Active Representation for Him and Her: A qualitative study on the effect of gender on active representation among civil servants in the municipality of Amsterdam

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Date: 5-1-2024

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Master thesis: MSc. Public Administration: International and European Governance

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Semester 1, 2023 - 2024

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Wordcount: 10729

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1. Introduction

1.1 Gender and active representation

Academics in the field of representative bureaucracy have held a persistent interest in the representational aspects of bureaucratic organizations. In particular, the relevance of gender within public institutions has gained significant prominence (Akram, 2018). The increased female labor market participation of the recent decades has substantially changed the composition of the workforce in Western countries (Groeneveld, 2010), however in 2018 Akram published an article stating that rather than having adapted to this, public organizations still have gender-related characteristics. For this study, "gender" refers to the distinction between men and women.

The field of representative bureaucracy posits that public institutions should reflect the demographic diversity of the societies they serve. It underscores the idea that the composition of public organizations should mirror the population's characteristics, including gender, to ensure a more equitable and inclusive governance structure. Central to this concept is the distinction between passive and active representation. Passive representation entails the mere presence of individuals from diverse groups in public organizations, while active representation goes further by examining the extent to which these individuals advocate for, and effectively address, the concerns, needs, and perspectives of their respective demographic groups in public institutions (Mosher, 1968).

Existing research in this field has provided some valuable insights into the connection between gender and representation within public organizations, nevertheless, representative bureaucracy scholars still have not yet substantially analyzed how bureaucratic behavior and policy outcomes are affected by gender (Groeneveld, 2010).

This leads me to articulate the objective of this research, which is to enhance our understanding of how gender influences active representation by examining its implications among individual civil servants in the municipality of Amsterdam.

1.2 Qualitative individual research

According to Shjarback et al. (2017) there is a shortage of qualitative methods researching active representation. So far, only Wilkins (2007) used this, by using elaborate surveys for supervisors in sixteen child support enforcement field offices, to examine the causal story

behind the relationship between individual and bureaucratic priorities. Existing literature, for the most part, is composed of studies that are conducted at an organizational level according to Bradbury & Kellough (2014). This provides some information about the relationship between passive and active representation, but this operationalization gives little in depth understanding of the actual manifestation of active representation (Kennedy, 2014).

This begs for an individual approach of investigating active representation among civil servants, enforcing this qualitative research as a valid contribution to the existing literature. Bradburry & Kellough (2011) suggest that organizational context makes it difficult to effectively draw conclusions about active representation, because policy outcomes consistent with minority or female clients can also be produced by nonminority and male bureaucrats. Only a research design that employs qualitative research focused on the individual level can assess the difference in active representation between female civil servants and male civil servants (Kennedy, 2014).

1.3 The municipality of Amsterdam
Amsterdam is widely recognized as one of the most diverse municipalities in the Netherlands. This recognition underscores the municipality's unique position as a hub of cultural diversity and pluralism within the country (Website Onderzoek en Statistiek, n.d.). Therefore, the municipality of Amsterdam prioritizes working on representative goals for its employees and clients. For example, in 2020 the municipality implemented The Inclusion and Diversity Implementation Plan (2020 - 2023) to make the culture of the municipal organization more aligned with the multicultural population of the city (Amsterdam, 2023a). Consequently, the municipality of Amsterdam facilitates a relevant context for assessing whether gender plays a determinant role in the manifestation of active representation among civil servants.

1.4 Research Question
Shjarback et al. (2017) suggest that individual officials tend to reflect and act upon the perspectives of those who share similar demographic backgrounds with them. In law enforcing bureaucratic organizations, it has been observed that women who are victims of sex crimes display a greater inclination to report such incidents to female police officers. Consequently, female officers tend to be more proactive in documenting reports and upholding laws related to sexual assault (Nicholson-Crotty & Meier, 2006). It shows that

women and men, working in a bureaucratic organization, show different actions portraying active representation.

I will measure active representation by conducting semi-structured interviews with civil servants of the municipality of Amsterdam, following a framework based on Hoi-Lan Lim's (2006) depiction of substantive effects of passive representation assessing their answers as direct sources (through minority bureaucrats' own behavior) and indirect sources (through the behavior of other bureaucrats) as actions of active representation.

In summary, the main purpose of this research is to map in what way male and female civil servants manifest active representation and how it differentiates, translating into the following research question:

(RQ): *"How does active representation manifest itself?*
Does gender influence active representation among individual bureaucrats?''

1.5 Outline of the research

In the upcoming chapter, I will present the relevant theories concerning representation and the concepts used to measure active representation for this research (Lim, 2006). Subsequently, in the methods chapter, I will outline the approach I will take to measure active representation, involving interviews with civil servants from the municipality of Amsterdam. These interviews will yield raw data, which will be analyzed in the results chapter. In this chapter, the findings derived from the interviews will be translated into statements about active representation. Ultimately, the research will come to a close in the concluding chapter. Here, I will summarize the key findings concerning active representation manifestation among female and male civil servants. Additionally, I will provide insights into practical implications and potential directions for further research.

2. Theoretical Framework

<u>2.1 Introduction</u>

The purpose of this theoretical framework is to establish a solid foundation for addressing the research question by providing an understanding of the key concepts essential to comprehend female and male active representation at the individual level within public organizations.

First, we delve into the theoretical foundation of representative bureaucracy, highlighting its significance in shaping the dynamics of public organizations. Next, I will explore the concepts of passive and active representation, explaining the distinctions and connections between these two notions of representation. Following this discussion, I will proceed to present an in-depth explanation of the concepts and definitions that are pertinent to the measurement of active representation. I will examine direct and indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation as formulated by Hong-Hai Lim in 2006, which will serve as essential tools for measuring active representation in this research.

Conclusively, drawing upon insights from existing literature, I will articulate expectations regarding the research findings. By structuring the theoretical framework in this manner, I aim to provide readers with a clear roadmap for navigating this chapter and understanding the theoretical context that underpins this research about active representation.

<u>2.2 Representative Bureaucracy</u>

The concept of representative bureaucracy is a theory that finds its foundation in principles and values when it comes to bureaucratic decision-making. Its central premise is that the demographics of a civil servant influence pre-organizational socialization, values, and ultimately decisions, in a manner that can promote the interests of a represented client or group (Lee & Webeck, 2022). Notably, it has received significant scholarly attention in recent years (Grissom et al., 2015) and has been employed as a conceptual framework to explain various aspects of political, economic, and historical development (Nachmias & Rosembloom, 1973).

Representative bureaucracy assumes that, when civil servants mirror demographic characteristics of the public, they are more likely to encompass the public's values and, therefore, are more likely to make decisions that benefit those they serve (Meier & Nigro, 1976). In essence, a public workforce that mirrors the racial, ethnic, and gender diversity of

the population helps ensure that the interests of all groups are better represented in bureaucratic decision-making processes (Bradbury & Kellough, 2011).

Holland, Keiser, Meier and Wilkins in 2002 conducted research on gender, institutional context and representative bureaucracy. They mention two components of representative bureaucracy that have been originally distinguished by Mosher (1968) which are passive representation and active representation. Existing theories posit that 'passive' demographic representation (Mosher, 1968) leads to bureaucrats engaging in 'active' interest and policy representation (Andrews et al., 2015). In other words, it is theoretically assumed that passive representation, where bureaucrats share demographic characteristics with the public, transforms into active representation, involving the active promotion and adoption of programs and policies that benefit the specific population being represented (Bishu & Kennedy, 2020).

Anderson (2017) describes the theoretical link between passive and active representation according to Bradburry & Kellough, 2011; Meier & Nigro, 1976 and Mosher, 1968. Firstly, bureaucrats share attitudes and values with citizens of the same demographic background. For instance, female bureaucrats share values with women in the population, and black bureaucrats share values with black citizens. And, secondly, Anderson (2017) finds that values and attitudes shape bureaucratic behavior. For instance, attitudes toward specific policies shape the way bureaucrats implement those policies or programs. Policy implementation by individual bureaucrats is influenced by the person's ideology, institutionalized values, and attitudes toward organizational goals.

2.3 Passive and Active representation

Mosher (1968) was the first to formulate the initial differentiation between passive and active representation. His focus was on how individuals bring distinct 'perspectives, knowledge, values, and abilities' to bear upon various issues, leading him to identify two distinct forms of representation, in his words these were 'two meanings of bureaucratic representation'. This structured the subsequent discourse about active and passive representation.

2.3.1 Passive Representation

"Passive representation," often referred to as descriptive representation, revolves around the demographic origin of individuals and the extent to which they mirror the population they

serve. Scholars such as Riccucci & Ryzin (2017) and Groeneveld (2010) have delved into this concept, advocating for a proactive alignment of the demographic and social attributes of the bureaucratic workforce with the characteristics of the community it serves. Passive representation is an organization-level phenomenon and increases as the demographic characteristics of an organization begin to mirror those of the population it serves (Lee & Webeck, 2022).

In other words, administrators within a bureaucracy who share background characteristics such as ethnicity, race, and gender with the people they serve are believed to be better equipped to understand and address the unique needs, perspectives, and challenges of the community. By actively incorporating this diversity within the bureaucracy, scholars argue that policies and administrative decisions are more likely to be well-informed, culturally sensitive, and just (Stivers, 2002).

2.3.2 Active Representation

The definition used by Mosher (1968) states that active representativeness is found when a bureaucrat "presses for the interests and desires of those whom he is presumed to represent, whether they be the whole people or some segment of the people''. The concept of active representation posits that the social and demographic characteristics of individuals, particularly those in administrative roles, play a crucial role in motivating actions that benefit citizens with whom they share common identities (Shjarback et al., 2017).

In this context, female officials or those from minority groups are highlighted as actively leveraging their positions to promote the interests of their respective groups (Groeneveld, 2010). For instance, Keiser et al. (2002) found that higher levels of representation of women among math teachers were positively associated with improved math scores for female students. Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006) found that higher proportions of female police officers were positively associated with reports of sexual assaults on women and arrests for those assaults. Nicholson-Crotty et al. (2016) exemplify active representation by showing that classrooms with African-American teachers are more likely to send African-American students to talent programs, illustrating the benefits of representation when bureaucrats establish an organizational culture in which non-minority bureaucrats become aware of the interests and needs of minority clients.

2.3.3 Measurement of active representation: substantive effects of passive representation

In order to measure individual active representation, this research adopts Hong-Hai Lim's (2006) conceptualization of substantive effects of passive representation. In his research Lim (2006) addresses the question of how passive representation of a minority group in a bureaucracy can produce policy effects ('substantive effects') for that social group.

The actual consequence of active representation has been established by his research showing a positive relationship between the presence of minority and female bureaucrats and the substantive effects received by their social group. Lim (2006) identifies six specific factors that lead minority bureaucrats to produce effects for their social group directly or indirectly, which I in this research interpret as different expressions of active representation. Each of these factors is conceptualized as a source of substantive effects that benefits their social group. He describes three factors that produce benefits directly (through the minority bureaucrats' own behavior), referred to as direct sources of substantive effects of passive representation. And three factors that produce benefits indirectly (through the behavior of other bureaucrats), referred to as indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation. These indirect and direct sources will be elaborated on in the next paragraph.

In his study, Lim (2006) uses the term "minority bureaucrats" to describe civil servants who are part of a racial minority, female, or belong to any other social group that is underrepresented in the bureaucratic organization.

2.3.4 Direct sources of substantive effects of passive representation

Direct sources of substantive effects result from the actions of the bureaucrat in question and have been the focal point of most contemporary studies.

Lim (2006) categorizes three direct sources of substantive effects amongst minority bureaucrats: (1) *Partiality* involves bias in favor of their social group and against other groups. Partiality leads minority bureaucrats to provide more substantive benefits to members of their social group than to equally eligible members of other social groups. Minority bureaucrats who consciously avoid partiality can still end up increasing benefits for their social group. They may even attempt to remain neutral or impartial to all groups, but intentionally neutral minority bureaucrats still ultimately provide more benefits to their social group than intentionally neutral other bureaucrats; (2) *Shared values and beliefs* means that minority bureaucrats tend to closely align with the needs and wishes of their own group,

whether this alignment is evident or subconscious. Shared values and beliefs imply that individual 'A' acts as 'B' would if 'B' were in 'A's position. This suggests that bureaucrats naturally serve the interests of their social group, unless active efforts are made to prevent this phenomenon. The (3) third source, *empathic understanding,* means that minority bureaucrats better understand the values and beliefs of their minority group, even if they no longer share them. This point does not say that other bureaucrats do not share the values of minorities, but that they simply do not understand them. It leads 'minority bureaucrats' to articulate the interests of their social group and to take these interests into proper account in their own decisions and actions in a way not even possible for non-minority bureaucrats (Lim, 2006).

2.3.5 Indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation

Lim (2006) posits that active representation can also occur indirectly through the influence of behavior towards other bureaucrats. He categorizes three indirect sources of substantive effects; minority bureaucrats will (1) *physically check* the excesses of non-minority groups against minority groups. This means practicing physical controle, but also expressing disapproval of discriminatory behavior by other bureaucrats. Such reactive checks by minority bureaucrats benefit their social group by tempering biased behavior or preventing its continuation by other bureaucrats. More important is the prior (2) *restraint* felt to act on biases by non-minority bureaucrats, not just against minority groups but also in favor of their own, for fear of being disapproved of, exposed or otherwise checked. In other words; a person's behavior is influenced by the anticipated reaction of relevant others.

Over a longer period of time, minority bureaucrats bring about change in the values and beliefs, not just the behavior, of other bureaucrats. This is perceived as the (3) *resocialization* effect of minority bureaucrats. Nicholson-Crotty (2002) punctuates this by finding that female police officers can sensitize their male colleagues to gender issues. This means that other bureaucrats become resocialized in this way, and consequently they would be fairer to minority-group members, and not because of check or restraint.

Vicky Wilkin's (2007) conducted one of the only studies about the individual-level relationship between individual and bureaucratic priorities. Her research in 2007 suggested that female supervisors who work together in offices with greater numbers of women in leadership and supervisory roles will be more likely to provide active representation. She found that female supervisors provide ways to affect outcomes for their social group by using

punishment and incentives, supervising and controlling male non-minority colleagues and resocialization of culture and expectations. According to Mark Bradburry & J. Edward Kellough (2011) active representation by female or minority bureaucrats is not isolated from that of male or non-minority bureaucrats, because outcomes consistent with minority interests or the interests of women may also be produced by nonminority bureaucrats who, for example, interact a lot with minority colleagues.

2.4 Expectations

Research conducted by Bradbury & Kellough (2008, 2011), Kennedy (2014), Keiser et al. (2002), Lim (2006), Mosher (1968), Nachmias & Rosenbloom (1973), Shjarback et al. (2017), and Wilkins (2007) in the field of representative bureaucracy, with a gender perspective, suggests that public organizations that reflect demographic diversity resembling the general population (passive representation) are likely to actively prioritize the interests of the various groups they represent (active representation). Consequently, it appears that in specific public bureaucratic settings, female civil servants are associated with positive outcomes for clients of the same gender, in contrast to male bureaucrats who are not as strongly linked to active representation.

While this study does not concern outcomes, it is probable that female civil servants will exhibit a stronger inclination to represent their represented group favorably. By employing Lim's (2006) conceptualization of direct and indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation, it is expected that this study will show different ways of active representation between female civil servants and their male counterparts.

3. **Methods**

<u>3.1 Introduction</u>

Conventional studies about active representation in the field of representative bureaucracy have relied predominantly on quantitative methods, however the influence of gender often received limited attention. It is important to note that quantitative research can indeed be used to examine the connection between gender and active representation, but equally important qualitative research can offer unique insights that quantitative methods alone may not capture, shedding light on the nuanced and context-specific aspects of gender-related dynamics concerning civil servants in representative bureaucracies (Kennedy et al., 2020).

Expanding upon the significance of qualitative research, Bradbury & Kellough (2011) highlight the importance of research at the individual level. They find that studies that depend on aggregated data at the organizational level face a challenge in distinguishing the impacts of minority or female bureaucrats' behavior from that of their nonminority or male counterparts. At best, analyses relying on organizational-level data can provide evidence consistent with active representation, but they do not allow us to explore detailed mechanisms that display active representation for male and female civil servants (Wilkins, 2007).

This chapter outlines a comprehensive view of the research design for this qualitative study, which aims to explore how gender influences active representation by examining the behavior of individual civil servants within the bureaucratic framework of Amsterdam's municipality. These pages discuss the rationale behind the choice of interviews as the data collection method, delve into the process of operationalization, and address critical considerations of the research methodology.

<u>3.2 Research Design</u>

To investigate male and female manifestations of active representation, a qualitative research design has been selected. Qualitative research allows for an in-depth exploration of individual experiences, behaviors, and perspectives, providing a rich and nuanced understanding of the subject matter (Busetto et al., 2020).

Typically, qualitative research follows an inductive approach, where observations lead to generalizations. Inductive reasoning begins by observing specific cases and aims to form general conclusions. Conversely, deductive reasoning starts with general principles and aims

to apply these to specific cases. (Hyde, 2002). It is important to note that my in-depth qualitative research mostly follows an inductive process. The research tries to give substance to the concept of active representation manifesting in male and female individual bureaucrats. However, it has some deductive aspects and predeterminations, as the literature from Lim (2006) on direct and indirect sources of substantive effects is used as an analytical framework for active representation. Still, the research question predominantly gives room to new insights (Bingham & Witkowsky, 2016).

Qualitative research is widely accepted to be effective in social sciences as it provides deep analysis while also considering context (McNabb, 2002). It is an in-depth analysis of a small non-random sample in a particular organization or situation (Hunziker & Blankenagel, 2021). The design for this research asks for a cross-sectional approach as opposed to a longitudinal approach because I try to understand behavior at a particular moment and not a cause-and-effect relationship over time. Data is collected from a demarcated population at a specific moment and not repeatedly (Oehler-Sincai, 2008). Inherently, the research attracts an observational approach rather than an experimental one as it focuses on understanding individual behavior in a natural setting. Experimental research would aim to establish a causal relationship with the help of deliberate intervention and manipulation (Margetts, 2011).

Conclusively, this means a qualitative cross-sectional observational case study approach allows in-depth research of active representation in a real-world setting most successfully (Schoch, 2020).

3.3 Data Collection Method

This research focuses particularly on the conduction of interviews as its primary data collection method to enlighten female and male bureaucrats' behaviors in representing clients (Kennedy, 2013). In-depth interview work does not tend to rely on hypothesis testing but it is inductive and emergent in its process (Dworkin, 2012).

3.3.1 Semi-structured interview

This research has the purpose to explore how active representation differs within male and female civil servants which makes semi-structured interviews the preferred data collection method. It is more valuable to understand the participant's unique perspective rather than a

generalized understanding of the phenomenon. A primary benefit of the semi-structured interview is that it permits interviews to be focused while still giving the investigator the autonomy to explore pertinent ideas that may come up in the course of the interview, which can further enhance understanding (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021).

To obtain legitimacy for this research method I follow the concept of saturation which implies that at some point enough information is acquired to replicate the study, and there is the ability to gain new additional information. In this research it translates to the question: *how many interviews are enough to reach data saturation?* Hence, I will commence with a total of eight interviews, evenly distributed with four interviews for each gender. If the previously mentioned criteria have been satisfied, and there is no need for additional interviews, I will consider the interview process concluded (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Otherwise more interviews will be incorporated in the research until saturation is acquired.

3.3.2 Sampling

The selection of participants is an important part of any research project to ensure that data are collected from individuals who are the most pertinent to the study (Ahlin, 2019). This research focus narrows the list of eligible people establishing non-probability sampling, which is referred to as purposive sampling. This involves the deliberate selection of participants who meet specific criteria of interest. These criteria include individuals engaged in similar roles within a local bureaucratic framework, having substantial interaction with clients, and encompassing both female and male civil servants (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021). Initially political, ethnic and social backgrounds are irrelevant characteristics for this purpose of sampling. However, the inductive nature of the research provides the possibility for these aspects to be relevant to active representation. Therefore, these topics will not be neglected in the research.

I found eligible research participants in the 'gebiedsmakelaars' of the municipality of Amsterdam, freely translated as 'area brokers' (Amsterdam, 2023c). These respondents engage directly and personally with their clients, making them highly qualified for assessing active representation. These civil servants are dedicated to serving the interests of residents in specific neighborhoods and are regarded as the primary representatives of these areas. They ensure that complex issues are addressed and coordinated with partners and residents in the locality. These "area brokers" serve as pivotal contact points for local residents, businesses,

and organizations within their respective neighborhoods.

The 'area brokers' carry out the interests of the residents regarding a variety of issues. This means they voice the complaints and ideas about greenification, waste and noise nuisance, neighborhood get-togethers, nuisance by abandoned bikes, traffic disturbance and public image of the neighborhood. They also cooperate with local law enforcement to address safety issues experienced in the area (Amsterdam, 2023b). Table 1 presents the "area brokers" categorized in gender and level of experience, along with their respective neighborhoods. To protect the confidentiality of the respondents, the neighborhoods have been anonymized. Information about the neighborhoods is available upon request.

	Neighbourhood	Experience		Neighbourhood	Experience
Respondents Female	Area	<1year/>1year/>3years /Don't want to say	**Respondents** Male	Area	<1year/>1year/>3years /Don't want to say
1	A	>1year	1	B	>3years
2	A	<1year	2	C	>3years
3	A	>3years	3	A	<1year
4	A	>3years	4	A	<1year
5	B	>3years	5	D	<1year
Total: 5	(4) A (1) B	(3) >3years (1) <1year (1) >1year	Total: 5	(2) A (1) B (1) C (1) D	(2) > 3years (3) < 1year

Table 1: Male and female respondents ('area brokers')

3.4 Operationalization

I measure active representation by considering direct and indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation following the concepts developed by Lim (2006). The questions will be formulated to investigate whether 'area brokers' have identified, acted upon or experienced these sources of substantive effects. Based on the answers, possible differences in male and female active representation can be described. This subchapter explains how Lim's (2006) concepts are translated into questions for the interviews by giving an example with each concept.

Important to note is that there is no prior conceptualization of Lim's (2006) ideas for the use of semi-structured interviews. The questions are based on my own interpretation of Lim's (2006) six direct and indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation. The original Dutch questions are determined before the interview and are formulated in the interview guide, found in appendix I. The interview guide includes an introduction, (A) general questions and (B) substantive interview questions. The guide offers a focused structure for the discussion during the interview but should not be followed strictly as the interview is semi-structured (Kallio et al., 2016). The interview guide displays the questions for the interview categorized per concept from Lim (2006) as will be demonstrated in subchapter 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.

3.4.1 Interview questions: direct sources of substantive effects of passive representation
(1) **partiality**: 'a bias in favor of their social group and against other groups'

For example, to investigate if and how a direct source of substantive effects such as (1) *Partiality* resonates with civil servants I will formulate the following question towards the individual 'area broker':

(Q1.2): *"Does the gender of the resident influence the level of effort you exert for them?"*
Answer: "Yes" >
"Would you like to explain that?"
Answer: "No" >/
If the participant states that he or she has related to this then it indicates that the person of this gender is conscious of the gender of the client as opposed to respondents that state they deny *partiality*. Subsequently, explanations are asked to see how this shows a form of active representation.

(2) **Shared values and beliefs**: 'minority bureaucrats will more closely mirror the needs and wishes of their group, whether evidently or subconsciously. Shared values and beliefs imply that individual 'A' acts as 'B' would if 'B' were in 'A's position.'
(3) **Empathic understanding**: 'minority bureaucrats better understand the values and beliefs of their minority group, even if they no longer share them'.

In order to simplify the interview process and prevent unnecessary redundancy, I consolidate the assessment of direct sources of substantive effects, (2) *shared values and beliefs*, and (3) *empathic understanding* into the same thematic questions, recognizing that these concepts essentially measure the same underlying aspect. For example, to investigate if and how these sources resonate with male and female 'areabrokers' I will formulate the following question:

(Q2.2): *"Can you provide an example of a situation in which empathy towards the resident, related to their gender, influenced your decision?"*
Answer: 'No' > /
Answer: 'Yes' >
"Can you explain that"

If the participant states that he or she relates to this then it indicates that this person feels a shared identity or empathy towards clients of the same gender as opposed to respondents denying '*shared values and beliefs'* and '*empathic understanding'*. Subsequently, explanations are asked to see how this shows active representation.

3.4.2 Interview questions: indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation
(1) **Physicalyl check:** 'This means practicing physical control, but also expressing disapproval of discriminatory behavior by other bureaucrats. Such reactive checks by female bureaucrats benefit their social group by tempering biased behavior or preventing its continuation by other bureaucrats.'

For example, to investigate if and how an indirect source of substantive effects such as *(1) physically check* resonates with 'area brokers' I will formulate the following question towards the individual 'area broker':

(Q3.2): *"Have you personally used measures (verbal or physical) or monitored colleagues to get things done for residents of your own gender?"*
Answer: 'Yes' >
"Can you provide examples or share your experiences?"
Answer: 'No' > /

If the participant states that he or she has related to this then it indicates that the 'area broker' has actively monitored the other sex. Subsequently, examples are asked to elaborate and see how this shows active representation. Lim (2006) only includes non-minority and male civil servants to be 'physically checked' as it is seen as a 'direct contribution' for female and minority workers. However, asking the same question to male respondents provides a relevant comparison between male and female 'area brokers' and can bring new insights to the gender perspective and occurrence of the phenomenon.

(2) **Restraint**: 'restraint felt to act on biases by non-minority bureaucrats, not just against minority groups but also in favor of their own, for fear of being disapproved of, exposed or otherwise checked.'

For example, to investigate if and how an indirect source of substantive effects such as *(2) restraint* resonates with civil servants I will formulate the following question towards the individual 'area broker':

(Q4.2): *"Do you feel reluctant to act on your biases (related to gender), out of fear of being disapproved of, exposed, or otherwise scrutinized?"*
Answer: "Yes" >
"Can you provide examples or share your experiences?"
Answer: "No" > /

If the participant states that he or she has related to this then it indicates that the respondent feels that certain prejudices are not suited to be acted upon. Subsequently, examples are asked to elaborate and see how this shows actions of active representation. Lim (2006) only includes non-minority and male civil servants to feel 'restraint' as it is seen as a 'direct contribution' for female and minority workers. However, asking the same to male respondents provides a relevant display of male and female awareness of possible prejudice and can bring new insights to active representation.

(3) **Resocialization**: 'Over a longer period of time, minority bureaucrats bring about change in the values and beliefs, not just the behavior, of other bureaucrats.'

For example, to investigate if and how an indirect source of substantive effects such as *(3) resocialization* resonates with civil servants I will formulate the following question towards the individual 'area broker':

(Q5.2): *"Have you actively participated in reshaping values to promote inclusivity and gender sensitivity, specifically for the benefit of female clients (or male)?"*
Answer: 'Yes' >
"Can you provide examples or share your experiences?"
Answer: 'No' >

If the participant states that he or she has related to this then it indicates that this respondent wants to produce change in the organizational environment. Subsequently, examples are asked to elaborate and see how this shows actions of active representation. Lim (2006) conceptualized 'resocialization' as a substantive effect for minority bureaucrats. However, examining and comparing the experiences and actions of male 'area brokers' provides valuable insights.

3.5 Analysis of data

Important to restate is that the interview questions are categorized following the framework of direct and indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation by Lim (2006). The primary mode of analysis is the development of the raw data from the interviews into a framework that captures key themes and connections. This results in a thematic codification of the respondents' answers with the help of coding software ATLAS.ti. v9.

The codes are freely generated at this stage, which is known as 'open coding' (Burnard, 1991). The answers of the respondents are coded in three themes that (1) display an answer that positively relates to behavior of active representation; (2) that display an answer denies active representation or (3) provides a clear, non-gender-related justification for active representation. Explicit examples from the interviews will be included as an elaboration on the codes in order to describe all aspects of the content, excluding 'dross'. 'Dross' implies the unusable content in an interview, issues that are unrelated to the topic (Burnard, 1991).

During the interviews, participants can respond with either 'yes' or 'no,' which leads to categorization into one of the three codes outlined in the paragraph above. If a respondent

answered 'yes,' they are specifically asked to describe their experiences with active representation in relation to gender. Conversely, if they answer 'no,' they are not pressed for further details, although they have the opportunity to elaborate if they wish to do so. If a 'no' response includes an elaborate explanation unrelated to gender, it is categorized as a 'different connection,' signifying active behavior towards clients driven by reasons other than gender. The codification is color based; green displays an answer that positively relates to behavior of active representation, red displays an answer denying active representation and orange provides a clear, non-gender-related 'different connection' for representation (table 2).

Color	Answer
(1) Green	Yes, I relate to this form of active representation (partiality, empathic understanding/shared values and beliefs, physically checking, restraint, resocialization)
(2) Red	No, I deny this form of active representation (partiality, empathic understanding/shared values and beliefs, physically checking, restraint, resocialization)
(3) Orange	No, I deny this form of active representation related to gender, but state a new insight for representation (partiality, empathic understanding/shared values and beliefs, physically checking, restraint, resocialization)

Table 2: Color categorization of answers.

Thus, deductively, the questions are formulated by the concepts from Lim (2006) and inductively, the interpretation of the interviews will provide insights to the existing codes (Thomas, 2003). By comparing the codes resulting from the answers of the respondents a statement can be made about female and male manifestation of active representation.

3.6 Critical considerations

Critical considerations help mitigate bias, maintain ethical standards, and contribute to the overall credibility and trustworthiness of qualitative research findings. In qualitative research, ethical considerations involve ensuring the fair and respectful treatment of the respondents, safeguarding their rights and privacy (Ahlin, 2019). Internal validity pertains to the soundness of the research design and methods, ensuring that the study accurately captures active representation and external validity deals with the generalizability of research findings beyond the specific conditions and participants of the study (Giannatasio, 1999). Credibility

focuses on the trustworthiness of findings, involving the reliability and believability of the research outcomes (Ospina et al., 2018).

3.6.1 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations related to semi-structured interviews in this case study revolve around confidentiality of the data. The data are confidential because only the person collecting the data can link responses to individual participants. To avoid discomfort of the respondents they will be provided with an informed consent form (appendix II) describing the research and their voluntary role in providing data so that they know their rights as research participants and exactly how their responses will be used. The (Dutch) completed consent forms are available upon request. The respondents receive a copy of the interview questions which will provide full transparency about the research objective. The respondents can participate anonymously and all data will be destroyed after the deadline (Ahlin, 2019).

3.6.2 Internal validity

A notable risk for accurately measuring active representation could be that the framework of Lim's (2006) conceptualization may not fully account for the specific nuances and dynamics related to gender and active representation within 'area brokers' in the municipality of Amsterdam. Lim's (2006) framework, while valuable, has been developed within a different context, and may not classify responses from individual civil servants as indicative of active representation (Giannatasio, 1999).

3.6.3 External validity:

External validity refers to the extent to which this study accurately measures the effect of gender on active representation. This study, which utilized semi-structured interviews to measure the link between gender and active representation among civil servants in the municipality of Amsterdam, may be limited to contexts with similar characteristics and diverse demographic compositions. While the findings may offer valuable insights into active representation within this specific municipal setting, generalizing the results should be exercised cautiously as other regions or organizations with distinct demographic, or structural attributes, may affect the applicability of the study's conclusions (Giannatasio, 1999).

3.6.4 Credibility

The credibility of this research concerns the believability and trustworthiness of the findings.

One notable concern is the potential presence of social desirability bias. This bias arises when respondents provide responses that they believe align with social norms or expectations, rather than their true opinions or experiences. Given the focus on gender and the assumed effect on active representation, civil servants may be reluctant to share unconventional or controversial views due to concerns about potential judgment. In the context of this research, 'area brokers' may be inclined to present themselves in a favorable light by giving answers that are perceived as socially acceptable (Bergen & Labonté, 2020). Consequently, respondents are encouraged to give genuine and honest responses, even when they may not conform to societal expectations.

Another potential threat to credibility is interviewer bias. The beliefs or preconceptions of the interviewer about gender differences can inadvertently influence the framing of questions and the interpretation of responses, undermining the objectivity and trustworthiness of the findings (Salazar, 1990).

4. Results

4.1 Introduction

To assess the difference between male and female manifestation of active representation this research used a qualitative cross-sectional observational case study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted amongst local officials in the municipality of Amsterdam to investigate actions of active representation linked to gender, based on Lim's (2006) concepts of direct and indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation.

Saturation was reached after ten interviews, adding two more to the initial planned eight. In many qualitative studies, the presentation and the interpretation of results is interwoven, as qualitative research often involves an iterative process of data collection and analysis (Weston et al., 2001). This chapter first presents the raw data of the iterative data collection process. This includes a categorization of the interview answers and explanations, categorized per concept and gender. Subsequently, I will interpret these findings by identifying key patterns and connections.

4.2 Findings

The interview questions can be found in the interview guide in appendix I. The interview questions measuring active representation have been highlighted in the transcripts per concept in colors (table 3). The full interview transcripts are made with the help of transcription software Amberscript.com and are available upon request.

Direct Sources of Substantive Effects of passive representation	Indirect Sources of Substantive Effects passive representation
(1) Partiality 3 Questions = Red	(1) Physically Check 2 Questions = Blue
(2) Empathic understanding/(3) Shared values and beliefs 2 Questions = Green	(2) Restraint 3 Questions = Purple
	(3) Resocialization 4 Questions = Orange

Table 3: Interview questions highlighted in color in transcripts

Each interview comprises 14 questions, resulting in a total of 70 provided responses from both female and male respondents. When analyzing the cumulative responses from respondents in terms of their positive or negative association with active representation based on gender, it becomes evident that male "area brokers" reported seven positive associations with active representation. In contrast, female "area brokers" mentioned 20 times that they identified with active representation (table 4).

	Male 'area broker'	Female 'area broker'
+ relation to AR	**6**	**20**
- relation to AR.	44	32
Explicitly other reasons mentioned for representation.	16	15
I don't know/does not apply.	4	3
Total	70	70

Table 4: Answers of male and female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to direct and indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation (active representation) with clients of the same gender.

Located in appendix III, tables 5.1 - 5.6 visualize the categorization of the respondents' answers. During the iterative process of the interviews the purple category was established to display the respondent's inability to give an answer due to a lack of knowledge and the yellow category for questions that appeared to be irrelevant for the respondent. Tables 6.1 - 6.3, also found in appendix III, present a summary of the corresponding answers elaborating on the categorization given in table 2 (p.20). Table 6.3 details the reasons why certain answers were deemed inapplicable. It's worth highlighting that the information included in tables 6.1c and 6.2c is stated as clarification. They pertain to practical, pragmatic, and quality-related explanations. These explanations are not considered as new insights into active representation due to their absence of social or demographic significance.

The complete quotations and citations elaborating on the 'yes' and 'no' answers elaborating on the green, red and orange codes (table 2, p. 20) are available upon request, categorized per question and gender.

4.3 Analysis:

This sub-chapter engages in interpreting the findings and codes stemming from the interviews based on the sources of substantive effects of passive representation from Lim (2006) to measure active representation, seeking patterns and connections.

The first two question themes, following in subchapters 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, result from the actions of the bureaucrat in question, indicating the direct sources of substantive effects of passive representation. The final three question themes, following in subchapters 4.3.3, 4.3.4 and 4.3.5, concern actions felt indirectly through the influence of behavior towards other bureaucrats, as they indicate the indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation.

4.3.1 Partiality

Interview answers regarding 'partiality,' reveal a remarkable contrast between male and female "area brokers" in Table 7. Some female respondents recognize the importance of client gender and bias, whereas none of the five male "area brokers" seem to consider the client's gender in this context.

Female respondents	Q1.1	Q1.2	Q1.3
+ Relation to part. (AR)	**1**	**1**	**2**
-. Relation to part. (AR)	4	4	3
Male respondents			
+ Relation to part. (AR)	**0**	**0**	**0**
-. Relation to part. (AR)	5	5	5

Table 7: Answers of male and female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'partiality' with clients of the same gender.

One female respondent states that she tends to feel intimidated by men when asked (Q1.1) if she actively takes into account the gender difference between her and a client. When asked (Q1.2) if the gender of the client affects the level of commitment she shows towards them, another respondent explicitly stated care for younger women as she quoted: "yes, it's because there's a target group in the city that's actually struggling, even if it doesn't seem like it.

Especially in the nightlife area; I recently spoke to young women who are afraid to go home, and it's specifically about young women who have a problem with that, and I understand it."

More notably, when inquired (Q1.3) whether the respondents themselves had ever displayed partiality for clients of the same gender, two of them disclosed that they had done so driven by feelings of compassion and empathy specifically for younger and older women. They explained that these clients had shared stories or issues with which they deeply resonated, leading them to express the following: "Yes, I found, yes, it did have an impact on me, especially on that day, so it made me realize that sometimes people really, don't want something." Another respondent said: "I recently had a girl (...) who was telling me that she had only been living here for a few months and that she's actually too scared to leave her house alone and doesn't know anyone in the city. Poor thing." To safeguard privacy, these complete narratives have been anonymized and can be located in the retrievable transcripts.

Female "area brokers" provided detailed accounts of their personal experiences compared to their male counterparts. In some cases, they place a high value on the empathetic bond they share with clients of the same gender. This connection sometimes motivates them to advocate more strongly for these clients. In contrast, all male respondents assert that they do not exhibit any specific favoritism toward their own social group. While a lack of correlation with this aspect of active representation is more prevalent, the distinction between male and female respondents remains noteworthy. All together this results in 'partiality' being modestly evident as a direct form of active representation.

4.3.2 Empathic understanding and shared values and beliefs
Results related to 'empathic understanding & shared values and beliefs' as indicators of active representation revealed a modest difference between male and female 'area brokers.' When presented with the question (Q2.1), "scientific literature suggests that female/male civil servants better mirror the needs and desires of clients of the same gender, either actively or unconsciously. Do you recognize this in yourself?" None of the five male respondents recognized this, but three out of the five female respondents did (table 8).

Female respondents	Q2.1	Q2.2
+ Relation to emp/sha.v.b. (AR)	**3**	**1**
-. Relation to emp/sha.v.b. (AR)	2	4
Male respondents		
+ Relation to emp/sha.v.b. (AR)	**0**	**1**
-. Relation to emp/sha.v.b. (AR)	5	4

Table 8: Answers of male and female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'empathic understanding and shared values and beliefs' with clients of the same gender

The female participants expanded on this by discussing how they easily identify themselves with all sorts of women. One respondent expressed: "in daily life, I may understand a female perspective more readily. On the whole, it's not really surprising because I identify as a woman, I would probably grasp that more easily, just as someone who is homosexual might better understand..." and another respondent stated: "yes, because you have an easy 'common ground.' The part where you naturally connect, and from there, you can build further. For example, if you both love football. I don't like football at all, but my boss loves football a lot, and the group he's with, they all love football, so it's easier for them." Another intriguing observation was one expression of empathy towards older women, the details of which can be found anonymized in the transcripts. In contrast, male respondents provided brief and denying responses, showing no acknowledgment of recognition with clients of the same gender.

When asked (Q2.2) to provide an example in which empathy towards the client, linked to their gender, played a role in a decision, just one male and one female respondent responded affirmatively. The male participant was unable to provide a specific example, while the female participant alluded to a sensitive scenario involving an elderly female client. She expressed a strong sense of urgency and empathy that guided her actions. To protect privacy, details have been anonymized. The narrative is located in the retrievable transcripts.

The male respondents, however, did provide detailed responses explaining alternative reasons for relating to a client, such as the client's reasonability and approach, which one exemplified by stating: "If a resident comes to me and says, 'if you revamp our street, it will become a bicycle street where cars have to yield to cyclists, if you do that, my street will become less

safe." I would calmly say, "well, let's arrange a meeting or have a coffee chat."' Another reason was if the client was seeking help, especially when it was a woman. For example, one said: "recently there was a heavily pregnant woman, and there were Liander works on the gas pipelines in that street, so she couldn't park her car there anymore because those parking spaces were occupied (...) I don't have children myself, but I can indeed imagine that we just need to take care of that".

Only in the first question, there is a significant link between gender and this indicator of active representation. It is intriguing that three of the female respondents admit to better mirroring the needs and desires of clients of the same gender, whether consciously or subconsciously. This suggests that 'empathic understanding' and 'shared values and beliefs' are modestly evident direct forms of active representation.

4.3.3 Physically check

Answers related to 'physically check' assessing active representation show a moderate significance for female 'area brokers.' The first question (Q3.1) concerns the experience of receiving criticism for displaying biased attitudes. However, it is unanimously reported as not having been experienced by individuals of both genders. While a lack of correlation between gender and this aspect of active representation is more prevalent, it is intriguing to note that two female respondents have responded affirmatively to the question (table 9): 'have you personally used measures or checked on colleagues to get things done for clients of your own gender?' (Q3.2).

Female respondents	Q3.1	Q3.2
+ Relation to phy.ch (AR)	**0**	**2**
-. Relation to phy.ch (AR)	5	2
Does not apply	0	1
Male respondents		
+ Relation to phy.ch (AR)	**0**	**0**
-. Relation to phy.ch (AR)	5	5

Table 9: Answers of male and female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'physically check' with clients of the same gender.

They mentioned taking specific actions to raise awareness among their colleagues regarding gender-related issues, which would ultimately benefit their clients. For instance, one respondent responded: "what I sometimes do is make remarks when something is written, and I feel it's too, that it's too focused on men and not enough on women. (...) Or what has become a 'running gag' for me is that mothers with strollers should have more space on the sidewalk (...), and I always say, "what about fathers with strollers then?" Another respondent mentioned addressing colleagues when they appear too biased: "I would say that to that person. I would first ask, "how do you perceive this?" Because I see that you often do something for these residents or in this neighborhood. Then that person can always say, "well, I'm not sure if you're aware of it, but it seems like you might be showing favoritism."

In contrast, male respondents do not experience or act upon this form of active representation, but they do associate it with factors other than gender, by checking colleagues that are pretentious or overly sensitive to residents. One respondent quoted this as: "just not explaining things very well to residents, and really getting on their 'high horse' about it there." and another respondent said: "Yes, what you do notice is that people always act all jittery around them, like they're walking on eggshells and such, but if you work a lot with the community, you also notice that they themselves are very down-to-earth."

Female research participants provided more detailed responses and exhibited more examples of this concept measuring active representation, but responses to these questions predominantly carry a low number of positive associations to active representation, therefore establishing 'physically check' not clearly evident as an indirect form of active representation.

4.3.4 Restraint

The 'restraint' indicator for active representation, does not reveal significant numbers for female respondents. Almost all responses are unrelated to this form of active representation. This pattern holds true for male respondents as well, for whom this concept was irrelevant anyway (table 10).

Female respondents	Q4.1	Q4.2	Q4.3
+ Relation to restr. (AR)	**0**	**0**	**1**
-. Relation to restr. (AR)	5	5	4
Male respondents			
+ Relation to restr. (AR)	**0**	**0**	**0**
-. Relation to restr. (AR)	4	5	5
I don't know	1	1	1

Table 10: Answers of male and female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'restraint' with clients of the same gender.

When asked (Q4.1) whether they felt biased when representing clients of the same gender, none of the respondents acknowledged this. Similarly, the same pattern emerged for the question (Q4.2) regarding any reluctance to act on prejudice due to the fear of rejection, exposure, or scrutiny. The only slight variation was noted in the response (Q4.3) of one female participant who mentioned that she was aware of a colleague feeling somewhat intimidated by male coworkers, which caused her to exercise restraint when acting on certain preconceived notions. She said: "but now, I do know one 'area broker' who feels somewhat intimidated in a particular social setting. (...) it involves (...) and in her area, there's a man, the (...) who is also quite a nice guy. But you do have to occasionally say 'Hold on' to him because he's a bit of a talker, and then there are a few of those hospitality entrepreneurs, and yes, there's one man among them with a rather passive-aggressive demeanor."

Male and female respondents provided comparable answers and cited similar justifications for denying any feelings of restraint. Interestingly, one female respondent emphasized the significance of government work to her. Both male and female participants offered explanations for not experiencing restraint based on the client's reasonability. As a result, this research shows 'restraint' as an inconclusive indirect form of active representation.

4.3.5 Resocialization

It should be noted that 'resocialization' within an organization occurs over an extended period. This led to responses from one male respondent, who had only a few months of experience as an 'area broker' and no other experience in the organization, being deemed non-applicable.

Questions related to 'resocialization' reveal the relevant notion that male and female 'area brokers' experienced a gender influenced work culture. Almost half of the respondents recognize resocialization and female respondents also acknowledged specific actions (table 11).

Female respondents	Q5.1	Q5.2	Q5.3	Q5.4
+ Relation to resoc. (AR)	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**
-. Relation resoc. (AR)	2	3	2	3
Male respondents				
+ Relation resoc. (AR)	**2**	**1**	**0**	**2**
-. Relation to resoc. (AR)	2	3	5	2
Does not apply	1	1	0	1

Table 11: Answers of male and female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'resocialization' with clients of the same gender.

When asked (Q5.1) about experiencing change over an extended period in the bureaucratic system, three female respondents confirmed this in their time as 'area broker'. One stated she realizes that historically women have had to fight for workplace equality: "The workplace, yes, it has changed, but now it's also evolving more towards inclusivity. But I come from a generation that had to fight for their position as women, and at one point, you got positive discrimination for this." Another respondent noted that a form of resocialization occurs as she sees that men are hired who exhibit more feminine traits, exemplified in: "Nowadays, you often work with women, and these women have to hire men, and these men often have many feminine characteristics." Of the respondents one went as far as to recognize that traditional male occupations are now being filled by female workers. She said: "I think that at WPI, where I worked in social services, it was really a male-dominated organization, and in my district now, (...). But it is funny. We have a meeting at the center, and it often revolves around very technical matters, and sometimes we have only women at the table."

Male participants were also asked about their perception of this trend, and they did acknowledge the efforts of female resocialization, expressing, "Well, we are quite a female organization, at least in (...). It's true. I'm in meetings with 25 people, where I'm the only man." (...) "Sometimes it was a drink with colleagues, and they were all older men. So, that

has changed quite a bit in the last ten, fifteen years," Another male respondent emphasized the importance of societal influences on the organization, stating, "That the organization is more cautious about it. (...) Yes, but that doesn't necessarily have to do with the organization, but with what's happening in society. (...) Yes, you should always view it like this: politics sends a signal. We, as civil servants, work for politics, but we are not politics. You always have to keep that in mind."

When asked (Q5.2) if the interviewed respondents themselves actively participated in reshaping values for the benefit of residents, female officials stated to openly discourage the male dominated discourse in the organization. Two given examples are: "Yes, well, that I always say something with the example of women with strollers or clothing issues, I always comment on that. So, that's one and two. I always put a lot of effort into the groups I've worked in, or doing something for each other in a feminine way." and another respondent emphasized: "I do go in with a strong approach when I feel that the men are trying to take control of how things should be done. And because I'm a younger woman, as if I wouldn't know what I'm talking about, you know. I don't have much influence on it, but I do make my voice heard, although it can come across as either refreshing or annoying." Conversely, one male respondent exemplified the male perspective by expressing that:" if there's a new position available and I'm working with only women, I would advocate for another man. I think it should be somewhat balanced."

Some female respondents also have exemplified their changed behavior and preferences (Q5.3) as opposed to male respondents who unanimously state that gender-based resocialization in the work environment has not affected their work behavior or personal preferences. Female respondents confirm to be consciously more aware of female related cases and that they now proactively pursue a healthy male-female work balance, stating: "really important, really important, yes, yes, because that balance, it's just good to keep that balance somewhat even, a bit fifty-fifty, and of course, it's also about suitability as well."

In conclusion, the concept of 'resocialization' arises as a relatively strong indirect manifestation of active representation compared to other previously discussed indicators.

The final question (Q5.4) was presented as an open question, aiming to give respondents the opportunity to share their final thoughts on the impact of gender in their professional fields. It

was not intended to assess active representation. A comparable number of both male and female participants expressed their view that they still consider gender to be a significant factor in organizational behavior.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

This study has delved into the nuanced dynamics of active representation within the context of gender and individual bureaucratic behavior. It employed a qualitative cross-sectional observational case study among local officials in the municipality of Amsterdam, using semi-structured interviews to investigate two key research questions: "How does active representation manifest itself?" and "Does gender affect active representation at the level of individual bureaucrats?" To address these questions, I utilized Lim's (2006) concepts of direct and indirect sources of substantive effects of passive representation as a framework for the analysis.

5.1 Answer to research question 1
The research question: "how does active representation manifest itself?" has provided valuable insights into the subtle but distinct differences in the approaches of male and female civil servants in representing their clients.

In the analysis of the direct sources of substantive effects of passive representation, active representation presented itself in different ways. Female respondents exhibited a greater degree of favoritism and empathy toward their own social group, displaying 'partiality' to a greater extent than their male counterparts. Some female respondents showed compassion for safety concerns, particularly towards younger and older female clients. In contrast, male "area brokers" generally did not consider the client's gender in their actions. Similarly, to questions about shared values and empathic understanding, female respondents were more likely to recognize that they could better mirror the needs and desires, whether actively or unconsciously. They emphasized the importance of common ground and empathy when interacting with clients. Male respondents, on the other hand, showed unanimous responses, with no acknowledgment of recognition with clients of the same gender.

Analysis about indirect forms of representative behavior also showed more active representation among female "area brokers". They mentioned taking measures to raise awareness among colleagues regarding gender-related issues and they stressed the significance of altering a male-dominated narrative within the organization. Male respondents either did not acknowledge 'physically check' as a way of active representation or they

approached colleagues for other reasons than gender related bias, such as colleagues being overly sensitive or unreasonable.

Both male and female respondents recognized active representation in resocialization of the organization. Some male respondents did acknowledge change in the organization, but did not report significant changes in their work behavior or personal preferences due to gender-based resocialization. Female 'area brokers' were more assertive in acknowledging changes in the bureaucratic system over time. They actively discouraged male-dominated discourse within the organization by encouraging a healthy male and female work balance, feeling conscious of historical inequality and also pursuing hiring men with specific softer personalities and qualities.

5.2 Answer to research question 2

The research question "does gender affect active representation at the level of individual bureaucrats?" builds upon the previous question in 5.1. The analysis has shown that gender does influence active representation, although its impact is not particularly strong.

Male and female local officials predominantly do not associate with active representation. However, when analyzing the cumulative responses from respondents in terms of their positive or negative association with active representation based on gender, female "area brokers" reported three times as many positive associations with active representation than male "area brokers" (table 4). These results do suggest that, in certain instances, female local officials may demonstrate a stronger connection and recognition to clients of the same gender compared to their male counterparts, expressing gender as a factor influencing active representation at the individual level.

5.3 Discussion

This research stands apart from previous studies because of its focus on the manifestation of active representation. While other findings discuss the outcomes of active representation, collectively suggesting that female clients tend to benefit from the actions of female civil servants, this study takes a unique approach by examining the forms of active representation. Notably, female 'area brokers' exhibit more and different actions of active representation compared to male officials.

The subtle gender-related difference identified in this study relates to prior research findings about active representation observed in studies conducted by Wilkins (2007) on female supervisors, Keiser et al. (2002) on female math teachers, and Meier & Nicholson-Crotty (2006) on female police officers and their clients. Whereas Wilkins (2007) etc… provide robust conclusions about the advantages for female clients when served by female officials, the present analysis lacks the same level of conclusiveness as Lim's (2006) framework derived relatively modest impressions from the interviews, which might be influenced by social desirability bias, as previously mentioned in section 3.6.3.

Consequently, there is room for refinement or adjustment of the theory, enhancing its applicability in the context of active representation research. With a more refined theoretical framework, this research can also serve as a basis for further investigations.

5.4 Future research

This study highlights that female civil servants tend to demonstrate positive actions towards clients from their own social group when compared to their male counterparts. Given this alignment with Wilkins (2007) etc…, future research could investigate the factors that impact the effectiveness of active representation by female civil servants.

Furthermore, this research can be extended to explore intersectionality, delving deeper into how factors such as race, ethnicity, and age intersect with gender affecting active representation. This expanded exploration would offer a more comprehensive understanding of how factors collectively influence representative bureaucracy. Similarly, conducting comparative studies across different regions, municipalities, or countries can provide valuable insights into different influences on active representation practices.

5.5 Practical implications

Public organizations can consider the implementation of gender and active representation in training programs tailored for civil servants. These programs have the potential to raise awareness regarding potential biases and promote fair treatment of clients, irrespective of their gender. Additionally, to ensure that active representation remains gender-neutral, organizations can introduce monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Regular assessments of client interactions can help identify any disparities relating to gender and representation.

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7. Appendix

Introductie

Bedankt dat u de tijd heeft genomen om met mij te praten over uw ervaringen als Gebiedsmakelaar in stadsdeel Centrum, binnen de Gemeente Amsterdam. Voordat we beginnen, zou ik graag uw schriftelijke toestemming willen hebben dat u akkoord gaat met dit interview. Op het formulier kunt u lezen dat al uw antwoorden strikt vertrouwelijk worden behandeld en dat uw antwoorden niet met anderen worden gedeeld behalve de onderzoekers van dit project. Ik sla uw naam niet op, maar alleen op dit formulier. Mocht u na afloop van het interview nog opmerkingen hebben, dan kunt u dus met mij contact opnemen. Ik wil u vragen om even tijd te nemen om het formulier door te nemen. Als u akkoord gaat, dan kunt u onderaan uw handtekening zetten.

Overhandig het toestemmingsformulier en beantwoord eventuele vragen. Als ze het met alles eens zijn, vraag ze dan het formulier te ondertekenen, en neem het formulier in ontvangst. Zo niet, bedank ze dan nogmaals voor hun tijd en beëindig het gesprek.

Vertel wanneer je bij het audio-opname gedeelte bent gekomen:

Zoals u zojuist heeft kunnen lezen, wordt het interview opgenomen. Met het ondertekenen van het formulier heeft u hier toestemming voor gegeven. Het interview wordt opgenomen, zodat ik me in een later stadium precies kan herinneren wat u tijdens het interview heeft gezegd. De opname wordt met niemand gedeeld en zodra ik het interview heb getranscribeerd, wordt de opname verwijderd.

Zoals vermeld in het formulier, zal dit interview zo'n 30 minuten duren. Als u iets toe wilt voegen of vragen of opmerkingen heeft, kunt u mij op elk moment onderbreken. Als u een vraag niet wilt beantwoorden, laat het me dan weten, dan ga ik door naar de volgende vraag. Als u op enig moment wilt dat het interview stopt, dan kunt u me dat ook laten weten en dan stop ik het interview. Heeft u nog vragen voordat we beginnen? Zullen we beginnen?

A. Algemene vragen

<u>Naam.</u>

…

<u>Stadsdeel:</u>

…

<u>Man/Vrouw</u>

- o Man
- o Vrouw
- o Anders
- o Wil ik niet zeggen

<u>Getrouwd</u>

- o Ja
- o Nee
- o Wil ik niet zeggen

<u>Hoelang bent u al gebiedsmakelaar</u>

- o Korter dan een jaar
- o Langer dan een jaar
- o Langer dan 3 jaar
- o Wil ik niet zeggen

<u>Verantwoordelijkheden Gebiedsmakelaar</u>

'Kunt u in uw eigen woorden kort vertellen wat de gebiedsmakelaar doet voor bewoners van dit stadsdeel?'

B. Interview vragen

(1) Partiality: a bias in favor of their social group and against other groups.

(1) Partijdigheid:

(Q1.1.) 'Als uw cliënt een ander geslacht heeft dan uzelf, staat u daar bewust bij stil?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Kunt u dat toelichten?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' > /

(Q1.2) 'Maakt het geslacht van de cliënt uit hoe groot de inzet is die u toont?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Kunt u dat toelichten?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' > /

(Q3.3) 'Heeft u situaties meegemaakt waar in uw omgang met een cliënt van hetzelfde geslacht er sprake was van partijdigheid ten gunste van deze persoon?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Kunt u voorbeelden geven of uw ervaringen delen?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' > /

(2) Shared values and beliefs: minority bureaucrats will more closely mirror the needs and wishes of their group, whether evidently or subconsciously. With shared values and beliefs A acts as B, would B be in A's position'.

(3) Empathic understanding: minority bureaucrats better understand the values and beliefs of their female group, even if they no longer share them'.

(2) Gedeelde waarden en overtuigingen en (3) empathisch begrip:

(Q2.1) 'Wetenschappelijke literatuur zegt dat ~~bureaucraten~~ ambtenaren de behoeften en wensen van cliënten van hun geslacht beter weerspiegelen. Actief maar ook onbewust. Herkent u dat in uzelf?'

Antwoord: Nee >/

Antwoord: Ja >

'Leg uit'

(Q2.2) 'Kunt u een voorbeeld geven van een situatie waarin inlevingsvermogen met de cliënt, in verband met het geslacht, invloed had op uw beslissing?'

Antwoord: Nee >/

Antwoord: Ja >

'Leg uit'

(1) physically check: 'This means practicing physical checking of behaviour, but also expressing disapproval of discriminatory behavior by other bureaucrats. Such reactive checks by minority bureaucrats benefit their social group by tempering biased behavior or preventing its continuation by other bureaucrats.'

(1) Fysiek controlerende acties:

(Q3.1) 'Heeft u ooit commentaar gekregen (verbaal of een fysieke controle) van een vrouwelijke/mannelijke collega over uw partijdige houding tegenover mannelijke/vrouwelijke cliënten?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Kunt u voorbeelden geven of uw ervaringen delen?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' > /

(Q3.2) 'Heeft u zelf met maatregelen gedreigd of collega's gecontroleerd om dingen voor elkaar te krijgen voor bewoners van uw eigen geslacht?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Kunt u voorbeelden geven of uw ervaringen delen?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' > /

(2) Restraint: 'restraint felt to act on biases by non-minority bureaucrats, not just against minority groups but also in favor of their own, for fear of being disapproved of, exposed or otherwise checked.'

(2) Sociale terughoudendheid/dwang:

(Q4.1) 'Heeft u zelf situaties meegemaakt waarin uw vooroordelen, in het bijzonder met betrekking tot geslacht, uw besluitvorming tegenover de gemeente of uw cliënten beïnvloeden?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Kunt u voorbeelden geven of uw ervaringen delen?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' > /

(Q4.2) 'Voelt u terughoudendheid om te handelen naar uw vooroordelen (in verband met geslacht), uit angst om te worden afgekeurd, ontmaskerd of anderszins gecontroleerd?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Kunt u voorbeelden geven of uw ervaringen delen?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' > /

(Q4.3) 'Heeft u zich ooit geremd gevoeld in het behartigen van belangen van cliënten van uw geslacht?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Licht toe'

Antwoord: 'Nee' /

(3) Resocialization: 'Over a longer period of time, minority bureaucrats bring about change in the values and beliefs, not just the behavior, of other bureaucrats.'

(3) Resocialisatie:

(Q5.1) 'Wetenschappelijke theorie stelt: over een langere periode zorgen vrouwelijke ~~bureaucraten~~ ambtenaren voor verandering in de waarden en overtuigingen van het bureaucratische systeem, en dus niet alleen in het gedrag van andere bureaucraten. Heeft u dat zo ervaren?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Kunt u voorbeelden geven of uw ervaringen delen?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' > /

(Q5.2) 'Heeft u zelf actief deelgenomen aan het hervormen van waarden om inclusiviteit en gendergevoeligheid te bevorderen, specifiek in het belang van vrouwelijke cliënten (of mannelijke)?'

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Kunt u voorbeelden geven of uw ervaringen delen?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' > /

(Q5.3) 'Heeft u specifieke veranderingen opgemerkt in uw eigen werkgedrag of persoonlijke voorkeuren als gevolg van langdurige samenwerking en interacties met vrouwelijke collega's binnen de organisatie?'

Antwoord: 'Nee' >

Antwoord: 'Ja' >

'Hoe dan?'

(Q5.4) 'En denkt u dat geslacht hier nog een rol in speelt?'

'Heeft u nog andere vragen met betrekking tot dit interview?'

Toestemmingsverklaring

Onderzoeksdoel & Onderzoekers

U bent gevraagd om deel te nemen aan een scriptie-onderzoek dat wordt uitgevoerd door Masterstudent Reinout Mees (s2052091) van de opleiding Public Administration: International & European Governance aan de Universiteit Leiden. Het project wordt begeleid door dr. Petra van den Bekerom. Het doel van deze studie is om te onderzoeken hoe actieve representatie zich weergeeft bij vrouwelijke en mannelijke bureaucraten binnen de Gemeente Amsterdam. Deze scriptie zal bijdragen aan het wetenschappelijke en maatschappelijke debat over actieve representatie.

Onderzoeksprocedure

Als u besluit deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek, dan willen wij u vragen deze toestemmingsverklaring te ondertekenen. Tijdens het interview wordt u gevraagd antwoord te geven op vragen die betrekking hebben op uw functie als 'Gebiedsmakelaar'. Het interview wordt opgenomen, maar de audio wordt uitsluitend gebruikt voor transcriptie doeleinden. Zodra uw antwoorden zijn getranscribeerd, zal het audiobestand verwijderd worden.

Vereiste tijd

Deelname aan dit onderzoek vergt ongeveer 30 minuten van uw tijd.

Risico's

Er zijn geen risico's verbonden aan deelname aan het onderzoek.

Voordelen

Een mogelijk voordeel van deelname aan het onderzoek voor u is dat u wordt gevraagd om bewust na te denken over uw functie als gebiedsmakelaar.

Vertrouwelijkheid

De resultaten van dit onderzoek worden zo gecodeerd dat de identiteit van de respondent niet te achterhalen is. Alle gegevens worden opgeslagen op een veilige locatie die alleen

toegankelijk is voor de onderzoeker. Na voltooiing van het onderzoek wordt alle informatie die antwoorden linkt aan de gegevens van individuele respondenten vernietigd.

Deelname en terugtrekking

Uw deelname is geheel vrijwillig. U bent vrij om niet deel te nemen. Als u ervoor kiest om deel te nemen, kunt u zich op elk moment terugtrekken zonder enige consequenties. U kunt ook weigeren om bepaalde vragen te beantwoorden.

Vragen over de studie

Heeft u vragen over de studie of wilt u een kopie ontvangen van de definitieve resultaten van dit onderzoek, neem dan contact op met:

Reinout Mees

Masterstudent Public Administration: International & European Governance

Universiteit Leiden

reinoutmees@gmail.com

Toestemmingsverklaring

Ik bevestig dat ik de informatie in dit document heb gelezen, en ik begrijp de informatie. Ik heb voldoende tijd gehad om over mijn deelname na te denken en ben in de gelegenheid geweest om vragen te stellen. Deze vragen zijn naar tevredenheid beantwoord. Ik weet dat mijn deelname geheel vrijwillig is en dat ik mijn toestemming op ieder moment kan intrekken zonder dat ik daarvoor een reden hoef op te geven.

☐ Ik geef toestemming om de gegevens te verwerken voor de doeleinden zoals beschreven in dit document.

☐ Ik geef toestemming voor het opnemen van het interview.

Naam deelnemer:

Handtekening:

Datum:

Appendix III: Raw data of interview results

Table 5.1a and 5.1b show coherence between questions about 'partiality' and the respondents' resonation with the concept.

	3 Male resp. Part Q1	4 Male resp. Part Q2	5 Male resp. Part Q3	Totals
1. Relation to this concept				0
2. No releation to this concept	5	4	3	12
3. Different connection		1	2	3
4. I don't know				0
5. Does not apply				0
Totals	5	5	5	15

Table 5.1a: Answers of male respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'partiality' with same sex clients.

	3 Fem. Resp. Part - Q1	4 Fem. Resp. Part - Q2	5 Fem. Resp. Part - Q3	Totals
1. Relation to this concept	1	1	2	4
2. No relation to this concept	1	2	1	4
3. Different connection.	3	2	2	7
4. I don't know				0
5. Does not apply				0
Totals	5	5	5	15

Table 5.1b: Answers of female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'partiality' with same sex clients.

Table 5.2a and 5.2b show coherence between questions about empathic understanding'' and shared values and beliefs'' and the respondents' experience with the concept.

	1 Male resp. Emp.sh Q1	2 Male resp. Emp.sha Q2	Totals
1. Relation to this concept		1	1
2. No releation to this concept	4	1	5
3. Different connection	1	3	4
4. I don't know			0
5. Does not apply			0
Totals	5	5	10

Table 5.2a: Answers of male respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'empathic understanding and shared values and beliefs' with same sex clients.

	1 Fem. Resp. Emp:sha - Q1	2 Fem. Resp. Emp:sha - Q2	Totals
1. Relation to this concept	3	1	4
2. No relation to this concept	2	2	4
3. Different connection.		2	2
4. I don't know			0
5. Does not apply			0
Totals	5	5	10

Table 5.2b: Answers of female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'empathic understanding and shared values and beliefs' with same sex clients.

Table 5.3a and 5.3b show coherence between questions about 'physically checking' and the respondents' experience with the concept.

	📄 23 Male resp. Phy ch. Q1	📄 21 Male resp. Phy ch. Q2	Totals
🟢 1. M Relation to this concept			0
🔴 2. M No relation to this concept	4	3	7
🟠 3. M Different connection	1	2	3
🟣 4. M I don't know			0
🟡 5. M Does not apply			0
Totals	5	5	10

Table 5.3a: Answers of male respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'physically check' with same sex clients.

	📄 6 Fem. Resp. Phy:ch – Q1	📄 7 Fem. Resp. Phy:ch – Q2	Totals
🟢 1. Relation to this concept		2	2
🔴 2. No relation to this concept	4	2	6
🟠 3. Different connection.	1		1
🟣 4. I don't know			0
🟡 5. Does not apply		1	1
Totals	5	5	10

Table 5.3b: Answers of female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'physically check' with same sex clients.

Table 5.4a and 5.4b show coherence between questions about 'restraint' and the respondents' experience with the concept.

	📄 12 Male resp. restr. Q1	📄 13 Male resp. restr. Q2	📄 14 Male resp. restr. Q3	Totals
🟢 1. Relation to this concept				0
🔴 2. No releation to this concept	4	4	4	12
🟠 3. Different connection	1	1	1	3
🟣 4. I don't know				0
🟡 5. Does not apply				0
Totals	5	5	5	15

Table 5.4a: Answers of male respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'restraint' with same sex clients.

	📄 12 Fem. Resp. Restr – Q1	📄 15 Fem. Resp. Restr – Q2	📄 14 Fem. Resp. Restr – Q3	Totals
🟢 1. F Relation to this concept			1	1
🔴 2. F No relation to this concept	3	4	1	8
🟠 3. F Different connection	1	1	3	5
🟣 4. F I don't know	1			1
🟡 5. F Does not apply				0
Totals	5	5	5	15

Table 5.5a and 5.5b show coherence between questions about 'resocialization' and the respondents' experience with the concept.

	8 Male Resoc Q1	9 Male Resoc Q2	10 Male Resoc Q3	11 Male Resoc Q4	Totals
1. Relation to this concept	2	1		2	5
2. No releation to this c...		3	3	2	8
3. Different connection	2		1		3
4. I don't know			1		1
5. Does not apply	1	1		1	3
Totals	5	5	5	5	20

Table 5.5a: Answers of male respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'resocialization' with same sex clients.

	16 Fem Resoc Q1	8 Fem Resoc Q2	9 Fem Resoc Q3	17 Fem Resoc Q4	Totals
1. Relation to this concept	3	2	2	2	9
2. No relation to this conc...	2	3	2	3	10
3. Different connection.					0
4. I don't know			1		1
5. Does not apply					0
Totals	5	5	5	5	20

Table 5.5b: Answers of female respondents categorized in positive or negative relation to 'resocialization' with same sex clients.

Tables 5.6a and 5.6b depict the total culmination of all answers given categorized in relation or non-relation to active representation. One interview contains 14 questions which leads to a total of 70 asked questions.

	1M Q1-3 Part	2M Q1-2 Emp/sha	3M Q1-2 Phy.ch	4M Q1-3 Restr.	5M Q1-4 Resoc	Totals
1. M Relation to this concept		1			5	6
2. M No relation to this concept	12	5	7	12	8	44
3. M Different connection	3	4	3	3	3	16
4. M I don't know					1	1
5. M Does not apply					3	3
Totals	15	10	10	15	20	70

Table 5.6a: Answers of male respondents to all posed questions categorized in positive or negative relation to active representation.

	1F Q1-3 Part	2F Q1-2 Emp/sha	3F Q1-2 Phy.ch	4F Q1-3 Rest.	5F Q1-4 Resoc	Totals
1. F Relation to this concept	4	4	2	1	9	20
2. F No relation to this concept	4	4	6	8	10	32
3. F Different connection	7	2	1	5		15
4. F I don't know				1	1	2
5. F Does not apply			1			1
Totals	15	10	10	15	20	70

Table 5.6b: Answers of female respondents to all questions categorized in positive or negative relation to active representation.

Yes, acknowledged active representation in relation to gender (partiality, empathic understanding/shared values and beliefs, physically checking, restraint, resocialization)

- No reason given (2)
- The work environment in the organization has become more female dominated (4)

Total (6)

Table 6.1a: Reasons stated by male respondents for acknowledging active representation based on Lim (2006)

No, denied, there is a different connection (new insight) than gender for representation (partiality, empathic understanding/shared values and beliefs, physically checking, restraint, resocialization)

- Length of the relationship with client (2)
- prejudice on wealthy residents (2)
- Generation difference (3)
- Reasonability of a client (4)
- on the contrary, if it is a dependent woman (1)
- LHBTQ+ diversity/inclusivity (4)

Total (16)

Table 6.1b: Reasons stated by male respondents for denying active representation based on Lim (2006) and mentioning different ones.

No, denied, no active representation (partiality, empathic understanding/shared values and beliefs, physically check, restraint, resocialization)
- No reason given (33)
- Practicality/pragmatic is most important condition (8)
- Quality is important (3)

Total (44)

Table 6.1c: Reasons stated by male respondents for denying active representation based on Lim (2006)

Yes, acknowledged active representation in relation to gender (partiality, empathic understanding/shared values and beliefs, physically checking, restraint, resocialization)

_____

- No reason given (2)

- Feeling empathy for safety of (young) women (4)

- If there is a physical approach, men can be intimidating.
  Women cannot, so favoritism towards women (3)

- Feeling empathy for older women (1)

- To want to adjust male dominated discourse (6)

- Historically women had to fight for women equality (2)

- Hiring men with softer personalities (1)

- Being more conscious of importance of male – female balance (1)

_____

Total (20)

Table 6.2a: Reasons stated by female respondents for acknowledging active representation based on Lim (2006)

No, denied, there is a different connection (new insight) than gender for representation (partiality, empathic understanding/shared values and beliefs, physically checking, restraint, resocialization)

_____

- Generation Difference: (1)
  Other reasons for feeling empathy are religion, social class which was more important 20/30 years ago.

- Reasonability of a client (3)
  Is the client angry, aggressive or reasonable?

- Stereotypical gender behaviour (7)
  Acting actively against people with stereotypical male/female behaviour; speaking up against typical male 'haantjes' behaviour or 'afhankelijkheid' from women.

- The greater good (1)
  Reason is importance of the greater good (the government, therefore you should not be partial)

- Emphasis of the client on gender (2)

- LHBTQ+diversity/inclusivity (1)

_____

Total (15)

Table 6.2b: Reasons stated by female respondents for denying active representation, based on Lim (2006) and mentioning different ones.

- **No, denied, no active representation linked to gender (partiality, empathic understanding/shared values and beliefs, physically check, restraint, resocialization)**

  - No reason given (29)

  - It is only about quality (3)

  _____

  Total (32)

Table 6.2c: Reasons stated by female respondents for denying active representation based on Lim (2006)

I don't know

_____

Total (3)

Not applicable

- Context was not in local government but other work (1)
- When asked about longer periods, some 'area brokers' have just been working there for a few months (3)

_____

Total (4)

Table 6.3: Irrelevant and non-applicable answers.