not feel that there has been a situation where it has been more or less difficult to relate. In my organization, everyone is open to the needs of everyone…."

The Q-sorts included a variety of statements in order to further analyze the role of descriptive representation. Some statements examine issues of general diversity and demographic reflection, and others explicitly examine specific demographic characteristics. The following statements were included in the sorts in order to analyze the general role of descriptive representation:

> 2. I sometimes feel that I am able to better relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics.
>
> 10. It is important that our organization reflect the demographic make-up of the population we serve.
>
> 21. Having a diverse workforce where our employees speak many different languages and understand differences in beliefs, customs and ways of interacting helps the organization to better serve our customers.

Table 5.3 shows the percentage of respondents who agree and disagree with each statement. Analyzing the descriptive statistics on these statements provides interesting insights. Only a small percentage (20%) of respondents indicates they are better able to relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share their background or demographic characteristics (Statement 2). The organizational characteristics of this group are interesting and informative. Half of the respondents are from distributive organizations, and the majority of respondents that agree with this statement are executives. The existing literature would lead to the expectation that street level bureaucrats may be over represented in this group. The demographic characteristics are fairly consistent with the overall demographic sample. The gender make-up is almost identical to the sample with approximately

58% male and 42% female. Whites are slightly over-represented in the sample with 92% white respondents and 8% black.

In contrast, the majority of respondents agree that diversity and general demographic reflection are important for the organization. Fifty-two percent of respondents agree that it is important for the organization to reflect the demographic make-up of the population they serve (statement 10), and fifty-three percent agree that having a diverse workforce is important (statement 21). These results suggest that respondents may place a greater value on the benefits of passive representation or the symbolic effects of representative bureaucracy rather than active representation.

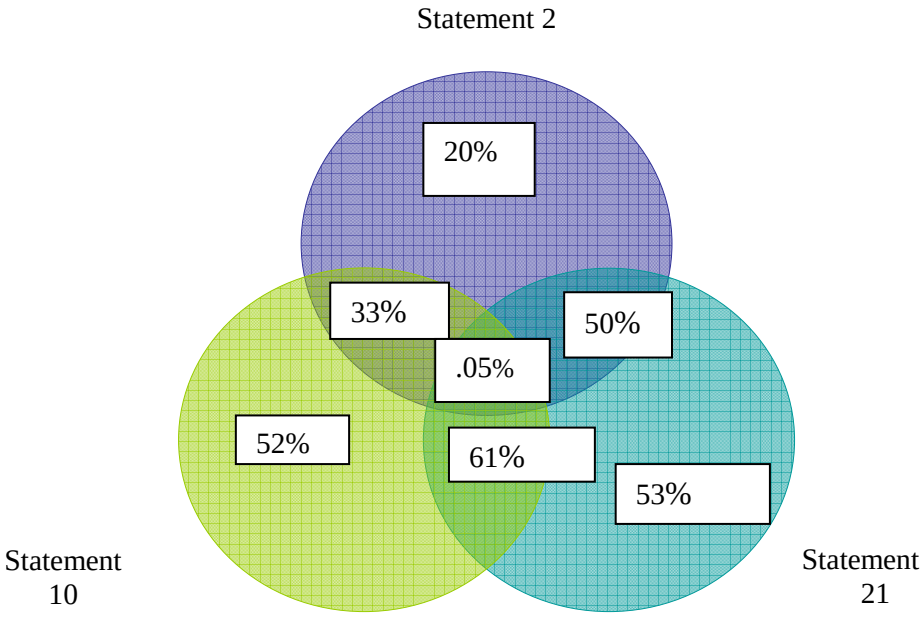
TABLE 5.3
DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING OR DISAGREEING WITH STATEMENTS

Statement	% Agree	% Neutral	% Disagree
2. I sometimes feel that I am able to better relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics.	20%	20%	60%
10. It is important that our organization reflect the demographic make-up of the population we serve.	52%	20%	28%
21. Having a diverse workforce where our employees speak many different languages and understand differences in beliefs, customs and ways of interacting helps the organization to better serve our customers.	53%	20%	27%

Analyzing the data more closely reveals further interesting nuances. When comparing the specific respondents who agree with statement 2 – "I sometimes feel

that I am able to better relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics" to those who agree with statement 10 – "It is important that our organization reflect the demographic make-up of the population we serve" only one-third of respondents who agree with statement 2 also agree with statement 10. When comparing respondents who agree with statement 2 to those who agree with statement 21 – "Having a diverse workforce where our employees speak many different languages and understand differences in beliefs, customs and ways of interacting helps the organization to better serve our customers", half of the respondents that agree with statement 2 also agree with statement 21. When comparing those who agree with statement 10 to those who agree with statement 21, about 61% of those who agree with statement 10 also agree with statement 21. Only three respondents agree with all three statements. Figure 4 illustrates the percentage of respondents who agree with each of the three statements.

FIGURE 4: Relationship Between Statements 2, 10, and 21:
Percentage of Respondents Who Agree



While all three statements tap into the role of descriptive representation, they also reflect different perspectives on this relationship. These various perspectives are also reflective of differences in how the literature defines representative bureaucracy. Statement 2 reflects the essence of personal empathy highlighting the role of shared demographic characteristics between bureaucrats and constituents. Statements 10 and 21 on the other hand, reflect earlier notions of representative bureaucracy highlighting the importance of general demographic reflection and diversity. Further, even within these two statements, different perspectives are

highlighted. Statement 10 focuses on the organization sharing characteristics of the population they serve, while statement 21 emphasizes the general importance of diversity. Having different respondents agree with each of these statements and very few agree with all statements supports the idea that multiple notions of representative bureaucracy may be valid, and maintaining various definitions of representative bureaucracy may be appropriate.

Table 5.4 shows the factor scores for these three statements. The factors reveal further interesting information on the potential role of descriptive representation. While Traditional Bureaucrats see representation as playing some role in their organization, representation does not appear to be linked to descriptive representation for this group. None of the statements that refer to demographics or diversity are distinguishing for this factor. This evidence suggests that while active representation may be linked to descriptive representation, it may not require descriptive representation. This provides further evidence that the focus on descriptive representation may limit understanding of the nature of representation within the bureaucracy. This possibility merits further empirical attention.

Neither Leaders nor Traditional Bureaucrats indicate a relationship with descriptive representation. None of these statements are distinguishing for either of these two factors. In contrast, both Identity Empathizers and Diversity Advocates demonstrate a relationship between descriptive representation and representative bureaucracy. Identity Empathizers indicate that they are better able to relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share their demographic characteristics

(Statement 2). While this statement is not significant for Diversity Advocates, these respondents indicate that it is important for the organization to reflect the general demographic make-up of the population they serve (Statement 10). Interestingly, Statement 21, which links diversity of an agency workforce with quality customer service, is not distinguishing for any factor.

TABLE 5.4
DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION AND FACTORS
(* INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .05; ** INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .01)

		Identity Empathizers		Diversity Advocates	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
2	I sometimes feel that I am able to better relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics	3	1.21**	-3	-1.10
10	It is important that our organization reflect the demographic make-up of the population we serve	-1	-0.18	3	0.98**

CHARACTERISTICS OF INTEREST

Given the importance of descriptive representation, the next important question is what characteristics are important to study? Early literature suggests that organizations should generally reflect the population they serve but do not specify what characteristics are important. Later, the literature specifies many different characteristics that may be relevant. In contrast, contemporary literature focuses almost exclusively on race and gender. Through the initial interviews, focus groups, q sorts and follow-up questionnaires, this project tries to shed light on what characteristics may be important toward representative bureaucracy.

In the initial interviews and focus groups, respondents who indicate demographic characteristics may influence their ability to understand and meet the needs of their constituents were asked to specify what characteristics are important. When respondents were asked to list specific characteristics that may influence their ability to understand and meet the needs of their constituents, they note a wide range of characteristics. These characteristics include: language, education, income, socio-economic background, whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area, occupation, ideology, gender, age, race, religion, whether or not you have children, and place of birth. Additionally, a few respondents indicate that values such as hard work and honesty are more important than demographic characteristics in determining whether or not they are able to relate to and meet the needs of their constituents. Below are quotes from individuals on this topic.

"From time to time, minorities may be put off by interacting with me, but because of my background I was able to relate to people in the project areas. I grew up in the projects so I was able to relate to them and talk to them."

"I have had difficulties relating to people who don't speak English as a native language."

"Openness and honesty influence my ability to relate to clients. If they are not open and honest with me, it definitely influences the way I handle their case."

This evidence demonstrates the potential value of looking beyond race and gender as characteristics of importance. While race and gender are mentioned as variables, many other characteristics are noted as well.

In order to further examine what characteristics may be important, the Q sample included statements on specific demographic characteristics

> 22. Race and gender are characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to understand the needs of my constituents and serve them.
>
> 8. Whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area may influence my ability to understand and meet their needs.
>
> 13. Language barriers are an important factor in service provision for my agency.
>
> 42. An individual's ideological beliefs influence my ability to understand and meet someone's needs.
>
> 25. Characteristics such as age, education, income, and occupation may influence my ability to understand and serve constituents.
>
> 33. A person's values such as honesty and hard work are more important than demographic characteristics in determining whether or not I can relate to them and understand their needs.

Table 5.5 shows the percentage of respondents who agree and disagree with each of these statements. The patterns provide important insight into the relationship between specific characteristics and representative bureaucracy. The majority of respondents (53%) indicate that values such as honesty and hard work are more important than demographic characteristics in determining whether or not they can relate to and understand the needs of individuals. Less than 25% of respondents agree with any of the remaining statements. Interestingly, a higher percentage of participants indicate that language and characteristics such as age, education,

income, and occupation affect their ability to relate to individuals compared to race and gender. This further supports the notion that studies of representative bureaucracy should explore a variety of characteristics rather than focusing exclusively on race and gender.

TABLE 5.5
DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION –
SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS AND
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING
OR DISAGREEING WITH STATEMENTS

Statement	% Agree	% Neutral	% Disagree
22. Race and gender are characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to understand the needs of my constituents and serve them.	17%	8%	75%
8. Whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area may influence my ability to understand and meet their needs.	15%	18%	67%
13. Language barriers are an important factor in service provision for my agency.	25%	15%	60%
42. An individual's ideological beliefs influence my ability to understand and meet someone's needs.	12%	12%	76%
25. Characteristics such as age, education, income, and occupation may influence my ability to understand and serve constituents.	23%	7%	70%
33. A person's values such as honesty and hard work are more important than demographic characteristics in determining whether or not I can relate to them and understand their needs.	53%	22%	25%

In order to minimize the overall number of sort cards and simplify the sorting process, some cards included multiple characteristics. In the follow-up

interviews, respondents indicating demographic characteristics are important were asked what specific characteristics are most important. Asking respondents about specific characteristics allows them to exclude characteristics individually that may have been included together in the statements. When asked to explain specific characteristics of importance, respondents noted the following: race, language, education, occupation, rural or metropolitan area, income, and gender.

An additional important insight emerged as the responses were analyzed according to individual agreement with specific statements. While each statement had an overall level of agreement ranging from 12%-53%, when analyzing the statements and respondents who agreed separately, 80% of respondents agree with at least one statement concerning the importance of descriptive representation. This affirms the importance of descriptive representation. However, the nature and degree of this relationship varies substantively across respondents. The specific characteristics of importance vary across respondents. Additionally, some respondents identify with multiple characteristics while others indicate agreement with only one particular characteristic.

Further analysis of the four factors reveals interesting patterns. Two statements are distinguishing for Leaders – statements 33 and 42. Leaders strongly agree with statement 33 – emphasizing the importance of a person's values over demographic characteristics. Additionally, statement 42 is distinguishing for this group (the importance of ideological beliefs), but this group does not agree with this statement. Two statements are also distinguishing for the Traditional Bureaucrats –

statements 25 and 22. For statement 25 referencing age, education, income and occupation, Traditional Bureaucrats indicate neutrality. For statement 22, referencing race and gender, Traditional Bureaucrats disagree that this influences their ability to relate to and serve the needs of their constituents. This is consistent with the neutrality associated with the role of the Traditional Bureaucrat.

As previously discussed, Diversity Advocates indicate the importance of demographic similarities between the organization and the constituents (Statement 10). However, most of the specific characteristics do not emerge as distinguishing statements for this factor. One distinguishing statement for this factor is statement 8, whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area, and this group strongly rejects this as a variable influencing their ability to relate to or meet the needs of constituents. Interestingly, statement 33 indicating the importance of a person's values is also distinguishing for this group, but they disagree with this statement. In other words, these results are important because they underscore that some bureaucrats continue to embrace the early definitions of representative bureaucracy whereby specific characteristics of interest may not be as important as overall demographic reflection of the population

The specific demographic factors are most strongly linked to Identity Empathizers. This group indicates that whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area, age, education, income, and occupation, race and gender may influence their ability to relate to and meet the needs of their constituents. Identity Empathizers disagree with statement 42, indicating that ideology is not necessarily a

relevant characteristic for this group. Again, this factor is interesting because statements related directly to representation or advocacy is not distinguishing for this group, despite their agreement with statements on the relevance of demographic characteristics. The differences between Identity Empathizers and Diversity Advocates reflect differences noted between traditional and contemporary representative bureaucracy theory. This nuance appears to revolve around a personal value of descriptive representation and an organizational value of diversity. Table 5.6 shows the factors and scores where these statements are distinguishing

TABLE 5.6
SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS AND FACTORS
(*P < .05 ; ** P < .01)

		Leaders		Traditional Bureaucrats		Identity Empathizers		Diversity Advocates	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
33	A person's values such as honesty and hard work are more important than demographic characteristics in determining whether or not I can relate to them and understand their needs.	5	1.66**	1	0.49	2	0.80	-2	-0.84**
42	An individual's ideological beliefs influence my abilities to understand and meet someone's needs.	-3	-0.88*	-4	-1.28	-1	-0.30**	-3	-1.27
25	Characteristics such as age, education, income, and occupation may influence my ability to understand and serve constituents	-4	-1.48	0	-0.02**	3	1.01**	-4	-1.54
22	Race and gender are characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to understand the needs of my constituents and serve them.	-4	-1.63	-3	-1.19*	1	0.40**	-5	-1.81
8	Whether a person lives in a rural or metropolitan area may influence my ability to understand and meet their needs	-3	-1.13	-3	-0.97	3	1.02**	-4	-1.67**

ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

In addition to (and partially a result of) questions about defining representative bureaucracy, questions also remain regarding how to best measure representative bureaucracy. In contemporary studies, the organizational context in which representative bureaucracy is studied has been limited, particularly studies of active representation. Most studies have focused on street level bureaucrats in redistributive agencies. However, some evidence suggests this may be a limited view of representative bureaucracy. This project expands understanding and possible nuances of representative bureaucracy by analyzing all levels and policy areas in order to explore to what extent and how these organizational variables may influence the process of representative bureaucracy. This study suggests an expanded lens that future empirical studies might utilize.

The potential effects of the organizational variables are analyzed from several perspectives. First, qualitative data from focus groups, interviews, and follow-up questionnaires is analyzed to provide information on the possible influence of organizational factors and representative bureaucracy. In addition, the q sorts are analyzed from different perspectives to explore the role of organizational factors and representation. Since organizational data was collected on all respondents, respondents' statement ranking can be compared according to the organizational variables to see if the level or policy area appears related to how respondents rank statements. In addition, several statements were included in the sort specifically in order to probe respondents' views on these organizational

variables. Finally, the respondents in each sort are analyzed to see if the organizational variables influence the sort with which they associate.

Organizational Variables and Role Perception

First, does the level or policy area influence whether or not someone sees themselves as a representative? Analyzing the initial focus groups and interviews, organizational factors appear to influence general representation role perception and the process of representation to some extent although the effects are variable. There are bureaucrats from all levels and all policy areas who indicate they see representation as part of their role. One noteworthy insight is that all executive level employees, regardless of policy area, report that representation is central to their role within their organization. In fact, the executive level bureaucrats appear the most emphatic and enthusiastic over their role as representatives. This evidence suggests that all levels of the bureaucracy should be considered valid for studies of representative bureaucracy, and representative bureaucracy may have different meanings at different levels of the organization that need to be explored.

In order to better understand how the level of the bureaucracy may influence the process of representation, respondents were also asked to discuss how they see the role of their supervisors and staff in the organization. The four respondents that indicate that they do not see themselves as representatives also explain they do not see their immediate staff or supervisors as representatives either. They indicate that decisions are made at a much higher level than even their immediate supervisors. A

management level employee at a distributive agency explains, “Those below me do not [have representation as a role] at all. Those above me don’t either.”

All respondents who see representation as part of their role also express seeing this as a key role of their staff and supervisors. When asked about the centrality of representation to their role compared to those above or below them, there is little consistency to the responses. Some state that it is the same for all levels within the organization. Several executive level bureaucrats even explain that the role of their staff as representatives in the organization is similar to their own role as a representative. Others indicate those at higher levels have more of a role as a representative. An executive at a distributive agency notes, “The lower you are, the more your recommendations get filtered.” In contrast, some feel those below them have a greater role as a representative in the organization. A management level employee at a redistributive agency states, “I believe the front-line staff under me has a more direct role because they are actually in the community. I believe staff over me has less of a representative role”.

A few respondents explain that while everyone has a role in the process of representation, differences may emerge depending on the level within the agency. Individuals at different levels of the organization may advocate to different groups or advocacy may be filtered through individuals in higher levels of the organization. An executive at a redistributive agency explains, “I think there are differences in who you have the ability to influence. Not every staff person goes over and presents to the legislature although some do…Everyone is an advocate…we do not all do our

advocacy to the same groups." Similarly, a management level employee in a redistributive agency notes, "The further I move up the ladder and into management, and the way we communicate within our organization, I advocate on a different level. I do not have direct contact with the clients so I receive information on behalf of the clients by the street level bureaucrats. Then I can advocate to a higher level."

These statements provide valuable insight to how the organizational context may influence representative bureaucracy. Overall, the evidence supports the notion that all bureaucrats regardless of the level or policy area should be considered valid subjects in the study of representative bureaucracy. The evidence also suggests there may some nuances depending on the organizational context that need to be examined more closely.

Whether or not an individual sees representation as a part of their role in the organization does not appear to be driven by policy area. While the level of employment does appear to have some influence on the way bureaucrats see their role, the exact nature of the relationship is unclear. All executive level bureaucrats stated that representation is central to their role in the organization. This evidence affirms the importance in maintaining a focus on executive level bureaucrats. When asked whether or not they see representation as part of their role in the organization, a few management and street level bureaucrats explain that policy is made at a much higher level within the organization. On the one hand, the respondents' link between representation or advocacy and discretion supports the literature's suggestion that scholars should focus on bureaucrats with some level of discretion.

However, it appears that discretion exists in different levels for different agencies. Some street level bureaucrats indicate having discretion while others do not; this is also true of some management level employees. These variations need to be considered more closely. One possibility may be an interaction between policy area and level which needs to be more systematically evaluated.

Finally, some street level bureaucrats indicate that while they do not have personal discretion, they do advocate on behalf of their constituents to those with discretion – thus maintaining a vital role in the representational process – and one that would not present a clear data trail to follow without qualitative analysis. For example, a street level bureaucrat at a redistributive agency states, "I do have direct contact, but I do not have the ability to make decisions. I do advocate for [my constituents. I have to talk to my supervisor to make decisions." This evidence suggests that alternative data sources should be more extensively used in the field in order to better understand the exercise of representation within bureaucratic agencies. Possible data sources will be examined in the next chapter.

Analyzing the descriptive statistics for specific sort statements and their relationship to organizational factors is also informative. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 show the relationship between organizational factors and individuals' responses to statements 31 and 14 targeting general representation role perception. The majority of respondents at all levels and policy areas agree with each statement. However, there does appear to be a possible relationship albeit weak between the organizational variables.

For statement 31, “I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization”, policy appears to be somewhat related to respondents’ answers. Consistent with contemporary studies, individuals at redistributive agencies have the highest percentage of respondents who agree with this statement. This lends some support to the scholarly attention to redistributive agencies; however, as previously noted, more than fifty percent of respondents at all policy areas agree with this statement. The effects appear weaker with statement 14: “Ideally, everyone in my organization should see representation as part of their role in the organization.” A large majority of respondents across all policy areas agree with this statement.

Analyzing the effects of the level of organization to these statements shows a weaker pattern. For statement 31, a higher percentage of street level bureaucrats agree with this statement, but the differences between the levels overall were very small. The same is true for statement 14.

As the tables show, organizational variables do appear related to role perception to some extent. However, the relationship appears to be weak and does not support the contention that some individuals should be excluded a priori based on the level or policy area in which they work. In contrast, the evidence suggests that all bureaucrats regardless of policy area or level of the bureaucracy may see themselves as representatives and should be considered valid subjects of study in the field of representative bureaucracy.

TABLE 5.7
ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS AND ROLE PERCEPTION
STATEMENT 31: "I SEE REPRESENTATION OR ADVOCACY AS PART OF MY ROLE IN MY ORGANIZATION"

Policy Area/Level	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**N**
Redistributive	79%	14%	7%	14
Regulatory	56%	19%	25%	16
Distributive	68%	13%	19%	16
Constituent	57%	0%	43%	14
Street level	70%	5%	25%	20
Management	57%	14%	29%	21
Executive	68%	16%	16%	19

TABLE 5.8
ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS AND ROLE PERCEPTION OF OTHERS
STATEMENT 14: "IDEALLY, EVERYONE IN MY ORGANIZATION SHOULD SEE REPRESENTATION AS PART OF THEIR ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION"

Policy Area/Level	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**N**
Redistributive	86%	7%	7%	14
Regulatory	87%	13%	0%	16
Distributive	88%	6%	6%	16
Constituent	79%	7%	14%	14
Street level	95%	0%	5%	20
Management	76%	14%	10%	21
Executive	84%	11%	5%	19

The following statements were included in the sample to further explore the role of organizational variables and representation. These are:

49. Those who work above me have more of representational or advocacy role, and those below me have less.

23. Everyone in my organization is an advocate, but we do not all advocate to the same groups.

9. I believe the front-line staff under me has a more direct role of representation, and those above me have less of a role.

Analyzing the descriptive statistics on these statements provides interesting information on the potential role of organizational variables and representation. Table 5.9 shows the percentage of respondents that agree and disagree with each statement. One of the interesting results is statement 9 – "I believe the front-line staff under me has a more direct role of representation, and those above me have less of a role". The large majority of respondents disagree that front-line staff has a more direct role of representation and those at higher levels of the organization have less of a role. This calls into question the existing assumption that lower level bureaucrats have a greater role due to discretion or a lack of organizational socialization.

TABLE 5.9
ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS AND PERCEPTION OF LEVELS
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING
AND DISAGREEING WITH STATEMENTS

Statement	% Agree	% Neutral	% Disagree
49. Those who work above me have more of representational or advocacy role, and those below me have less.	40%	17%	43%
23. Everyone in my organization is an advocate, but we do not all advocate to the same groups.	24%	23%	53%
9. I believe the front-line staff under me has a more direct role of representation, and those above me have less of a role.	11%	17%	72%

For most of the factors, no statements regarding organizational variables are distinguishing. Statement 49 - "Those who work above me have more of representational or advocacy role, and those below me have less." is a distinguishing statement for Traditional Bureaucrats, and respondents in this factor strongly agree

with this statement. This is consistent with Traditional Bureaucrat's tendency to emphasize the role of hierarchy, and it also suggests that in some situations and organizations, the level of employment may matter. However, the direction of that relationship may not be consistent with the assumptions of contemporary representative bureaucracy theory suggesting lower level employees play a greater role in active representation. Instead, respondents in this factor suggest that it is actually upper level bureaucrats who have a larger role in representation.

Organizational Variables and Descriptive Representation

One of the justifications in contemporary representative bureaucracy literature for highlighting street level bureaucrats over upper level bureaucrats is the theory that upper level bureaucrats may have been socialized out of their understanding toward their social group and instead taken on the values of the organization. In order to explore this assumption, the respondents' rankings of statements about descriptive representation are analyzed according to the organizational variables. The results further call some contemporary assumptions into question, and suggest further empirical research is needed in this field.

Interestingly, only 10% of street level bureaucrats agree with the statement "I sometimes feel that I am able to better relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics", while 14% of management agree with this statement. By contrast, 36% of executives agree with this statement. This evidence suggests a further look at how organizational variables influence one's values may be necessary. The level of organization did

not appear to have the same effect on respondents' ranking of the other statements of descriptive representation. A higher percentage of respondents at each level agree with these two statements. Interestingly, a higher percentage of management employees agree with both statements compared to street and executive level employees. Table 5.10 shows the percentage of respondents who agree and disagree with each statement.

TABLE 5.10
ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS AND VALUES

Statement 2: I sometimes feel that I am able to better relate to and meet the needs of constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics.				
Level	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**N**
Street Level	10%	20%	70%	20
Management	11%	29%	57%	21
Executive	37%	11%	52%	19
Statement 10: It is important that our organization reflect the demographic make-up of the population we serve.				
Street Level	45%	15%	40%	20
Management	57%	14%	29%	21
Executive	53%	32%	16%	19
Statement 21: Having a diverse workforce where our employees speak many different languages and understand differences in beliefs, customs and ways of interacting helps the organization to better serve our customers.				
Street Level	55%	15%	30%	20
Management	62%	19%	19%	21
Executive	42%	26%	32%	19

Organizational Variables and Factors

In order to further analyze the relationship between organizational variables and representation, I report the make-up of respondents in each factor according to the level and policy area in which they work. See Table 5.11 for this summary. Due to the inductive nature of this project, no projections can be made from these

numbers as to the actual percentages of individuals in the general population with these particular worldviews. The purpose for presenting these data is to suggest the possibility of relationships worthy of further study between agency type, personnel level and perspectives on representation.

Arraying the organizational variables in each factor reveals some interesting information. Perhaps the most interesting finding is that no respondents from redistributive agencies load significantly as Identity Empathizers. By contrast, constituent and regulatory agencies have the highest percentage of individuals who load as Identity Empathizers. This is counter to the expectations from the literature, and this supports the claim that attention should be directed outside of strictly redistributive agencies. Individuals from regulatory agencies are spread fairly evenly throughout the factors. While these are noteworthy aspects of the data, one of the potential problems complicating the interpretation of these percentages is the high percentage of redistributive and distributive participants who do not load on any factor.

TABLE 5.11
POLICY AREA AND FACTOR LOCATION

	Leaders	Traditional Bureaucrats	Identity Empathizers	Diversity Advocates	Excluded	N
Redistributive	21.4%	7.1%	0%	28.6%	42.9%	14
Regulatory	25%	18.8%	18.8%	25%	12.5%	16
Distributive	18.8%	25%	12.5%	12.5%	31.3%	16
Constituent	35.7%	14.3%	21.4%	21.4%	7.1%	14

Examining the factors relative to the organizational level also reveals some interesting patterns. These patterns could be partially anticipated based on the existing literature; however, there are some nuances that deviate from the

expectations of the existing theory in this field. As might be expected, nearly half of the street level employees load significantly on one of the factors associated with representative bureaucracy (Identity Empathizers or Diversity Advocates). However, a much higher percentage of street level bureaucrats associate with Diversity Advocates and as opposed to Identity Empathizers. Additionally, a much higher percentage of executive employees associate with Identity Empathizers than street level bureaucrats. This further affirms the need to expand the scope of inquiry to include executives in studies of active representation. It also reiterates the possibility of differences in role perception related to representation according to organizational variables. Management employees have roughly equal percentages of individuals associating with Traditional Bureaucrats and Diversity Advocates. Roughly equal percentages from each level are excluded based on non-loading or multiple loadings. Table 5.12 illustrates the relationship between level of the organization and respondent's factor locations.

TABLE 5.12
LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION AND FACTOR LOCATION

	Leaders	Traditional Bureaucrats	Identity Empathizers	Diversity Advocates	Excluded	N
Street level	20%	10%	10%	35%	25%	20
Management	14.3%	28.6%	9.5%	23.8%	23.8%	21
Executive	42.1%	10.5%	21.1%	5.3%	21.1%	19

DISCUSSION

This chapter considers the ongoing problems of defining and measuring representative bureaucracy. Analyzing focus groups, interviews, q-sort data, and follow-up questionnaires, this chapter provides insight to defining representative

bureaucracy and the role of descriptive representation. The majority of respondents indicate that they see representation as part of their role in their organization. The results also suggest that there may in fact be different views of representation within the bureaucracy. There is evidence to support both traditional and contemporary forms of representative bureaucracy. Finally, the data supports the argument that descriptive representation may not be necessary for representative bureaucracy, and factors other than race and gender may be important characteristics to study.

This chapter also explored the possible relationship between organizational variables and representative bureaucracy. The evidence also suggests that the current restriction of empirical studies focusing on street level bureaucrats and redistributive agencies may need to be reconsidered. These data suggest that all bureaucrats at all levels and policy areas may be valid candidates for representative bureaucracy. However, policy and level may shape certain aspects of representative bureaucracy.

CHAPTER SIX
DIRECT AND INDIRECT REPRESENTATION

INTRODUCTION

One of the important interpretations from the data presented so far in this project is that current studies may be overly restrictive in considering what organizational contexts are appropriate for studying representative bureaucracy. The data so far suggests that all policy areas and levels may be valid settings for representative bureaucracy. However, the organizational context may influence the process of representation. This presents not only a theoretical movement from earlier work but also an empirical puzzle. What is the best way to measure the effects of representative bureaucracy? Regardless of the setting, to this point, scholars have relied almost exclusively on quantitative agency outputs to measure active representation.

One of the most common settings for studying active representation is education. To measure active representation, education studies utilize a variety of quantitative output measures. For example, Meier (1993) uses three different quantitative outputs to assess the role of active representation in schools. These measures are: educational grouping, discipline, and academic performance. Educational grouping is a process of classifying students according to perceived academic ability. The study also uses records of disciplinary action and competency exam results as dependent variables in this study. While education studies are the most common setting in this field, quantitative output measures are also used to measure active representation in other types of organizations. For example, Meier

and Nicholson-Crotty (2006) use reports and arrest rates for sexual assault cases as their dependent variable. Similarly, Selden (1997) uses the number of rural housing loans awarded as the dependent variable.

While studies using quantitative agency outputs have been informative to the field so far, they may only offer a partial view of representative bureaucracy. These measures may overlook instances when active representation occurs but is not linked directly to agency outputs. For example, representation may occur at the policy development stage rather than the implementation phase, and traditional output measures would not capture such an instance of representation. This chapter will explore what types of data may be useful for measuring active representation. Identifying possible data sources may allow scholars to move beyond the earlier theoretical restrictions focusing on redistributive and street level bureaucrats. In addition, this chapter will explore how the organizational context may influence the types of data sources that should be used. For example, data sources that may be useful for street level bureaucrats may not be as relevant for executive employees, and similarly, the same data sources may not be relevant at redistributive agencies as distributive agencies.

Data from interviews, focus groups, q sorts and follow-up questionnaires will be analyzed to provide insight into the possible data sources that may be useful for measuring representative bureaucracy. While this is an interpretative study, this chapter adds valuable insight into future research possibilities. Studying the

qualitative aspects of active representation provides insight into quantitative measures that may be used in future empirical studies.

- The patterns in the data provide the following insights into the types of data that may be useful for measuring active representation: Bureaucrats may consider many traditional behaviors such as implementation, resource allocation, and policy advocacy as acts of representation.
- Bureaucrats may also engage in additional behaviors they consider acts of representation such as public forums and information provision.
- There is also evidence that supports the possibility that co-production and demand inducement may occur in organizations.
- The evidence also suggests indirect representation may occur by which individuals influence the socialization of others in the organization.
- These results are important because these activities may not be captured by traditional agency outputs and merit further empirical study.
- Organizational factors also appear to influence the types of data that may be relevant, and these factors need to be taken into consideration when developing alternative data sources.

While this chapter provides useful insight to the study of active representation, there are some limitations to the instruments and the data that must be acknowledged. First, the small number of respondents restricts generalizability. Additionally, some of the statements in the q sort are ineffective at linking

bureaucratic behavior to the concept of representation. The real value of this data lies in its ability to illuminate future research possibilities.

MEASURING ACTIVE REPRESENTATION: ALTERNATIVE DATA SOURCES

Most empirical studies in the field of representative bureaucracy use agency outputs in order to measure active representation. Over-reliance on agency outputs may limit understanding of active representation because they primarily measure the occurrence of bureaucratic partiality, and it also restricts studies to instances where quantitative policy outputs are available and can be linked to a specific individual in the organization. Lim (2006) suggests there may be other methods by which passive representation leads to substantive positive effects. Expanding on Lim's theory of the direct and indirect sources of representation, this project explores the possibility of alternative data sources in order to clarify what types of data may be appropriate for measuring representative bureaucracy.

For each phase of data collection, questions and statements were included in order to probe the types of activities that respondents view as representation and the activities they perform in their organization that may be considered representation. Knowing what types of activities respondents view as acts of representation may provide insight into possible data sources for measuring representative bureaucracy. The responses were then analyzed in relationship to the organizational variables to explore whether various organizational contexts may require different data sources.

During the initial focus groups and interviews, participants who indicate seeing representation as part of their role in the organization were asked to describe specific tasks they perform in the organization that they consider acts of representation. When asked to describe these tasks, respondents provided a variety of answers. Most responses reflect typical bureaucratic behaviors including implementation decisions, resource allocation, and providing policy input for legislation. Below are a few quotes from respondents illustrative of the types of tasks respondents see as representation:

> "Very specifically, I make decisions on a day to day basis about whether or not to pursue certain matters about enforcement of codes or standards. I make recommendations to write legislation. I give opinions and more or less make decisions about zoning and planning policy. When you do this, you have to know what the community sees and how it is going to affect different people in the community. You do care quite a bit about who is going to be affected and how they will be affected."

> "I would say working to change the laws. Last year we were successful to bring about a change in the law for [our constituents]."

> "I will meet with board members in regard to items on the agenda that we believe the board should approve…I will contact them advocating a specific position…So I am involved in policy advocacy at different levels."

> "Something I do regularly is in the process of decision-making – deciding where to allocate resources…It is our job to see the full picture and to make sure we are always mindful of the citizen. So before we make a decision to transfer x amount from here to here, we ask who does this affect – who gains and who loses and is that the right exchange for us?"

In addition to resource allocation, policy development and implementation decisions, a few respondents also described less traditional tasks they consider representation. For example, several respondents said that they hold open forums whereby interested parties can voice their concerns in the policy development process. One respondent explained,

> "This is an open forum where all groups are equally represented…it is an open forum where issues are brought to the table, and problems have been resolved on that basis…decisions are made policy-wise based on this forum…they can also influence decisions at higher levels based on this information."

Another respondent explained their organization holds community education sessions which help better ensure quality representation of their constituents'

interests. Other respondents suggest they represent their constituents through information provision. These are noteworthy activities as they illustrate the importance of reciprocal communication that is linked to responsiveness which some scholars argue is the essence of representation (Pitkin, 1967). While scholars have examined this reciprocal communication as it applies to general theories of representation and Congress, this aspect of representation has not been explored as it relates to bureaucracy.

Several other questions designed to provide insight into possible acts of representation were also included in the initial focus groups and interviews. These questions were based on Lim's (2006) discussion of the potential substantive effects of passive representation. According to Lim, substantive representation may occur through both demand inducement and co-production whereby the bureaucrat improves the quality of services provided by changing the behavior of the client. With demand inducement, the bureaucrats stimulate additional demand from the possible constituents, and with co-production they change the behavior of the client in such a way that the client receives better services. In order to explore these possible sources of substantive effects, respondents were asked several questions about their use of outreach programs to stimulate demand and how the level of constituents' understanding may influence the quality of services received.

First, respondents were asked about outreach programs through their agency. "Is it ever a part of your job to stimulate demand from potential clients? If so, do you have formal outreach programs? How do you go about determining who to

contact for such programs?" Most respondents reported that their clients typically come to them for services, rather than the organization soliciting constituents via outreach programs. However, of those that did report outreach services targeting specific groups, they explained using a variety of different mechanisms in order to define target groups including information from outside lobbying groups, internal studies, targeting special needs groups such as lower income groups, and information provided through other government agencies. This data supports the notion that demand inducement may occur in organizations and may be a possible data source for future studies of representative bureaucracy.

Respondents were also asked questions designed to explore the possibility of co-production. First, respondents were asked whether they feel needs can be better met if constituents have improved levels of understanding of the organization. Respondents from a variety of agencies and positions state that constituents' perceptions of the organization influence the level of services received. Multiple respondents explain that misunderstanding of the budgetary process or the organization's standard operating procedures are a source of complaint from individuals. Others explain a more general misunderstanding of their agencies' mission affects constituents' services. For example, one respondent states,

> "My agency has a very bad reputation, and sometimes I feel that hinders [my constituents] ability to work with us. I also think that the families and community at large do not understand what we do."

One respondent actually explains that how the bureaucrat handles the situation can greatly influence the constituents' response. The respondent states,

> "When it is a situation where they are told, this is what you need to do, the approach generates the attitude on the part of the client. They may have reservations, but the approach influences the outcome of that."

This evidence lends some support to Lim's argument that co-production may be an important aspect of the relationship between constituents and bureaucrats.

Finally, respondents were asked if they have information that they can choose to give to constituents that may help them receive better or faster services. All respondents indicated sharing all information with their clients.

The evidence gathered in the focus groups and interviews suggests that simply measuring an organization's policy outputs may overlook some instances of active representation. While resource allocation may be captured by agency outputs, there are additional activities that may occur in organizations that may not be reflected by these measures. Measuring agency outputs such as resource allocation may only capture active representation as it occurs at the point of policy implementation. However, individuals indicate influencing policy at various stages in the process including overall policy development. This policy development may in fact be considered active representation if developed in a way that increases the quality of representation, and this policy advocacy may be overlooked by the prevailing indicators of agency outputs. Also, the less conventional acts of representation mentioned such as open forums and public education sessions would

not be captured by these traditional indicators. While these types of activities may be more difficult to capture empirically, they merit further attention. Finally, Lim's concepts of demand inducement and co-production need additional exploration.

Statements and questions derived from the initial interviews and focus groups were included in the q sample and follow-up interviews to further explore possible alternative data sources. The following statements are included in the sample:

40. I am able to influence policy-making and/or program development.

24. I advocate on behalf of my constituents but I do not personally have the power to make decisions about their case.

39. My organization encourages public input and participation.

11. I use informal procedures for needs' assessments.

32. Sometimes constituents misunderstand my organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive.

15. I have information which I can choose to give to my constituents that may help them get faster or better services from my organization.

16. I make decisions such as resource allocation or information provision that I consider acts of representation or advocacy.

28. We have formal outreach programs, and we target certain groups in our outreach programs such as lower income individuals.

3. I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.

5. It is part of my job to ensure quality service provision from my staff or others in the organization.

30. We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.

37. Constituents will be better served if they are more educated on the services of our organization.

Table 6.1 shows the percentage of individuals agreeing and disagreeing with each statement.

TABLE 6.1
ALTERNATIVE DATA SOURCES
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING
OR DISAGREEING WITH STATEMENTS

Statement	% Agree	% Neutral	% Disagree
40. I am able to influence policy-making and/or program development.	80%	3%	17%
24. I advocate on behalf of my constituents but I do not personally have the power to make decisions about their case.	20%	20%	60%
39. My organization encourages public input and participation.	67%	21%	12%
11. I use informal procedures for needs' assessments.	37%	26%	37%
32. Sometimes constituents misunderstand my organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive.	38%	18%	43%
15. I have information which I can choose to give to my constituents that may help them get faster or better services from my organization.	57%	23%	20%
16. I make decisions such as resource allocation or information provision that I consider acts of representation or advocacy.	50%	20%	30%
28. We have formal outreach programs, and we target certain groups in our outreach programs such as lower income individuals.	35%	17%	48%
3. I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.	57%	17%	27%
5. It is part of my job to ensure quality service provision from my staff or others in the organization.	83%	7%	10%
30. We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.	15%	17%	68%
37. Constituents will be better served if they are more educated on the services of our organization.	72%	13%	15%

While the level of agreement with each statement does not suggest that these respondents engage in these activities as means of representation, they do suggest that these activities are relatively common bureaucratic behaviors, and the data collected in earlier interviews and focus groups suggests they may also be linked to representation.

Analyzing this data suggests the following may be important sources of data for measuring active representation: resource allocation, policy and/or program development, policy implementation, public input, and information provision. Roughly half of the respondents suggest they make decisions concerning resource allocation which according to participants in the initial interviews and focus groups may be considered an act of representation. Additionally, 57% suggest they make policy implementation decisions in their organization. In addition, some respondents also reveal a few non-traditional activities as possibly important measures of active representation. In the sorts, a large majority (80%) of respondents agree that they have the ability to influence policy and/or program development. This suggests it may be an important avenue to explore as a possible alternative data source. This type of activity would not be captured by traditional output measures. In addition, the majority of respondents agree that their organization encourages public input, and it is part of their role to ensure quality service provision. The majority of respondents (57%) also indicate they have information they can choose to provide constituents which can influence the quality of services provided. Finally, 72% suggest that constituents will be better served if

they are more educated on the services provided by the organization. The data on information provision and quality of constituent services lend further support to potential for Lim's concept of co-production to occur within organizations and points to the need to expand the variables used to measure the substantive effects of representative bureaucracy.

All of these variables merit further empirical attention. Additional survey and interview data may be useful for providing insight on how specifically to operationalize and measure these variables. The remaining statements do not provide much clarity as roughly equal percentages of respondents agree, disagree, and/or are neutral toward the remaining statements. For example, roughly equal percentages of participants agree, disagree, and were neutral toward the use of informal needs' assessment.

In order to further explore the types of valid data sources to measure active representation, respondents were asked several questions during the follow-up interviews. The data from the follow-up interviews provides further support for the earlier conclusions that alternative data sources may be necessary in order to fully capture active representation.

During the q-sort follow-up interviews, respondents who agreed with statement 31, "I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization" were also asked to describe tasks they perform in their organization that they consider acts of representation. Again, there was a wide range of responses. Many respondents indicate lobbying or advocating to elected officials as

their primary representation task. Of these, some respondents explain they lobby for policy legislation while others indicated lobbying is directed at gaining resources for their agency or constituents. Other respondents suggest that they represent the public by going out to educate citizens on various functions of the organization or providing public service information. For example, one respondent explained going to the public to provide general information on appropriate emergency response procedures. Another explained going to the public to inform them of various changes in local ordinances. Additionally, some respondents explain they administer surveys to various stakeholders in order to get their input on services. This input is then used to make decisions about policy and resource allocation. Other tasks include assessing the needs of communities and general leadership roles.

To further analyze Lim's concept of co-production, respondents who agreed with statement 15: "I have information which I can choose to give to my constituents that may help them get faster or better services from my organization." were asked to expand on this statement. Respondents were asked to indicate what types of information they possess and what conditions would determine whether or not they share this information with constituents. One respondent indicated that some constituents have long standing relationships with the organization which may lead to better quality service provision.

Responses from the focus groups, q sorts and follow up questionnaires about individuals' specific tasks that they consider representation are informative on several levels. First, the data evidences the validity of exploring alternative data

sources. Overall, the data suggest that there is potential for representation to occur that may not be captured by traditional agency outputs. Acts of representation such as policy advocacy cannot be easily measured by quantitative agency output. In order to fully understand this process, other sources of data should be analyzed. Additionally, some respondents note very interesting acts of representation such as the open forums which merit further attention. Finally, there is some support for Lim's notions of co-production and demand inducement that require further empirical investigation in order to understand the extent to which these may occur and the factors that may influence their occurrence. Additional survey and interview data may be useful for understanding the potential for active representation to occur that would not be captured by traditional output measures.

DATA SOURCES: ASSESSING THE CONTEXT

The four factors were also analyzed in relationship to the various possible acts of representation. Table 6.2 shows the statements and associations with each factor. Analyzing the four factors reveals interesting information about alternative data sources.

TABLE 6.2
FACTORS AND DATA SOURCES
(* INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .05; ** INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT .01)

		Leaders		Traditional Bureaucrats		Identity Empathizers		Diversity Advocates	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
40	I am able to influence policy-making and/or program development.	2	1.12	0	-0.17**	5	1.90**	2	0.97
39	My organization encourages public input and participation.	2	0.97	-1	-0.39**	4	1.28	2	0.95
11	I use informal procedures for needs' assessments.	1	0.63**	0	0.01	-2	-0.64	-1	-0.32
32	Sometimes constituents misunderstand my organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive.	1	0.18*	1	0.69	3	1.10	-2	-0.84**
15	I have information which I can choose to give to my constituents that may help them get faster or better services from my organization.	-1	-0.48**	2	0.84	1	0.18	1	0.48
16	I make decisions such as resource allocation or information provision that I consider acts of representation or advocacy.	0	-0.26*	0	0.15*	2	0.82	3	1.21
28	We have formal outreach programs, and we target certain groups in our outreach programs such as lower income individuals.	-1	-0.55*	0	-0.12	1	0.63	0	0.25
3	I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.	1	0.65*	1	0.23*	4	1.41	3	1.23

30	We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.	0	0.08*	-5	-2.21*	-3	-1.00	-1	-0.74
37	Constituents will be better served if they are more educated on the services of our organization.	3	1.22	4	1.38	4	1.46	0	0.24**

While statements directly dealing with representational role perception are not distinguishing for Leaders, several statements indicating specific acts that may be considered representation are distinguishing and positive for this factor (Statements: 11, 32, 3). In addition to traditional behaviors such as policy implementation, individuals who share the worldview defined by this factor also use informal needs assessments and indicate constituents may receive better services if they are more educated on the activities of the organization. However, participants in this factor indicate they do not have information which they can choose to give to constituents, and they do not have outreach programs that target specific groups (Statements: 28, 15). Leaders appear to be detached from a relationship of direct representation with their constituents but may have the ability to represent them through indirect means.

Statement 2, indicating discretion in policy implementation, is the only distinguishing and positive statement from this group for Traditional Bureaucrats. This is consistent with the overall trend of this group toward traditional bureaucratic roles. Respondents in this factor indicate neutrality toward policy development (statement 40) and resource allocation (statement 16). Further, they disagree that their organization encourages public input (statement 39) and strongly disagree with whether organization has outreach programs (statement 30).

Interestingly, fewer statements of these alternative sources of representation are distinguishing for Identity Empathizers and Diversity Advocates, the factors most strongly associated with theories of representative bureaucracy. The only

distinguishing factor for Identity Empathizers is policy development (statement 40) with which these respondents strongly agree. For Diversity Advocates, the statements indicating what Lim calls co-production are distinguishing (statements 32 and 37). However, they disagree with statement 32 and are neutral toward statement 37. It appears that Identity Empathizers and Diversity Advocates may have more opportunities to directly interact with the client, and they may lack the opportunities to indirectly represent their constituents through these alternative activities.

The factors appear to have some relationship to the types of activities in which participants engage indicating that some measures may only be appropriate in certain contexts. The following section will examine possible variations in these activities across organizational variables.

Organizational Variables and Types of Representation

This project also explores whether or not organizational variables influence the types of activities bureaucrats perform that they may consider representation. Different phases of data collection provide insight to this question. As noted earlier, respondents in the initial focus groups and interviews were asked to describe the types of activities that they consider representation. These responses were then analyzed in order to determine whether or not they vary according to organizational factors such as level and policy area of the organization.

In the data collected from the interviews and focus groups, the type of activity does not appear to be influenced by policy type, but the level does appear to

have some impact. Street level bureaucrats across policy types describe implementation decisions as their primary acts of representation. However, a few also stated they advocate through higher channels – through management or even outside groups such as through the court system – on behalf of the clients whom they represent. Those at the management level describe a variety of tasks including implementation, overseeing implementation decisions by staff, and policy input. Executives also list a variety of tasks that they consider acts of representation. These include: resource allocation decisions; information provision; policy advocacy or input to elected bodies; ensuring enforcement; program development; and policy innovation. The most common response from executives to this question was policy advocacy. One executive described in elaborate detail how their agency had been successful at bringing about changes in the laws governing their constituents.

The descriptive statistics comparing individual's statement rankings to the organizational context reveals important information. When respondents' rankings of sample statements describing specific tasks of representation are compared according to the organizational variables, there appears to be some relationship between the both level and policy area. Table 6.3 shows the level of employment and the percentage of respondents that agree with each of these statements.

TABLE 6.3
TYPE OF ACTIVITIES AND LEVEL OF THE ORGANIZATION
PERCENT OF INDIVIUDALS WHO AGREE WITH EACH STATEMENT

Statement	Street Level N= 20	Management N=21	Executive N=19
40. I am able to influence policy-making and/or program development.	50%	95%	95%
24. I advocate on behalf of my constituents but I do not personally have the power to make decisions about their case.	30%	14%	16%
39. My organization encourages public input and participation.	45%	71%	84%
11. I use informal procedures for needs' assessments.	55%	19%	37%
32. Sometimes constituents misunderstand my organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive.	45%	43%	26%
15. I have information which I can choose to give to my constituents that may help them get faster or better services from my organization.	60%	48%	63%
16. I make decisions such as resource allocation or information provision that I consider acts of representation or advocacy.	25%	52%	74%
28. We have formal outreach programs, and we target certain groups in our outreach programs such as lower income individuals.	45%	33%	26%
3. I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.	20%	67%	84%
5. It is part of my job to ensure quality service provision from my staff or others in the organization.	60%	95%	95%
30. We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.	20%	24%	0%
37. Constituents will be better served if they are more educated on the services of our organization.	70%	76%	68%

Many of the patterns in the data might be expected from earlier literature on bureaucratic roles and levels of the organization. Management and executive level employees appear to have more power in certain realms than do street level employees, and this is reflected in the statement rankings. For example, a much higher percentage of management and executive level bureaucrats express having power in policy making, implementation discretion, overseeing service provision and resource allocation (Statements: 40, 16, 3, 5), and a higher level of street level bureaucrats indicate that they advocate on behalf of their constituents but do not have power to make decisions about their case (statement 24). Additionally, a higher percentage of street level bureaucrats indicate using informal needs assessment (Statement 11). One particularly interesting finding that was not necessarily expected from the previous literature is that a much lower percentage of street level bureaucrats indicate that their organization encourages public input (Statement 39).

The data comparing levels of the organization and representative behaviors suggests that level does influence the types of activities that bureaucrats may perform and consider representation. Therefore, rather than excluding certain groups a priori, it may be more appropriate to use alternative data sources for each level of the organization. For example, traditional output measures may capture policy implementation while policy advocacy data may only be appropriate for executive and some management employees.

Table 6.4 shows the policy area and the percentage of respondents that agree with each statement. The policy area also appears to have a relationship with organizational tasks.

TABLE 6.4
TYPE OF ACTIVITIES AND POLICY AREA
PERCENT OF INDIVIUDALS WHO AGREE WITH EACH STATEMENT

Statement	Redistributive	Regulatory	Distributive	Constituent
40. I am able to influence policy-making and/or program development.	86%	81%	81%	71%
24. I advocate on behalf of my constituents but I do not personally have the power to make decisions about their case.	21%	6%	38%	14%
39. My organization encourages public input and participation.	79%	69%	56%	64%
11. I use informal procedures for needs' assessments.	36%	50%	44%	14%
32. Sometimes constituents misunderstand my organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive.	7%	25%	63%	57%
15. I have information which I can choose to give to my constituents that may help them get faster or better services from my organization.	64%	56%	69%	36%

16. I make decisions such as resource allocation or information provision that I consider acts of representation or advocacy.	64%	56%	50%	29%
28. We have formal outreach programs, and we target certain groups in our outreach programs such as lower income individuals.	43%	25%	50%	21%
3. I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.	64%	56%	63%	43%
5. It is part of my job to ensure quality service provision from my staff or others in the organization.	79%	88%	94%	71%
30. We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.	21%	13%	13%	14%
37. Constituents will be better served if they are more educated on the services of our organization.	43%	56%	94%	93%

Two organizations that stand out in the analysis are distributive and constituent organizations. From the statement rankings, individuals in these two organizations indicate having less personal discretion. For each of the statements focusing on the power of the individual respondent within their organization, individuals at distributive and constituent organizations indicate having less power (Statements: 40, 24, 11, 15, 16, 3, 5). Compared to the other organizations, a higher

percentage of respondents from distributive agencies indicate they advocate on behalf of their constituents but may not have the power to make decisions (Statement 24). This indicates overall respondents from these organizations may have less discretion which may impede active representation. Similarly, compared to all of the other policy areas, noticeably fewer respondents from constituent organizations indicate they are able to influence policy or program development (Statement 40). A lower percentage of respondents from constituent organizations also indicate they use informal needs assessments (Statement 11) or have information which they may choose to give constituents that may influence service provision (Statement: 15). This group also has fewer respondents who agree that they make decisions such as resource allocation or regularly make decisions about policy implementation (Statements 16, 3). Finally, a lower percentage of respondents from constituent organizations indicate ensuring quality service provision is part of their role (Statement: 5).

For statements that tap into the relationship between the client and the organization (Statements 32 and 37), constituent and distributive agencies also stand out. A much higher percentage of respondents from constituent and distributive organizations indicate that sometimes constituents misunderstand the organization and this may influence the quality of services they receive (Statement 32). Similarly, a much higher percentage of individuals from distributive and constituent organizations indicate their constituents will be better served if more educated on the services of the organization (Statement 37). These statements may indicate that

Lim's concept of co-production may be more likely to occur in these types of organizations than the typical measures of active representation.

The remaining statements explore the relationship between the organization and advocacy behavior (Statements 39, 28, 30). There does not appear to be a relationship between the policy type and respondents rankings of these statements. A higher percentage of respondents from redistributive agencies and a lower percentage from distributive agencies agree that their organization encourages public input (Statement 39). However, a higher percentage of respondents from distributive agencies agree they have formal outreach programs that target certain groups whereas constituent organizations have the lowest percentage of respondents who agree with this statement (Statement 28). The highest percentage of respondents who agree their organization has outreach programs but do not target specific groups is from redistributive agencies (Statement 30). Respondents in this group may be interpreting "outreach programs" as an act of the agency generally reaching out to the public. This would be consistent with the high level of agreement from this group on Statement 39. However, the differences across all agencies types are small.

As a final analysis of the possible relationship between organizational variables and tasks of representation, data from the follow-up interviews were analyzed in relationship to the organizational variables. The data from the follow-up interviews echo the earlier results and suggests that organizational variables do play a role in determining what types of activities respondents perform and consider

representation. It also highlights the need for additional data sources and the organizational context may influence the types of data that will be most useful in different organizational contexts.

Reflecting the earlier data, the level of the organization appears to influence the types of activities in which respondents engage that they view as acts of representation. At each level, respondents indicate a range of activities from information provision to policy advocacy. However, as would be expected, fewer street level bureaucrats indicate policy advocacy and focus primarily on information provision.

Policy area also appears related to the responses individuals provide. Interestingly, for the follow-up interviews, regulatory organizations stand out in the analysis. While redistributive, constituent and distributive respondents indicate a range of activities from policy development to information provision, regulatory respondents focus primarily on information provision and interacting with the public rather than policy development or input. This does not necessarily suggest that respondents in these organizations do not have the power to influence policy or engage in policymaking behaviors, but it may be less central to their role.

Both the level of the organization and policy area appear to influence the types of activities that individuals engage in that may be considered acts of representation. This indicates that different measures may be necessary in order to evaluate representative bureaucracy in different contexts. For example, executive and management level bureaucrats are more likely to engage in policy development

whereas street level employees may use informal needs assessments. Additionally, constituent and distributive employees indicate having little discretion; however, they also indicate that co-production may be a variable of interest at these organizations. These types of alternative data sources should be investigated further.

INDIRECT REPRESENTATION

Lim (2006) also suggests that indirect representation may occur by which bureaucrats influence the beliefs and/or behaviors of others in the organization. In order to explore the potential for indirect representation, respondents in the initial focus groups and interviews were asked whether others in the organization helped to shape their view as a representative. Some explained that their views on representation came from their own values or work ethic, and that others were not influential in shaping their views. For example, one respondent stated, "I formulated my own outlook toward being a bureaucrat. None of my supervisors shaped that. I have a public responsibility. It did not come from the culture of my superiors or my organization."

In contrast, many explained that others in the organization – both supervisors and staff – helped to shape how they see their role. The following are examples of responses:

"When I came here, I had a lot to learn. I was more influenced by the people who worked for me. They are specialists in the area. I have learned so much about how to serve [my constituents]. I also learned from advocacy groups."

"My [supervisor] has done a lot of lobbying, and he has made me realize you can have a large influence on the outcome if you just get out there."

These results support Lim's suggestion that representation may occur indirectly by influencing the overall culture of the organization or through mentoring others within the organization. Again, these are forms of representation that merit further attention and cannot be measured through agency outputs.

Several statements were included in the q sort to further examine the possibility of indirect representation. The following statements were included:

29. My peers, staff and/or supervisors have helped to shape the way I see myself as a representative in my organization.

6. My peers, subordinates and supervisors have encouraged and supported my views as a representative but they have not really shaped these views.

38. I try to mentor my staff and/or peers and to empower them to be more effective representatives.

Table 6.5 shows the percentage of respondents that agree or disagree with each of these statements. Supporting Lim's argument, the majority of respondents (65%) indicate that others in the organization have shaped the way they see themselves as a representative. Adding further support to this argument, 77% of

respondents indicate that they try to mentor others in the organization to be more effective representatives in the organization. Only 13% of respondents suggest that others have supported their views but not necessarily shaped their views. The low level of agreement with statement 6, indicating that others in the organization have not really shaped their views as a representative, adds further support to the notion that indirect representation may occur. This data suggests indirect representation merits further attention in the literature. While the majority of respondents agree with the statements supporting indirect representation, these were not distinguishing statements for any of the four factors.

TABLE 6.5
INDIRECT REPRESENTATION
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING
OR DISAGREEING WITH STATEMENTS

Statement	% Agree	% Neutral	% Disagree
29. My peers, staff and/or supervisors have helped to shape the way I see myself as a representative in my organization	65%	12%	23%
6. My peers, subordinates and supervisors have encouraged and supported my views as a representative but they have not really shaped these views.	13%	13%	74%
38. I try to mentor my staff and/or peers and to empower them to be more effective representatives.	77%	13%	10%

These statements were also analyzed in order to determine whether or not organizational factors are related to indirect representation. Table 6.6 shows the percentage of respondents who agree with each statement and the policy area. In general, all types of organizations appear to be potential settings for indirect representation. While constituent organizations have fewer respondents indicating that others in the organization have had a role in shaping how they see themselves

as a representative, a higher percentage of respondents from constituent organizations indicate that they help to mentor others in the organization. Interestingly, while a higher percentage of respondents from redistributive organizations indicate that others helped to shape their views as a representative, a lower percentage indicate that they try to mentor others to be effective representatives.

TABLE 6.6
INDIRECT REPRESENTATION AND POLICY AREA
PERCENT OF INDIVIUDALS WHO AGREE WITH EACH STATEMENT

Statement	Redistributive	Regulatory	Distributive	Constituent
29. My peers, staff and/or supervisors have helped to shape the way I see myself as a representative in my organization.	71%	63%	69%	57%
6. My peers, subordinates and supervisors have encouraged and supported my views as a representative but they have not really shaped these views.	29%	19%	0%	7%
38. I try to mentor my staff and/or peers and to empower them to be more effective representatives.	57%	75%	88%	88%

Table 6.7 shows the percentage of respondents who agree with each statement and their level of employment. There is minimal difference between the levels and the percentage of individuals who indicate others in the organization have

shaped their views. However, as may be expected, higher percentages of management and executive employees indicate that they try to mentor others in the organization to be effective representatives.

TABLE 6.7
INDIRECT REPRESENTATION AND LEVEL
PERCENT OF INDIVIUDALS WHO AGREE WITH EACH STATEMENT

Statement	Street Level N= 20	Management N=21	Executive N=19
29. My peers, staff and/or supervisors have helped to shape the way I see myself as a representative in my organization.	65%	67%	63%
6. My peers, subordinates and supervisors have encouraged and supported my views as a representative but they have not really shaped these views.	20%	10%	11%
38. I try to mentor my staff and/or peers and to empower them to be more effective representatives.	55%	81%	95%

DISCUSSION

This chapter analyzes and provides insights into questions over various ways to measure representative bureaucracy. It examines the possibility of alternative data sources and the potential impact of organizational variables on these data sources. First, there is support for the use of alternative data sources. Some sources that may be relevant include: resource allocation, policy implementation, policy advocacy, public input, and information provision. These mechanisms may not be adequately captured by current indicators. In addition, the data provides some support for Lim's additional direct and indirect representation mechanisms. Demand inducement, co-production, and representation occurring through shaping

other's views need further empirical examination. Organizational variables also appear to have a relationship to the activities in which individuals engage in the organization. In selecting the appropriate measures, both the level and the policy area of the organization may shape what type of data sources may be appropriate for measuring representation.

Chapter Seven
Effects of Representative Bureaucracy

INTRODUCTION

An additional question in representative bureaucracy that merits further attention is: what are the overall effects of representation? Multiple questions remain in the literature on this topic. First, what is the object of representative bureaucracy? In other words, who or what does representative bureaucracy represent? Various scholars provide a range of answers to this question. Some scholars suggest that representative bureaucracy should represent the public interest while others maintain that representative bureaucracy should represent specific subgroups of the population. Another possible object of representative bureaucracy is the legislature and legislative mandates. This chapter explores how bureaucrats view the objects of representation.

Designating the recipients of representative bureaucracy is particularly important when considering the overall effects of representative bureaucracy. One question that has received little attention in the literature is whether there are any negative effects of representative bureaucracy. If we enhance representation for one group, are there any unintended and negative consequences toward other groups? Considering the various recipients of representative bureaucracy suggests there may be several sources of unintended and potentially negative consequences. For example, improving representation for one group may occur at the expense of another group. Another potentially negative effect would be if increasing the

quality of representation for a specific group had negative effects on broader goals such as efficiency and/or accountability. This chapter will explore these possible consequences.

Through the focus groups, interviews, q-sorts and follow-up questionnaires, this chapter will analyze these two important research questions. First, the data will be examined in order to provide insight to the potential recipients of representative bureaucracy. Next the possibility of negative effects of representative bureaucracy will be examined.

The data suggests that respondents have different perspectives on the objects of representation as well as its effects. The following are noteworthy insights provided by the data in this chapter:

- Respondents reveal varying views on the appropriate recipients of representation; the public interest and representation of multiple interests are highlighted in the data.
- Respondents hold varying views on the responsibility of bureaucrats to represent under-represented groups; thus this question merits further empirical attention.
- Organizational variables and the four factors identified in this project appear to be linked to how respondents view the appropriate targets of representation.

- While the data is inconclusive on the potential trade-offs that may occur as a result of active representation, in general respondents suggest that representation or advocacy increases efficiency and accountability.

The remainder of this chapter will analyze these results in further detail.

WHO DOES REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY REPRESENT?

When conceptualizing representative bureaucracy, scholars designate various objects of this representation. While much of the contemporary literature focuses on representation of specific social groups through descriptive representation, early literature discussed representation of the public interest more broadly. Who are the targets of representative bureaucracy? In order to explore this important question, respondents in the initial interviews and focus group who indicate they see themselves as representatives were asked directly what or whom they represent. To this question, respondents gave a wide range of answers. Some individuals claim to represent specific groups, others the public interest, some legislative mandates, and a few said they represent all three. Below are statements from individuals about what or whom they represent.

> "My organization represents specific groups. We do care about legislative mandates, but I see my main representation toward the group." Redistributive Management

> "The end game is serving the public." Constituent Executive

> "People are secondary. I primarily represent legislative mandates." Distributive Management

> "I think I represent all of those. There is no way to represent any one of those. Certainly the people we serve drive things. I'm also a state employee. I'm expected to do my job in a way that reflects the values of the state. We also adhere to mandates. If it is law, it's law."
>
> Redistributive Executive

The focus group and interview data suggests that different bureaucrats may view the recipients of their representation differently. Like the earlier theoretical discussion, the data suggests that it may be appropriate to maintain several perspectives on representative bureaucracy rather than restricting its study to one particular object of representation. However, these various perspectives need to be recognized and theoretically clarified as distinct concepts of representative bureaucracy.

Within contemporary studies of representative bureaucracy, one of the major foci has been analyzing the role of bureaucrats toward under-represented groups. To provide further insight to the potential targets of representative bureaucracy, respondents in the interviews and focus groups were asked the following question: "Do you feel that you or other bureaucrats in general have a special ability or responsibility to represent groups in society that have been traditionally under-represented (by public agencies or the legislative process)"?

Respondents gave a wide range of answers to this question. Some participants indicate strong support for this role while others oppose it. The

following are examples of responses from participants who agree they have a responsibility toward under-represented groups.

> "Definitely, I think that is why you have agencies…We are working for people who are disenfranchised or marginalized in the larger pictures and they need advocacy on their behalf". Redistributive Executive

> "Yes…[some groups] don't have an organized lobby or there are lobbies but they are very splintered in terms of where they want to go with policies…in some cases those individuals may not have a voice period – no group representing them or those representing them do not have full exposure to those who provide services. As a [government] agency, we have access to other groups and the rest of the picture they don't see…people choose this line of work because they want to do good and change something…" Distributive Executive

> "I believe that is what my job is all about. We represent those that are dealing with those that are dealing with issues, living in poverty, and need access to resources." Redistributive Management

> "They definitely have the ability to do so. Ideally, bureaucracies should look out for under accounted groups." Redistributive Street Level

"We have a role in representing people and in identifying various populations and to represent them. To ensure there is a level playing ground for everyone." Regulatory Executive

"Sure, minorities and females…Certainly [some] departments struggle to hire women and minorities. The organization, because of that, is not necessarily reflective of the community in the make-up of it. The services are probably influenced by that to some degree – to what degree I don't know. People are more comfortable dealing with people of their own race and gender." Regulatory Management

However, some respondents strongly disagree that this is part of their role. The following are examples of answers from respondents indicating this is not part of their role.

"I do not want my employees going above and beyond to try to make social policy." Regulatory Management

"We deliver services to everyone, and the quality of services does not differ accordingly." Regulatory Management

"I would say that is a political question than a bureaucratic question. The primary role is to serve the purpose to which you were assigned." Constituent Management

"I don't think that is the role of bureaucrats…that would be a source of some tension for them to do that." Distributive Management

"There is really something dangerous about the concept of bureaucrats having a special responsibility to do this. Now an employee has this responsibility on their shoulders for representing a mass group, but they are the only person who is part or that group or who may or may not look like that group. This is a tremendous responsibility on this person and then there is a chance that these interests would not be met, because it's not that person's job and that person should not have to speak for that group. The trend is to find someone who looks like that group and then take that opinion as some representation as the whole group. It's really scary."
-Regulatory Management

In the initial interviews and focus groups, there appears to be a possible relationship between the organizational context and how one sees their role toward under-represented groups. Both the policy area and the level of the organization appear to be linked to how respondents view their role toward under-represented groups. While respondents from all three levels do agree that bureaucrats have an ability and responsibility toward under-represented groups, management appears to have the strongest voice against this position.

The policy area also appears to have some effect. All respondents from redistributive agencies agree they have a responsibility toward under-represented groups. In fact, the respondents from redistributive agencies appear the most emphatic and enthusiastic over this responsibility. However, there are also employees at regulatory, distributive and constituent agencies indicating this is part of their role as well.

The evidence from the initial focus groups and interviews is important on several levels. First, the analysis further supports the earlier proposition that discussions of representative bureaucracy should consider moving away from strictly considering descriptive representation. The evidence provided here suggests individuals may see themselves as representatives for a group, and they may play a key role in advocating for that group and advancing their interests regardless of whether or not they belong to the group.

This evidence also indicates that organizational variables may play some role in determining how one views the recipients of representation. Individuals at redistributive agencies appear to view their role as a representative more closely in line with contemporary studies of representative bureaucracy whereby the focus of their representation is toward specific groups and under-represented groups. However, it is also an important finding that individuals at other organizations also see a role in representing these groups as well. This lends further support to the argument that studies of representative bureaucracy should be expanded to include all policy types. Finally, the evidence suggests that bureaucrats may target different

objects of representation which may call for various theoretical distinctions and measurements in order to capture the effects.

In order to examine the potential targets of representative bureaucracy more carefully, the following statements were included in the q-sample:

> 26. My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, rather than specific groups or legislators.
>
> 45. My primary responsibility as a representative is to represent legislative mandates.
>
> 48. My primary responsibility as a representative is to advocate for specific groups.
>
> 35. I represent multiple interests including specific groups, the public interest and legislative mandates.
>
> 47. Individuals in my organization have a special ability and/or responsibility to represent groups that are otherwise under-represented.

Analyzing the descriptive statistics on these statements reveals important insight to understanding the targets of representative bureaucracy. Table 7.1 shows the percentage of respondents that agree and disagree with each statement. Of the individuals that agree with statement 31, "I see representation or advocacy as part of my role in my organization", the majority of respondents indicate their primary responsibility is toward the public interest rather than legislative mandates or advocating for specific groups. Only a small percentage of respondents agree with statements 45 and 48. However, a majority of respondents also agree with statement 35 indicating they represent multiple interests which include specific groups. Only 25% of respondents indicate that they have a special ability or responsibility to represent under-represented groups. This data is consistent with

the conclusions drawn from the initial focus group and interview data. There appear to be multiple possible targets of representative bureaucracy. It also provides additional insight due to the larger percentages of individuals indicating that their primary responsibility is to represent the public interest. This aspect of representative bureaucracy has not received much attention in contemporary studies. Most of the empirical studies to this point focus exclusively on specific groups and primarily under-represented groups.

TABLE 7.1
TARGETS OF REPRESENTATION
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING
OR DISAGREEING WITH STATEMENTS
N=39

Statement	% Agree	% Neutral	% Disagree
26. My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, rather than specific groups or legislators.	72%	10%	18%
45. My primary responsibility as a representative is to represent legislative mandates.	10%	15%	75%
48. My primary responsibility as a representative is to advocate for specific groups.	21%	10%	69%
35. I represent multiple interests including specific groups, the public interest and legislative mandates.	72%	13%	15%
47. Individuals in my organization have a special ability and/or responsibility to represent groups that are otherwise under-represented.	26%	18%	56%

Worldviews and Objects of Representation

Analyzing the relationship of these statements to the factor results reveals interesting information. Table 7.2 shows the factors and scores on these statements. Statement 26 is distinguishing for Traditional Bureaucrats and Identity Empathizers.

Consistent with the other characteristics defining Traditional Bureaucrats and Identity Empathizers, Traditional Bureaucrats agree that their primary responsibility as a representative is to the public interest while Identity Empathizers disagree with this statement. Also in line with the views presented earlier, statement 45 is distinguishing for Identity Empathizers. Respondents in this factor disagree that their primary responsibility is to represent legislative mandates. None of these statements are distinguishing for Leaders or Diversity Advocates.

TABLE 7.2
FACTORS AND TARGETS OF REPRESENTATION
(* INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .05;
** INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT .01)

		Traditional Bureaucrats		Identity Empathizers	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
26	My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, rather than specific groups or legislators.	1	0.68*	-2	-0.73**
45	My primary responsibility as a representative is to represent legislative mandates.	-2	-0.78	-4	-1.84**

Organizational Variables and Objects of Representation

An additional question of interest that emerges from this data is whether organizational factors are related to how bureaucrats see the objects of their representation. Table 7.3 shows the percentage of respondents who agree and disagree with each statement and the policy area of their agency. While the data does not lend itself to generalization due to a small number of respondents in each

category, the patterns revealed in the data suggest interesting insight to future studies.

TABLE 7.3
POLICY AREA AND
TARGETS OF REPRESENTATION

Policy Area	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**N**
Statement 26: My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, rather than specific groups or legislators.				
Redistributive	82%	9%	9%	11
Regulatory	78%	11%	11%	9
Distributive	73%	9%	18%	11
Constituent	50%	12%	38%	8
Statement 45: My primary responsibility as a representative is to represent legislative mandates.				
Redistributive	0%	9%	91%	11
Regulatory	22%	11%	67%	9
Distributive	0%	36%	64%	11
Constituent	25%	0%	75%	8
Statement 48: My primary responsibility as a representative is to advocate for specific groups.				
Redistributive	36%	0%	64%	11
Regulatory	22%	11%	67%	9
Distributive	9%	18%	73%	11
Constituent	12%	13%	75%	8
Statement 35: I represent multiple interests including specific groups, the public interest and legislative mandates.				
Redistributive	73%	18%	9%	11
Regulatory	56%	11%	33%	9
Distributive	73%	9%	18%	11
Constituent	87%	13%	0%	8
Statement 47: Individuals in my organization have a special ability and/or responsibility to represent groups that are otherwise under-represented.				
Redistributive	36%	18%	46%	14
Regulatory	11%	22%	67%	16
Distributive	36%	18%	46%	16
Constituent	13%	12%	75%	14

For respondents who agree with statement 31 (indicating they see representation or advocacy as part of their role), their rankings of statements on the objects of representation were compared to the level and policy area in which they

work. Both level and policy area appear to influence whether or not respondents agree or disagree with these statements.

Each policy area appears to have some distinctive characteristics related to how respondents view their responsibility as representatives. A high majority of respondents in redistributive, regulatory, and distributive agencies indicate their responsibility is to represent the public interest while just half of respondents from constituent agencies agree with this statement. In addition, no respondents from redistributive or distributive agencies indicate that their responsibility is toward legislative mandates while over 20% of respondents from regulatory and constituent agencies agree that this is their primary responsibility.

As might be expected, compared to the other three categories, a higher percentage of respondents from redistributive agencies indicate their primary responsibility is toward specific groups. However, even within redistributive agencies, less than half of the respondents agree with this statement. The majority of respondents from all policy types indicate they represent multiple interests. Interestingly, an equal proportion of respondents from redistributive and distributive agencies indicate they have a special ability and/or responsibility to represent under-represented groups. Both redistributive and distributive respondents have higher percentages that agree with this statement than do regulatory and constituent organizations. However, less than half of the respondents from both redistributive and distributive agencies agree with this statement.

This data lend support to the idea that contemporary active representation is probably more likely to occur in redistributive agencies as more respondents from redistributive agencies indicate their primary responsibility is toward specific groups and they have a special responsibility to represent under-represented groups. However, other agencies also appear as potentially valid objects of study as well.

The level of the organization appears to play a weaker role in this relationship, but the patterns in the data are interesting nonetheless. Table 7.4 shows the percentage of respondents who agree and disagree with each statement and their level of employment. Interestingly, management level bureaucrats stand out on a number of statements relative to their street level and executive counterparts. Compared to the street level and executive level bureaucrats, a higher percentage of management employees indicate that their primary responsibility is toward the public interest. Additionally, while only a small percentage of street and executive bureaucrats indicate that their primary responsibility is to represent legislative mandates, no management level respondents agree with this statement. While the differences are small, a higher percentage of management level respondents also indicate that their responsibility is to represent specific groups. Finally, executive level respondents have the highest percentage of respondents who indicate they have a special ability or responsibility to represent under-represented groups.

This evidence provides additional support for the possibility that current restrictions focusing on specific levels of the bureaucracy may be short-sighted,

particularly the exclusion of management level bureaucrats. In contrast, this data suggests that all levels of the bureaucracy may be considered important for studies of representative bureaucracy. Executive level bureaucrats may be very important in these studies.

TABLE 7.4
LEVEL OF THE ORGANIZATION AND TARGETS OF REPRESENTATION

Policy Area/Level	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	N
Statement 26: My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, rather than specific groups or legislators.				
Street Level	72%	7%	21%	14
Management	84%	8%	8%	12
Executive	62%	15%	23%	13
Statement 45: My primary responsibility as a representative is to represent legislative mandates.				
Street Level	14%	14%	71%	14
Management	0%	17%	83%	12
Executive	15%	15%	70%	13
Statement 48: My primary responsibility as a representative is to advocate for specific groups.				
Street Level	21%	7%	71%	14
Management	25%	17%	58%	12
Executive	15%	7%	77%	13
Statement 35: I represent multiple interests including specific groups, the public interest and legislative mandates.				
Street Level	72%	7%	21%	14
Management	75%	17%	8%	12
Executive	70%	15%	15%	13
Statement 47: Individuals in my organization have a special ability and/or responsibility to represent groups that are otherwise under-represented.				
Street Level	21%	7%	71%	14
Management	17%	33%	50%	12
Executive	39%	15%	46%	13

Beyond whether or not bureaucrats should have a responsibility toward under-represented groups, who are these groups? The literature to this point has

focused almost exclusively on racial and gender minorities. In the q-sort follow-up interviews, participants were asked to describe how they see the role of their organization toward under-represented groups. In these follow-up questions, respondents indicate a variety of under-represented groups they feel their organization has a responsibility and/or ability to represent. These groups include: minorities, rural populations, low-income, non-English speaking constituents, disabled populations, the incarcerated, substance abusers, small business owners, senior citizens, females, and children. This evidence lends further support to the possibility of extending studies of representative bureaucracy beyond race and gender.

TRADE-OFFS

Finite Resources

Given the multiple objects of representation, one remaining interesting question is whether or not trade-offs may occur as a result of representative bureaucracy. One of the potential trade-offs that has gained the attention of some scholars in the field of representative bureaucracy is the possibility that increasing the quality of representation for one specific group may occur at the expense of another group. Few studies have examined this empirically in the literature, and those that have produced contradictory and ultimately inconclusive results. One set of scholars argue that representative bureaucracy can be a win-win situation for all groups, while others maintain increasing representation for one group may occur at the expense of another. To this point, quantitative policy outputs have been the

exclusive measure for determining the possible consequences. Additionally, scholars have yet to look at how the organizational context may influence the potential trade-offs. In other words, some organizations may provide goods or services that are more likely to end in a trade-off. For example, some agencies provide tangible goods that may have a zero-sum effect while others may provide services that are less likely to produce winners and losers.

In order to better understand the potential trade-offs that may occur in representative bureaucracy, respondents in the initial interviews and focus groups were asked to describe whether or not they felt that the resources they provide are finite or zero-sum. In other words, if resources are allocated to one constituent they are no longer available for another. About half of the respondents said yes their services are finite, while the other half said no. The following are examples of respondents' answers to this question:

> "We only have a certain level of funding. You can only do what your resources allow you to do, and we have a set amount of how many we can serve." Constituent Street Level

> "Yes, it is zero-sum. Once we give out grants, they are gone. We can only f und a certain number per year." Distributive Management

"They are not zero-sum. We have services that if it meets the needs of one it does not exclude others. We had a discussion earlier today about expanding one program and another person said that would in turn expand their own services."

Constituent Executive

"I would like to think if we give them to one group, everyone in the end is going to benefit. Even if it is done for the good of one group, I would like to think that before we do something new that it's always developed with a mind set of how it affects the entire county. We have a responsibility to do something fair and comprehensive that benefits everyone in the end."

Regulatory Executive

"As a service agency, we offer technical assistance. People call and ask questions…and I can answer that whether I have one dollar or one million dollars, but we only have so much money that we can use to go out and actually help make changes…" Distributive Executive

There does not appear to be a clear relationship between level of employment or policy area and whether or not respondents view their services as finite. The exception to this was distributive agencies and street level bureaucrats. More respondents from the street level and/or distributive agencies express feeling that the resources are zero-sum while executives and management level employees

at redistributive, constituent and regulatory agencies explain they are not finite or zero sum. Future research should direct attention to street level bureaucrats and distributive agencies for the possibility of such trade-offs to occur.

In order to better understand the possibility of a trade-off due to finite resources, the following statements were included in the sample:

41. The services I provide to my constituents are not finite or zero-sum.

20. I do provide some services that are finite or zero-sum.

Examining the descriptive statistics on these statements is not very informative as a high percentage of individuals indicate neutrality toward these statements, and a roughly equal percentage of respondents agree with each statement. Furthermore, statement 41 is designated as a consensus statement in the sorts. Table 7.5 shows the percentage of respondents who agree and disagree with each statement. Neither statement is distinguishing for any of the factors. Analyzing these statements and the factors did not provide further clarity to the research questions.

TABLE 7.5
FINITE RESOURCES
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING
OR DISAGREEING WITH STATEMENTS
N=60

Statement	% Agree	% Neutral	% Disagree
The services I provide to my constituents are not finite or zero-sum.	47%	37%	17%
I do provide some services that are finite or zero-sum.	47%	42%	12%

The questions and statements on whether or not services are finite or zero-sum are ultimately ineffective at providing any insight into the research questions for which they were designed. Future research needs to reconsider an appropriate way to measure this type of trade-off.

The data was further analyzed to see if any clarity may be provided through analyzing the organizational variables and statement rankings. There does not appear to be a clear link between policy or level and how respondents rank these statements. Given the high percentage of respondents indicating neutrality and low percentages of respondents that agree with each statement and the aforementioned weaknesses with the measures, this is not surprising. Table 7.6 and 7.7 shows the breakdown of responses based on level and policy area.

TABLE 7.6
POLICY AREA AND FINITE RESOURCES

Policy Area	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**N**
Statement 41: The services I provide to my constituents are not finite or zero-sum.				
Redistributive	7%	36%	57%	14
Regulatory	19%	44%	36%	16
Distributive	6%	56%	38%	16
Constituent	14%	29%	57%	14
Statement 20: I do provide some services that are finite or zero-sum.				
Redistributive	14%	14%	71%	14
Regulatory	19%	56%	25%	16
Distributive	12%	44%	44%	16
Constituent	21%	29%	50%	14

TABLE 7.7 LEVEL OF THE ORGANIZATION ANDRESOURCES				
Level	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**N**
Statement 41: The services I provide to my constituents are not finite or zero-sum.				
Street Level	5%	40%	55%	20
Management	19%	53%	29%	21
Executive	11%	32%	58%	19
Statement 20: I do provide some services that are finite or zero-sum.				
Street Level	20%	25%	55%	20
Management	5%	43%	52%	21
Executive	26%	42%	32%	19

Representation, Accountability and Efficiency

Another potential area where trade-offs may occur is between representative bureaucracy and organizational efficiency and/or accountability. Questions were included in focus groups, interviews, q-sorts, and follow-up questionnaires in order to explore these possible trade-offs.

In the initial focus groups and interviews, respondents were asked a set of questions designed to provide further insight into the relationship between representative bureaucracy and other organizational goals such as accountability and efficiency. Respondents were asked directly, "Do you think there is a relationship between bureaucrats' advocacy behavior and organizational efficiency?" and "Similarly, do you think there is a relationship between advocacy and accountability?"

There does not appear to be a clear consensus on this question. Some respondents suggest a positive relationship between the two whereby increasing advocacy behavior increases organizational efficiency and accountability. However, others suggest the opposite effect. A few respondents indicate that

accountability and efficiency are driven more by quality of leadership than bureaucratic representation.

The following are examples of statements given by respondents who think representation or advocacy increases efficiency:

> "The more of an advocate you are for your clients, the more efficient you are." Regulatory Management

> "Advocacy increases organizational efficiency because it increases morale." Redistributive Management

> "I think it makes it more efficient. You have more ideas. More people can find ways to make it more efficient. When you have varying views, it makes for a more efficient government." Regulatory Management

> "Absolutely. You have to have people who understand. So the diversity helps in your advocacy and efficiency. You are not reading a book about it, you understand it. You can get with the [constituents] and move it along faster in terms of their interests." Redistributive Executive

In contrast, others argue that it decreases efficiency:

> "If you increase bureaucratic representation – if you are sensitive to the needs of more and more folks – I do think – I know it decreases efficiency." Constituent Executive

> "There are departments that advocate on behalf of groups that may be contrary to the interests of the broader public." Distributive Executive

Finally, some argue the key is leadership and not diversity. One respondent states,

> "I think it comes from the leadership rather than diversity. I've seen efficiency and inefficiency here and that was due to the leadership." Distributive Management

Similarly, some respondents indicate representation increases accountability, while others argue it decreases it. The following are examples of respondents' answers who believe representation increases accountability.

> "I think it increases your accountability because it increases your sense of urgency. If you understand it, you feel that it is urgent and you need to do something." Redistributive Executive

> "I think the more committed a person is to representation – how seriously they take it, the more seriously they take accountability." Constituent Executive

The following are examples of responses from individuals who indicate representation decreases accountability:

"Bureaucratic representation can very much drive things in a way that is not accountable to the appointing superior. It may be distorted too in terms of advocates' concerns." Constituent Executive

"Absolutely, I've seen that. The county has functions for particular groups for which in my opinion there is no accountability or measure of performance. They can send bus loads of people down to beg for money, but there is no measure of how that money is spent and whether it is effective." Distributive Executive

"Yes, everyone here should be treated the same, but they are not always. It is not always a particular group that gets preferential treatment, but it does happen." Regulatory Executive

In order to study this issue further, the following statements were included in the sample:

12. Representation or advocacy increases efficiency because it allows you to better understand the needs of certain groups and to better serve them.

44. Representation or advocacy decreases efficiency because the more interests you represent, the more difficult it becomes to make decisions.

34. Representation or advocacy by individuals in the organization decreases accountability.

4. If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability.

50. Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.

Examining the descriptive statistics reveals striking evidence. The overwhelming majority of respondents indicate that increasing representation or advocacy increases both efficiency and accountability. However, the majority of respondents also agree that efficiency and accountability are related to leadership rather than diversity or representation. Table 7.8 shows the percentage of respondents that agree and disagree with each statement.

TABLE 7.8
REPRESENTATION AND EFFICIENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING
OR DISAGREEING WITH STATEMENTS
N=60

Statement	% Agree	% Neutral	% Disagree
Representation or advocacy increases efficiency because it allows you to better understand the needs of certain groups and to better serve them.	62%	27%	11%
Representation or advocacy decreases efficiency because the more interests you represent, the more difficult it becomes to make decisions.	3%	18%	78%
Representation or advocacy by individuals in the organization decreases accountability.	11%	17%	82%
If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability.	63%	25%	12%
Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.	60%	23%	17%

Analyzing these statements and their relationship to the factors does not provide much additional clarity or insight. Table 7.9 shows the factors and their scores on these statements.

TABLE 7.9
FACTORS AND ACCOUNTABILITY/EFFICIENCY
(* INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT P < .05; ** INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE AT .01)

		Leaders		Traditional Bureaucrats		Identity Empathizers	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
12	Representation or advocacy increases efficiency because it allows you to better understand the needs of certain groups and to better serve them	2	0.76	1	0.42	-1	-0.50**
34	Representation or advocacy by individuals in the organization decreases accountability.	-3	-1.13	-4	-1.24	1	0.22**
4	If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability.	3	1.12	0	-0.13*	1	0.38*
50	Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.	5	1.79**	1	0.70**	-2	-0.76

For both Leaders and Traditional Bureaucrats, statement 50 is distinguishing. Respondents in both of these factors highlight leadership over representation in its

importance to efficiency and accountability. This is consistent with the two groups' general trend toward hierarchy and traditional notions of bureaucracy. Identity Empathizers present conflicting views on the relationship between representation and accountability. Both statements 4 and 34 are distinguishing for this group, and they agree with both statements. Interestingly, respondents in this group do not agree that representation or advocacy increases efficiency. None of these statements are distinguishing for Diversity Advocates. Additionally, statement 44 is a consensus statement.

The possibility that organizational factors are related to whether or not respondents perceive trade-offs was also analyzed. There does not appear to be any relationship between the policy area of the organization and how one views these potential trade-offs. The majority of respondents regardless of policy type agree with the statements indicating that representation or advocacy increase efficiency and accountability, and the majority across policy types disagree with statements indicating decreased efficiency and accountability. In addition, regardless of policy type, the majority of respondents agree that accountability and efficiency are related to leadership rather than representation or advocacy. Table 7.10 shows the percentage of respondents that agree and disagree with each statement and the policy area of their agency.

TABLE 7.10 POLICY AREA AND EFFICIENCY/ACCOUNTABILITY				
Policy Area	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**N**
Statement 12: Representation or advocacy increases efficiency because it allows you to better understand the needs of certain groups and to better serve them.				
Redistributive	57%	36%	7%	14
Regulatory	63%	31%	6%	16
Distributive	62%	25%	13%	16
Constituent	64%	14%	21%	14
Statement 44: Representation or advocacy decreases efficiency because the more interests you represent, the more difficult it becomes to make decisions.				
Redistributive	0%	14%	86%	14
Regulatory	6%	19%	79%	16
Distributive	0%	29%	71%	16
Constituent	4%	18%	78%	14
Statement 34: Representation or advocacy by individuals in the organization decreases accountability.				
Redistributive	0%	0%	100%	14
Regulatory	0%	12%	88%	16
Distributive	0%	25%	75%	16
Constituent	7%	29%	64%	14
Statement 4: If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability.				
Redistributive	64%	29%	7%	14
Regulatory	63%	25%	13%	16
Distributive	50%	31%	19%	16
Constituent	79%	14%	7%	14
Statement 50: Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.				
Redistributive	57%	21%	21%	14
Regulatory	69%	12%	19%	16
Distributive	50%	31%	19%	16
Constituent	64%	29%	7%	14

Level appears to have a slightly stronger relationship to how respondents view these statements. However, the relationship still appears very weak. The statements where level does appear to have an effect reveal interesting patterns in

the data. A higher percentage of management employees indicate that seeing yourself as a representative will increase accountability compared to street or executive level bureaucrats. The most interesting finding is that a lower percentage of executive employees agree that organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership rather than diversity. Table 7.11 shows the percent of respondents that agree and disagree with each statement.

TABLE 7.11
LEVEL OF THE ORGANIZATION AND EFFICIENCY/ACCOUNTABILITY

Level	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	N
Statement 12: Representation or advocacy increases efficiency because it allows you to better understand the needs of certain groups and to better serve them.				
Street Level	65%	25%	10%	20
Management	57%	29%	14%	21
Executive	63%	26%	11%	19
Statement 44: Representation or advocacy decreases efficiency because the more interests you represent, the more difficult it becomes to make decisions.				
Street Level	5%	30%	65%	20
Management	5%	14%	81%	21
Executive	0%	11%	89%	19
Statement 34: Representation or advocacy by individuals in the organization decreases accountability.				
Street Level	0%	20%	80%	20
Management	0%	14%	86%	21
Executive	5%	16%	79%	19
Statement 4: If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability.				
Street Level	50%	30%	20%	20
Management	86%	0%	14%	21
Executive	53%	47%	0%	19
Statement 50: Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.				
Street Level	65%	25%	10%	20
Management	71%	19%	10%	21
Executive	42%	26%	32%	19

DISCUSSION

This chapter explores several under-studied questions in the field of representative bureaucracy. First, who or what does representative bureaucracy represent? Second, are there any potentially negative effects of representative bureaucracy? Both of these questions are analyzed using data from focus groups, interviews, q sorts, and follow-up questionnaires. In addition, each question is analyzed in relation to the possible influence of organizational variables. The results are interesting and informative. Yet they also reveal some important weaknesses in the instruments.

When analyzing what or whom bureaucrats represent, the data indicate that bureaucrats may see this role differently. Some respondents indicate that their responsibility is primarily toward the public interest, while others suggest their primary responsibility is to represent specific interests or legislative mandates. The majority of respondents indicate their responsibility is with the public interest. Both policy and level of the organization appear to be possibly linked to respondents' rankings on these statements. Higher percentages of respondents from constituent and regulatory agencies suggest that their responsibility is to represent legislative mandates compared to the other organizations. Additionally, a higher percentage of respondents from redistributive agencies suggest that their responsibility is to represent specific groups. While this data upholds the notion that redistributive agencies are the most likely candidates for active representation, respondents from

other agencies also indicate this is their responsibility which suggests other contexts may be valid for studies of representative bureaucracy.

Analyzing the data on potentially negative effects produced less consistent results. The data analyzing the potentially zero-sum effect of representative bureaucracy are inconclusive. The survey instrument is not capable of providing clear answers to this question. When analyzing the potential relationship between organizational goals such as accountability and efficiency, the data does not indicate any sort of trade-off. In fact, the majority of respondents agree that representation or advocacy increase both organizational efficiency and accountability. The policy area and level do not appear to be linked strongly to this view.

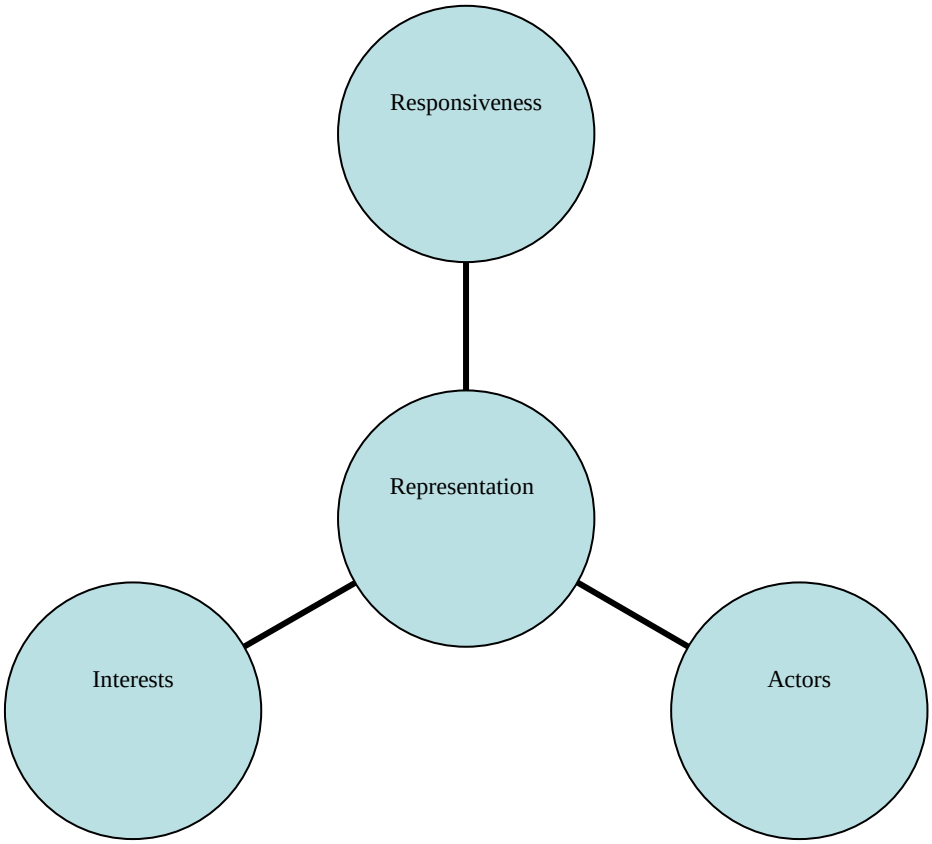
CHAPTER EIGHT
SOLVING THE PUZZLE OF REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY

The concept of representative bureaucracy is central to reconciling the power of modern bureaucracies and democratic theory. While this body of literature has provided great insight up to this point, the current theoretical and empirical limitations in the field threaten the utility of this concept in achieving its goal of reconciliation. This project provides insight to the existing limitations in the field as well as directions for overcoming them. This chapter will summarize and explain the importance of the project's key findings, limitations of the current study and future research possibilities in this field.

IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

One of the central weaknesses in the field of representative bureaucracy is the lack of a consistent and comprehensive definition. What does representation mean as it applies to bureaucracy? Since Kingsley introduced the term, scholars have used a variety of definitions. While early scholars used a very broad concept of representation, contemporary scholars use a narrow definition restricting it almost exclusively to descriptive representation of race and gender. In contrast, legislative literature has taken a much broader approach to the issue of representation. For example, Pitkin (1967) defines representation as "acting in the interests of the represented in a manner responsive to them" (209). From Pitkin's definition, we can discern three important components of representation: responsiveness, interests, and actors. Figure 5 illustrates the different component of representation.

Figure 5: Components of Representation

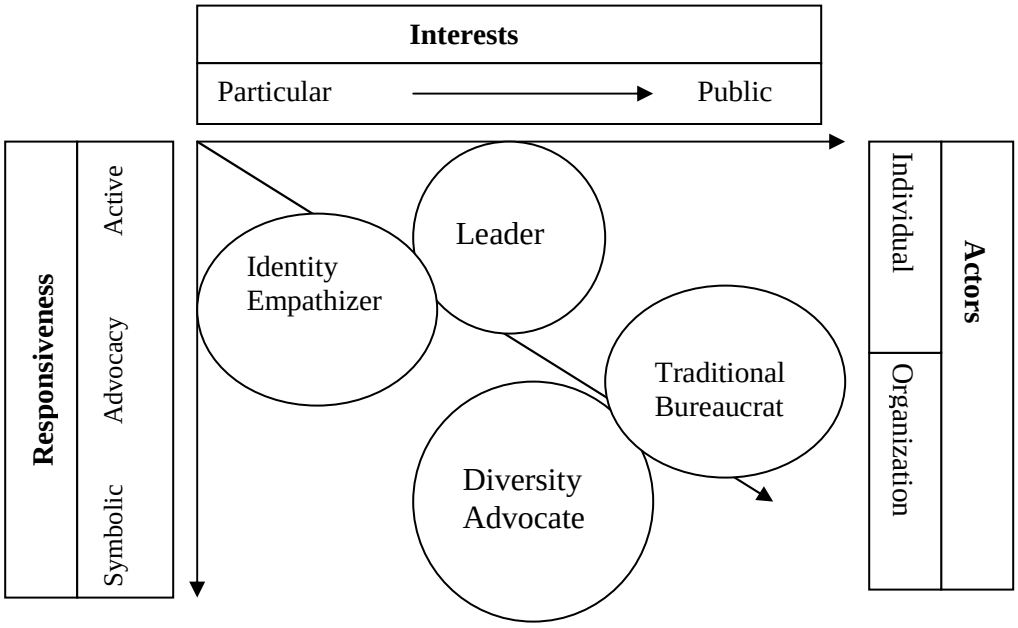


Variations may exist within each of these three major components of representation. Responsiveness may indicate symbolic representation such as that embodied by theories of descriptive representation where the very presence of a group leads to positive benefits for the group. Alternatively, responsiveness may indicate advocacy where an individual or organization advocates for an interest but lacks the ability or power to make a policy or implementation decision on behalf of

that interest. Finally, responsiveness may indicate a specific action taken on behalf of an individual or group such as that described in contemporary theories of active representation. The interests represented may range from particular interests or specific groups to broad representation of the public interest. Between these two there is also a mixed or intermediate level interest representation where particular interests are represented but not specified or where there is a combination of specific and public interest representation. Finally, the actor or source of representation may be an individual bureaucrat or the organization.

Leaders, Traditional Bureaucrats, Identity Empathizers, and Diversity Advocates demonstrate variation along these three key dimensions of representation. Each of the worldviews reflects a different combination of each of these components of representation. Thus we can conceive of at least four different types of representation that may occur in the bureaucracy. Figure 6 depicts these variations along three intersecting continua and where each worldview falls along each variable.

Figure 6: Representative Worldviews



Leaders, Traditional Bureaucrats, Identity Empathizers, and Diversity Advocates demonstrate variation along these three key dimensions of representation. Each of the worldviews reflects a different combination of each of these components of representation. Thus we can conceive of at least four different types of representation that may occur in the bureaucracy.

Leaders reflect a model of representation that focuses on the individual as the actor, mixed interests (falling between a specified particular interests and broad public interest), and an active form of responsiveness. Traditional Bureaucrats, on the other hand, embrace a view of representation where the organization is the actor and responsiveness occurs through advocacy on behalf of the public interest. For Identity Empathizers, the individual is the actor who is responsive to particularized

interests through active representation. Finally, Diversity Advocates reflect a model of representation where the public interest is the target of responsiveness by the organization through symbolic activity.

Table 8.1 illustrates these differences.

Table 8.1
Variations Across Dimensions of Representation

Dimensions	**Leaders**	**Traditional Bureaucrats**	**Identity Empathizers**	**Diversity Advocates**
Actors	Individual	Organization	Individual	Organization
Interests	Mixed	Public	Particularized	Mixed
Responsiveness	Active	Advocacy	Active	Symbolic

The different models of representation are important to the field of representative bureaucracy because they reveal several nuances that have been ignored in the literature to this point. This model suggests that there may be important variations in the actors, interests, and types of responsiveness that need to be considered in representative bureaucracy studies. To this point, the actor has been primarily confined to the individual, but this model suggests the importance of organizational level representation as well. Additionally, the focus to this point has been on particular interests, primarily under-represented groups, but Leaders, Traditional Bureaucrats, and Diversity Advocates highlight the possibility of broader interest representation. This study also supports Lim's notion that the substantive effects of representation need to be expanded beyond the traditional category of active representation.

In addition to theoretical insights, this project also suggests that the empirical framework also needs to be expanded. One of the central areas that this

project sought to provide insight was the role of descriptive representation. While the idea of descriptive representation remains important as evidenced by Identity Empathizers and Diversity Advocates, the viewpoint of Leaders and Traditional Bureaucrats suggest it may not be necessary for representation to occur.

This project also explores the organizational settings appropriate for studies of representative bureaucracy. The focus on street level bureaucrats at redistributive agencies appears to be overly restrictive and may miss important opportunities for expanding our understanding of representation in the bureaucracy. Continued circumscription in this field of study threatens the ability for this theory to reach its goal of reconciling bureaucratic power and legitimacy. The theory of representative bureaucracy posits that despite their lack of electoral accountability mechanisms, bureaucracies are actors in the policy process whose legitimacy can be sustained through their representative nature. Moving forward, the question the field must address is, if legitimacy is conferred by representation, but only certain levels of the organization and certain types of agencies are potential sources of representation, how do we legitimize the power of the other levels and types of organizations? The findings of this project suggest that the field of representative bureaucracy has undersold its ability to legitimize the power of the bureaucracy. Bureaucrats across levels and policy areas indicate they see themselves as representatives and should be considered valid subjects of study.

One of the potential obstacles for the field moving beyond its focus on street level bureaucrats and redistributive agencies is a potential data limitation. To this

point scholars have focused almost exclusively on quantitative policy outputs. Operationalizing and measuring active representation exclusively in this way restricts studies to levels and policy areas where this type of data exists. This project suggests that there are multiple data sources that may be used in order to study active representation. For example, respondents indicate that policy advocacy is an activity they engage in that they consider an act of representation. In addition, the study provides evidence supporting Lim's argument that the concept of active representation should be expanded to include indirect representation where individuals influence how others see their role in the organization or where they influence the behavior in clients in a way that produces positive outcomes.

A final issue that is under-studied in the field of representative bureaucracy is the potential trade-offs that may occur as a result of active representation. This project explores the potential for trade-offs in several contexts including between groups as well as trade-offs between other organizational values such as efficiency and accountability. The most important finding from this project for this question is the overwhelming extent to which respondents suggest that representation increases both accountability and efficiency. This further supports the idea that the field has undersold its potential to legitimize the power of bureaucracy.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

There are several limitations to the current study that should be improved in future studies. One source of potential weaknesses in this project is the respondent sample. First, the respondent sample is not demographically representative of

bureaucrats in general. This weakness is particularly important given the potential relationship between demographic characteristics such as race and gender and bureaucratic worldviews. Future studies should make an effort to further diversify the respondent sample.

A second weakness in this project's respondent sample is the use of multiple levels of government. This project does not make a distinction between local, state, and federal agencies. Due to participant availability, the majority of respondents in this sample are state level employees. However, there could be important differences between local, state, and federal employees that are masked in this study. Future studies should examine the potential differences in each level of government.

There are also several limitations due to the q-sort instrument. First, the instrument was relatively ineffective at analyzing any trade-offs due to zero-sum effects between groups. This was probably a result of the statement wording. Additionally, the descriptive statistics from the sample statements, while informative to a certain degree must be qualified. The number of respondents, particularly when divided by level or policy area, is relatively small. As a result, small variations may be inflated in the percentage differences. Additionally, because the respondents were forced into a normal distribution whereby all respondents were required to designate a set number of statements as +5 to -5, this may have distorted respondents overall feelings toward the statements. For example, respondents were not allowed to disagree with all statements whereas on a

traditional likert scale, this would be possible. More traditional survey data is necessary to confirm and generalize the findings of this project.

Due to the inductive nature of this project, it is not possible to project the prevalence of the different views of representation, and future research should examine the models further. Additionally, some important patterns emerged in the data suggesting that certain variables may be related to respondents' loading on a particular factor. Future research should examine underlying characteristics and how they may relate to factor location. For example, the over-representation of females in the excluded sorts suggests the possibility of gender differences in the worldviews. Is gender related to how bureaucrats view representation? Future empirical research should examine this question.

Future research should devote more attention to management and executive level employees and distributive, regulatory, and constituent organizations. In order to do this, alternative data sources will be necessary. One interesting research possibility is studying executive level bureaucrats using policy advocacy as a way to measure representation. In interviews, several executives indicated going to the legislature to advocate for policy as an act of representation. This is an important avenue of research that should be pursued.

Finally, the relationships between representation, accountability, and efficiency merit further attention in the literature. Future research should devote more theoretical as well as empirical attention to these issues.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this project highlight the theoretical and empirical potential in the field of representative bureaucracy. The theory of representative bureaucracy developed as a way to reconcile bureaucratic legitimacy and democratic theory. However, the limited nature of contemporary studies restricts its ability to do so. This study highlights ways that the field of representative bureaucracy can be expanded in order to achieve this goal and legitimize bureaucracies more fully. In order to accomplish this goal, the field needs to revisit some important theoretical issues. This study probed the question of how to best define representation as it applies to bureaucracy. However, a much more in depth theoretical analysis is needed in the field. This study also points out many different empirical issues that merit attention in this field.

Given the existing power of contemporary bureaucracies and the potential for them to gain even more power, the importance of legitimizing bureaucracies goes far beyond an academic endeavor. It is ultimately a question over the quality of contemporary democracy and governance. Conversations over the potential illegitimacy of bureaucracy are not confined to academic discussion but have become a central component of popular discourse in American culture. This study suggests that the field of representative bureaucracy has been shortsighted and subsequently undersold its ability to reconcile this tension. Thus it is fundamental not only for scholars but for policymakers and ultimately good government that we probe further into the remaining questions in this field.

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Appendix 1: Database Full Citations

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Appendix 2: Focus Group/Initial Interview Questionnaire

Date:

Questions about Role perceptions in general:

1) What do you see as your primary role in your agency? How would you describe the primary role of your supervisor and/or subordinates?
2) Is client advocacy a part of your role? How central is this?
3) Do you think that individuals above or below you have more or less of a representative role in the organization?
4) Do you think that bureaucrats in general have a representative role in policy-making? Do you see yourself or others in your organization as representatives? Of what or whom? Do you see your role as a representative as one that is similar or different from legislators or the President?
5) How would you define public interest?
6) Would you say your primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public interest, specific groups, or legislators?
7) In your view, are there groups in society (such as racial or gender groups) that have been traditionally under-represented by your organization or other public agencies? If so, do you think this places a special responsibility on bureaucrats to include these groups in the policy process?

Questions Measuring Active Representation

1) If you view yourself as a representative, what specific tasks do you perform in your organization that you consider representation or advocacy?
2) What are the primary tools you use to assess clients and their need for services? Do you use any informal methods to assess clients?
3) Do you possess information that can potentially help clients maneuver through the process of receiving services more easily, by this I mean information that you are not required to share with clients as part of the application process? What types of factors may influence your decision to share or not share this information?
4) Do you ever feel that your clients would be better served if their posture or behavior toward the organization were altered?
5) Do you feel that it is part of your job to stimulate demand from potential clients? If so, do you have formal outreach programs? Describe how these programs work, specifically in terms of determining who to contact for such programs? Do you use any informal mechanisms?
6) Do you feel that you relate more easily to clients who share your background or demographic characteristics? What sort of characteristics would you say are most likely to influence your ability to relate to clients? Do you feel that this in any way influences the way in which you handle individuals' cases?

7) Have you ever noticed behavior by others in your organization that you felt were discriminatory, either toward co-workers or clients? If so, how did you handle the situation?
8) Do you feel that others in your organization (peers, subordinates or supervisors) have helped to shape your views on your role as a representative? In what way?

Questions measuring Potential Trade-Offs

1) Do you think there is a relationship between bureaucrats' advocacy behavior and organizational efficiency?
2) Similarly, do you think there is a relationship between advocacy and accountability?
3) Do you perceive the benefits provided to clients by your organization as finite or zero-sum?

Agency and Level of Participants' Employment:

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

Demographic make-up of the group

1) Gender
2) Year of Birth
3) Race
4) Religion
5) Marital Status
6) Party Affiliation
7) Native Language
8) What is your highest level of education?
9) What is your country, city and state of birth?
10) Do you have any physical or mental disabilities?
11) Have you ever served in the armed forces?
12) Which of the following best describes your current household income level?

0-20,000 20-40,000 40-75,000 75-100,000 above 100,000

Appendix 3: Concourse

Total – 198 statements

Representational Role Perception- general

1. I see myself as a representative within my organization.
2. I do not see myself as a representative within my organization.
3. Representation is more central to the jobs of my supervisors.
4. My subordinates see their role as a representative differently.
5. Ideally, everyone in my organization should see their role as a representative in the same way.
6. I think that bureaucrats in general have a representative role in the policy process.
7. I advocate on behalf of my constituents but I do not personally have the power to make decisions about their case.
8. As you move up the ladder within my organization, representational roles change. Those at higher levels do not have direct access to clients, but they do have more power to make decisions.
9. Bureaucrats should play a role in representation because they see the clients' needs first hand.
10. Bureaucrats assist policymakers in making good decisions by providing information on the needs of constituents.
11. Everyone in the organization has some role of representation.
12. The level of government- local, state, or federal – influences a bureaucrat's role as a representative.
13. Those who work above me have more of a representation role and those below me have less.
14. Those at the lower level have a greater understanding of the implications of policy decisions.
15. At the local level, bureaucrats have more policy influence than at the state or national level.
16. The amount of power a person has in policymaking is more related to how well they are connected to those in power rather than the structure or level in which they are employed.
17. Sometimes bureaucrats act as trustees by making policies that the constituents may not want, but that the bureaucrat thinks is the best decision.
18. Individuals at the higher levels may not always be able to use their policy power because they may fear losing their jobs. Bureaucrats at lower levels do not have these same constraints so while they are less connected, they may exercise more power.
19. The amount of policy power an individual has may depend on the project itself.

20. Bureaucrats have power in policymaking and implementation.
21. Bureaucrats have most power in implementation. They would have to go out of their way to influence policy.
22. I do not think of bureaucrats as representatives.
23. Bureaucrats at higher levels get paid more and may be more motivated and passionate whereas those at lower levels see it as a job.
24. The higher you go in the organization, the more representative you are.
25. I do not see myself or others in my organization as a representative.
26. Bureaucrats are able to shape policies when new programs are developed.
27. Upper level management has knowledge and also friendships that give them power over the policy and how to implement it.
28. A bureaucrats' policy power is influenced by the director's vision.
29. The people below me do not have as much of a role in representation.
30. Everyone is an advocate, but we do not all do our advocacy to the same groups.
31. I believe the front-line staff under me has a more direct role of representation because they are actually working the cases and are in the community.
32. I believe staff that is over me has less of a representative role.
33. I do believe representation is my role. My role is to do my job. That is the role of bureaucrats.
34. No one in my organization is a representative.
35. My job is strictly defined by the law.

Representing Who?

36. My primary responsibility as a representative is toward the public at large, rather than specific groups or legislators.
37. My primary responsibility is to represent legislative mandates.
38. Those in positions above and/or below me represent different constituents than I do.
39. Those in positions above me have more people to represent.
40. I represent multiple interests within my organization.
41. My organization represents a specific group rather than legislative mandates or the public interest at large.
42. My organization represents the general community that it serves.
43. My role is also to represent my organization and the needs of the organization.
44. My primary responsibility is to legislative mandates.
45. My primary responsibility is to taxpayers.
46. The primary goal is to do whatever I need to do to make legislative mandates work.
47. Bureaucrats are primarily responsible for representing their constituency or community they serve.

48. Bureaucrats are primarily responsible for representing the organization in which they work.
49. I don't think bureaucrats represent the public generally. I think they represent themselves or the small group of people that they touch everyday.
50. Bureaucrats that are higher up may be more representative of their constituents or may go toward the legislature to try to get policy changed.
51. Ideally I don't think bureaucrats represent a constituency as much as a program or public interest.
52. My organization represents a specific group of constituents.
53. I think the more local the agency the smaller the group they could be representing. A federal agency pretty much covers everyone v. an agency covering an underserved group in a rural area.
54. The scope is based on jurisdiction and the purpose of the agency. Take the SSA, there are certain constituents that they serve more so than others. In many agencies, there are specific populations that you serve directly. It is jurisdictional and the mission of the agency.
55. I see myself as a representative of the department and our activities and how they impact the public.
56. I represent the people who work below me.
57. Our primary responsibility is to the residents of the state.
58. Our responsibility goes beyond residents of the state and extends to anyone who visits the state.
59. Our organization represents a very specific group of constituents.
60. Those below me have more specific groups that they represent whereas those above me have broader groups.
61. I represent many different groups – constituents, legislative mandates, and the public interest.
62. My first priority is to the clients our agency serves.
63. My first priority is toward the population we serve, and next important would be the general public.

Other People Shaping Role Perception

64. My peers, subordinates and supervisors have helped to shape the way I see myself as a representative in my organization.
65. Management influences how individuals see their role as representatives. If individuals do not feel that they are making a difference or that representation is valued in the organization, it makes it more difficult to see this as your role.
66. My peers, subordinates and supervisors have encouraged and supported my views as a representative but they have not really shaped these views.
67. I try to encourage advocacy from others in my organization.
68. Individuals at lower levels of the organization do not have the same power to influence policy as those at higher levels.

69. I formulated my own outlook toward being a bureaucrat. None of my supervisors shaped that. I have a public responsibility. It did not come from the culture of my superiors or my organization. If anything it has been at a peer level.
70. My supervisors have helped to shape how I see myself as a representative at our agency. I think I originally saw myself as an advocate of my organization and over time, this became a broader role of advocacy.
71. My own personality and work ethic have shaped my views on my role as a representative more so than my co-workers or supervisors.
72. My peers are a sounding board for me and through that they influence how I see myself as a representative.
73. I try to mentor my staff and/or peers and to empower them to be more effective representatives.
74. Others in my organization have helped me to learn to be more objective in representing what is in the best interest of those we serve.

Accountability

1. Individuals above and below my position have similar levels/types of accountability as me.
2. Individuals above and below my position have different levels/types of accountability.
3. How someone sees their accountability within the organization is driven more by their personal values and ethics rather than their official position within the organization.
4. Our organization is primarily accountable to the community we serve.
5. I am accountable to everyone – my boss, organization, community, and legislators.
6. Individuals who work in different levels of the organization have different degrees of accountability.
7. The higher up you go within the organization, the less you are accountable to the people and the more you are accountable to policy makers.
8. Accountability varies depending on whether the organization is local, state or federal. Individuals who work for local agencies are accessible to the public, no matter how high up they are. This is less true to for federal agencies.
9. Bureaucrats are primarily accountable to the people they serve.
10. Bureaucrats are primarily accountable for carrying out legislative mandates.
11. Individuals at higher levels of the organization have higher levels of accountability.
12. Lower level bureaucrats are more insulated and do not have the same level of accountability as those higher up.
13. Bureaucrats are not as responsive as legislators because they do not have electoral accountability.

14. Bureaucrats are accountable to the people.
15. They should be accountable to upper level management and citizens.
16. They should be accountable through the chain of command- citizens elect lawmakers who make policies and they should follow them and be accountable through them.
17. Most bureaucrats are accountable to those directly above them.
18. The level of government influences the scope of accountability – for example, the department of homeland security is a federal agency that is accountable to everyone. State and local agencies may not necessarily be accountable to everyone.
19. everyone is accountable to the taxpayer
20. The level of responsibility of the bureaucrat is going to determine accountability. The people who are above you are making more decisions. They are accountable to the taxpayer or people and the organization.
21. Bureaucrats are accountable to politicians or elected officials.
22. Bureaucrats have a special ability to represent under-represented groups because they have positions of power that most people in the public minority do not.
23. I am most immediately accountable to the legislature but ultimately the taxpayer.
24. The individuals above me would say they are most accountable to the public.
25. The individuals above me would not say they are accountable to the legislature.
26. I am only accountable to the executive.
27. I am accountable to my supervisors and other community partners.
28. I am accountable to my boss, the legislature and the general public.

Active representation

1. My organization has open forums where the public and interested parties can have their voices heard on issues that concern them.
2. My organization encourages public input and participation.
3. I use both informal and formal procedures for needs' assessments.
4. Sometimes constituents misunderstand the role of my organization and this may influence their quality of services received.
5. We do not have formal outreach programs whereby we try to stimulate demand for services.
6. My organization does not have formal outreach services. Our clients find us.
7. We target certain groups in our outreach programs such as lower income individuals.
8. I work in a very top-down organization with policies set at a much higher level. I do not have discretion.
9. My role is one of advising on policy rather than making decisions.
10. I make daily decisions on how to implement policy.

11. I am called on by the legislative body to give my opinion. I give the opinion that I think is best without necessarily gauging public opinion. It is not democratic representation, but it is representation.
12. I do not have any power in policymaking. I am more like a worker bee.
13. My supervisor does not have policy power. It is much higher up in my organization.
14. I make decisions on a daily basis that I consider acts of representation.
15. Bureaucrats have a special ability to represent groups in society that have been under-represented.
16. Ideally, bureaucracies should look out for under-represented groups.
17. As part of my role within my organization, I advocate on behalf of my constituents.
18. I am asked for input on new legislation.
19. I think given the level I am in, I would look at it much closer to the program standpoint, whereas those above me would look at it from the agency standpoint.
20. I act as a representative by providing information to those who need it.
21. I make decisions on a daily basis that we do not have policy or precedents to cover.
22. Almost everything I do during a given day is some sort of representation.
23. We represent all citizens by taking them into account in our decision-making process and how our decisions will affect them.
24. I work to change laws.
25. My agency has a very bad reputation and sometimes I feel that hinders a family's ability to work with us. I also think that the families and the community at large do not understand what we can do.
26. Our agency has created specific programs which foster representation of disadvantaged groups.
27. We have outreach programs but we do not target specific groups.

Diversity

1. I do not feel that groups in society have been traditionally under-represented by my organization.
2. I sometimes feel that I am able to better relate to constituents who share my background or demographic characteristics.
3. I do not feel that a persons' background or demographic characteristics influences my ability to relate to them.
4. In my organization, I feel that assumptions are sometimes made about constituents based on their background or demographic characteristics.
5. Economic status is a characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to someone.
6. Race is a characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to someone.
7. Gender is a characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to someone.

8. Education is a characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to someone.
9. Age is a characteristic that may influence my ability to relate to someone.
10. Different characteristics such as education, ethnicity, housing values, income levels, and gender may influence constituent demands.
11. It is important that our organization be representative of the population we serve in terms of variables such as education, ethnicity, housing values, income levels, and gender may influence constituent demands.
12. Constituents will be better served if they are more educated on the services of our organization.
13. Diversity within the organization allows us to better represent and serve our constituents.
14. Diversity increases organizational efficiency.
15. It is not the bureaucrats' job to represent those that have been under-represented. This would be a source of tension with their job.
16. Having a diverse workforce where our employees speak many different languages and understand differences in beliefs, customs and ways of interacting helps the organization to better serve our customers.
17. Our staff should mirror the make-up of our community.
18. Staff diversity allows constituents to relate better to the staff.
19. Hispanics and Mentally disabled peoples are groups which deserve special attention from bureaucrats.
20. Language barriers are an important factor in service provision for my agency.
21. Where a person lives may influence my ability to relate to them in a way that allows me to determine level of need and provide services to some extent.
22. Sometimes we make decisions about needs based on perceptions of individuals or areas rather than using formal evaluations.
23. I relate better to constituents (or feel that they relate better to me) because we share the same religion.
24. I relate better to constituents (or feel that they relate better to me) because of where I was raised.
25. Bureaucrats do not have a responsibility to represent those that have been traditionally under-represented. The primary role is to serve the purpose to which you have been assigned. To serve whatever organization and clients they are assigned. Now if the clients are those that have been underrepresented, even going above and beyond what is expected of you is to be admirable but I do not think there is a specified role for that other than what is in the job description.
26. I do not want my employees going above and beyond to try to make social policy. I want them to give everyone good customer service.
27. There is really something dangerous about the concept of bureaucrats having a special responsibility to do this. Now an employee has this responsibility on their shoulders for representing a mass group but they are the only person

who is part of that group or who may or may not look like that group. This is a tremendous responsibility on this person and then there is a chance that these interests would not be met, because it's not that person's job and that person should not have to speak for that group. The trend is to find someone who looks like that group and then take their opinion as some representation as the whole group. It's really scary.

28. At some point in time, every organization has discriminated or under-represented certain groups in society.
29. I think if my organization were more diverse it would change the outcome or decisions they make.
30. Income is a factor that influences my ability to relate to individuals.
31. Education level is a factor that influences my ability to relate to individuals.
32. A person's involvement or level of commitment to my organization's cause influences my ability to relate to them.
33. Representation increases efficiency because it allows you to better understand the needs of certain groups and to better serve them.
34. Our organization does not have a special ability or responsibility to represent groups that have traditionally been under-represented.
35. It is easier for me to relate to people who grew up in a community similar to the one in which I grew up.
36. In my line of work, I have found that it is often minorities, rather than majorities that have the real voice. I feel that it is my responsibility to represent the majority in this case.
37. Values such as trust and honesty are more important than demographic characteristics such as race and gender in determining whether or not I can relate easily to someone.
38. Bureaucrats have a special ability to represent those who are under-represented such as foster children or those with mental disabilities. Lobbying groups are often less effective at advocating on behalf of these groups because their views are more splintered than the bureaucracy.
39. As a state agency, we have a special ability to represent those under-represented because we have higher levels of access to policymakers.
40. An individual's ideological beliefs influences my ability to relate to them.
41. I think the reason you have government agencies is to represent those without a voice in the political system otherwise.
42. I believe in the cause that I work for, and a person's characteristics do not influence my ability to relate to them or provide services to them.
43. Openness and honesty influence by ability to relate to clients. If they are not open and honest with me it definitely influences the way I handle their case. Demographic characteristics do not influence my ability to provide services or relate to clients.
44. Bureaucrats have a responsibility to identify needs and level the playing field for the disadvantaged in our society.

45. Bureaucrats have a special ability to help the disadvantaged because they see things from a perspective that ordinary citizens do not.
46. I have a diverse background, and I can relate to anyone.
47. A person's work ethic may influence my ability to relate to them.
48. Whether a person is from a rural or metropolitan area may influence my ability to relate to them.

Trade-offs

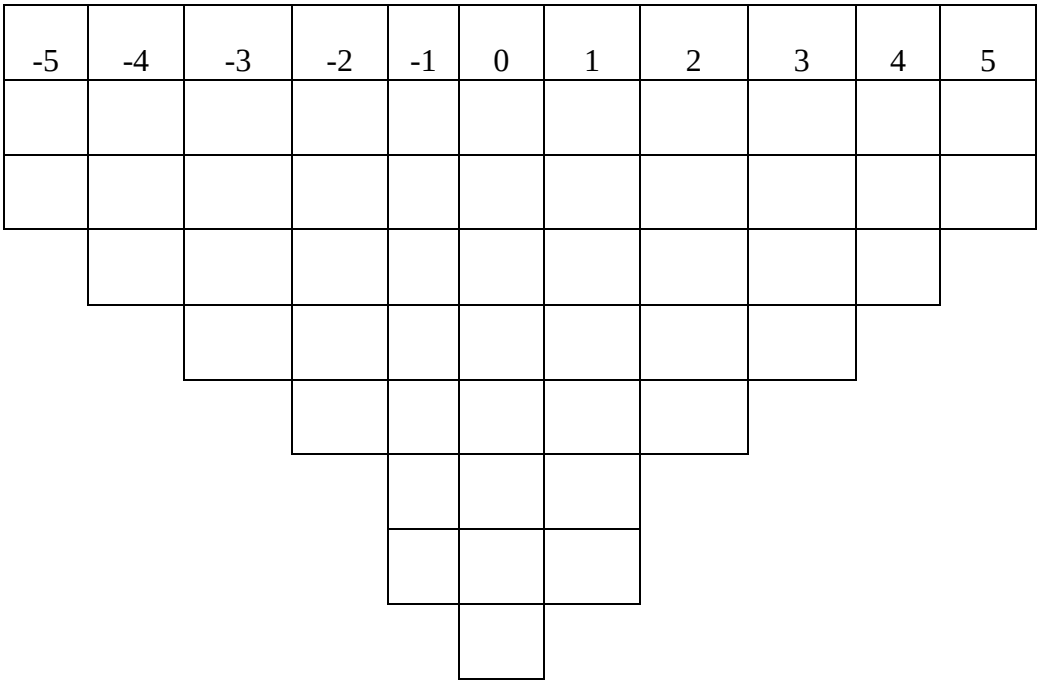
1. Representation within the bureaucracy increases organizational efficiency through increasing morale.
2. If you see yourself as a representative within the organization, you will have more accountability.
3. The services I provide to my constituents are not finite or zero-sum.
4. I do provide some services that are finite or zero-sum.
5. Representation or diversity within the bureaucracy decreases organizational efficiency.
6. Diversity leads to higher quality outcomes.
7. The services I provide through my organization are strictly zero-sum.
8. Organizational efficiency and accountability are related to leadership, not the diversity of the organization.
9. If you are not representative, you don't serve the needs of your clients. But if you are too representative, it will not be efficient.
10. It applies on an organizational level, not on an individual level. Individuals are not accountable to the people. The individual's job may not be to take those things into account. But the success or failure of the organization is based on how well it implemented its mission which is determined at the election.
11. With certain agencies, if you are too caught up in a constituency struggle, then it can be inefficient.
12. Efficiency is more related to the individuals' work styles in the organization rather than the level of representation.
13. I think the more committed a person is to representation – how seriously they take it, the more serious they take accountability.
14. They are not zero-sum. We have services that if it meets the needs of one it does not exclude others.
15. We provide information services that are not zero-sum, but we also provide other services or products that are more finite.
16. If you are sensitive to the needs of more and more folks it decreases efficiency – how efficiently we can come to a decision. But I don't view that as a bad thing because I don't view efficiency as the sole or primary value that we should be looking for. Effectiveness is just as important.
17. The management style influences the relationship between accountability and representation. If the executive is hands on, they are only related at the

margins. However, if they leave broad discretion to many people, bureaucratic representation can very much drive things in a way that is not accountable to the appointing superior. It may be distorted too, in terms of advocates' concerns.

18. Having diversity helps in your advocacy efforts and subsequently your organizational efficiency. You are not reading a book about it, the people in the organization understand it.
19. I think that diversity and representation within the organization increases your accountability because it increases your sense of urgency. If you understand it, you feel that it is urgent and you need to do something.
20. This line of work is more efficient when there is a "buy-in" by the staff that what they are doing (how they are advocating for the clients) makes a difference and is important.
21. Diversity does not influence organizational efficiency.

Appendix 4: Q-Sort Response Matrix

Respondent #



1. There are 50 cards numbered 1 to 50. As you read the cards, sort the cards into three piles. Place those you agree with in one pile. Place those you disagree with in a second pile. Put the cards you feel neutral about or have no opinion of in a third pile.

2. From the disagree pile, choose the TWO with which you most disagree. Write the number of the statements with which you most disagree in the pile labeled -5.

3. From the disagree pile, choose the THREE with which you most disagree. Write the number of the statements with which you most disagree in the pile labeled -4.

4. From the disagree pile, choose the FOUR with which you most disagree. Write the number of the statements with which you most disagree in the pile labeled -3.

5. From the disagree pile, choose the FIVE with which you most disagree. Write the number of the statements with which you most disagree in the pile labeled -2.

6. From the disagree pile, choose the SEVEN with which you most disagree. Write the number of the statements with which you most disagree in the pile labeled -1.

7. If at any time you do not have enough cards in the disagree pile, choose the cards you most disagree with from the neutral pile to complete the step. Place any remaining cards in the neutral pile.

8. At this time, do not fill in the 0 column. Go to the agree pile and select the TWO with which you most agree and write the numbers in the column labeled +5.

9. Go to the agree pile and select the THREE statements with which you most agree and write the numbers in the column labeled +4.

10. Go to the agree pile and select the FOUR statements with which you most agree and write the numbers in the column labeled +3.

11. Go to the agree pile and select the FIVE statements with which you most agree and write the numbers in the column labeled +2.

12. Go to the agree pile and select the SEVEN statements with which you most agree and write the numbers in the column labeled +1.

13. Now write down the numbers of the remaining cards in the 0 column. When you are finished you should have no cards left over and no blank spaces on your answering sheet.

Appendix 5: Follow-Up Instrument

1) Could you explain how you see the role of your organization toward under-represented groups?

2) What types of groups (if any) does your organization target in its outreach programs?

3) Could you describe what if any tasks you perform in your organization most often that you consider acts of representation?

4) Earlier you responded to a set of questions regarding various characteristics which you indicated may or may not influence your ability to relate to constituents. Can you tell me which specific characteristic, if any, would be important?

5) You indicated that you think that assumptions are sometimes made in your organization based on demographic characteristics. What characteristics were you thinking of?

6) You suggested that you sometimes have information which you can choose to share or not share with your clients that may affect their quality of services. Could you elaborate on this?

7) Could you elaborate on how you see the relationship between accountability and representation? Efficiency and representation?

Appendix 6: Follow Up Demographics

Employment:

a. Agency
b. Position
c. level of government

Gender

Year of Birth

Race

Religion

Marital Status

Party Affiliation

Native Language

What is your highest level of education?

What is your country, city and state of birth?

Do you have any physical or mental disabilities?

Have you ever served in the armed forces?

Which of the following best describes your current household income level?
0-20,000 20-40,000 40-75,000 75-100,000 above 100,000