



TRANSFORMATION OF PASSIVE REPRESENTATION INTO SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION IN THE FRAMEWORK OF REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY APPROACH: A FIELD RESEARCH ON THE GENDARMARIE AND THE POLICE
TEMSİLİ BÜROKRASİ YAKLAŞIMI ÇERÇEVESİNDE PASİF TEMSİLİN SEMBOLİK TEMSİLE DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: JANDARMA VE POLİS TEŞKİLATI ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA

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Abstract

In this study, it is aimed to reveal the transformation of passive representation into symbolic representation and the relationship between symbolic representation and the attitudes of trust, participation and legitimacy of individuals towards public bureaucracy. The perceptions and attitudes towards law enforcement bureaucracy have been tried to determine through individuals living in Nevşehir. The data of research have been collected by means of a questionnaire form from 550 individuals who were selected by cluster sampling method. In the research, it has been determined that the passive representation transformed into symbolic representation. In addition, it has been observed that there were statistically significant and positive, strong relationships between symbolic representation and the attitudes of trust, participation and legitimacy toward public bureaucracy. Therefore, it is possible to assert that the representative bureaucracy approach can be used to increase legitimacy and trust toward public authorities and to gain social support as it is in the sample of law enforcement.

Keywords: *Gendarmerie, Police, Representative Bureaucracy, Passive Representation, Symbolic Representation,*

Öz

Bu çalışmada, pasif temsilin sembolik temsile dönüşümü ve sembolik temsil ile bireylerin kamu bürokrasisine karşı geliştirdikleri güven, katılım ve meşruiyet tutumları arasındaki ilişkinin ortaya konulması amaçlanmıştır. Kolluk bürokrasisi hakkındaki algı ve tutumlar, Nevşehir ilinde yaşayan vatandaşlar üzerinden belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Araştırmanın verileri küme örneklem metoduyla belirlenen 550 kişiden oluşan örneklem kitlesinden anket formuyla derlenmiştir. Araştırmada pasif temsilin sembolik temsile dönüştüğü bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır. Buna ilaveten, sembolik temsil ile kamu bürokrasisine güven, katılım ve meşru görme tutumları arasında istatistiki olarak anlamlı, pozitif yönlü ve güçlü ilişkiler olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Dolayısıyla kolluk kuvvetleri özelinde, kamu kurumlarının meşruiyetinin ve kurumlara olan güvenin artırılmasında ve toplumsal desteğin sağlanmasında temsili bürokrasi yaklaşımından yararlanılabileceği söylenebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Jandarma, Polis, Temsili Bürokrasi, Pasif Temsil, Sembolik Temsil,*

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu çalışmada, pasif temsilin sembolik temsile dönüşümü ve sembolik temsil ile bireylerin kamu bürokrasisine karşı geliştirdikleri güven, katılım ve meşruiyet tutumları arasındaki ilişkinin ortaya konulması amaçlanmıştır.

Araştırma Soruları

Araştırma kapsamında, örneklem üzerinde cevap aranan sorular şunlardır: (1) Passive temsil sembolik temsile dönüşmekte midir? (2) Sembolik temsil ile kolluk faaliyetlerini meşru görme arasında ilişki var mıdır? (3) Sembolik temsil algısıyla kamusal faaliyetlere katılım arasında ilişki var mıdır? (4) Sembolik temsil algısıyla bürokrasiye güven arasında ilişki var mıdır?

Literatür Araştırması

Temsili bürokrasi kavramı, ilk olarak “kamu bürokrasisinin iktidardaki toplumsal sınıfın özelliklerini yansıtması gerektiği” savıyla J. Donald Kingsley (1944) tarafından “Representative Bureaucracy” isimli çalışmada kullanılmıştır (Frederickson ve Smith, 2002: 62). Dolayısıyla Kingsley temsili bürokrasi teorisini ilk ortaya koyan araştırmacı olarak literatüre geçmiştir. Teorinin çağdaş savunucuları gibi, Kingsley de temsili bürokrasiyi, idari sorumluluğu geliştirmenin bir aracı olarak ele almıştır (Kernaghan, 1978: 490). Kingsley, bürokratların toplumla aynı demografik değerlere sahip olmaları durumunda sorumluluk duygularının güçleneceğini ileri sürmüştür (Dauda, 1990: 467). Temsili bürokrasi kavramı İkinci Dünya Savaşı ertesinde Kingsley (1942) tarafından aynı ismi taşıyan eseriyle literatüre kazandırılmıştır. Bürokratların da siyasiler gibi toplumun farklı kesimlerini temsil etmeleri gerektiği düşüncesine dayanan temsili bürokrasi yaklaşımı Avrupa’nın dışına taşarak, ABD’de David Levitan (1946) tarafından bürokrasinin idari takdir yetkisini kontrol etmenin bir aracı olarak görülmüştür. Long (1952) ise bürokrasinin aslında Kongre’den daha temsili olabileceği savını geliştirmiştir. Mosher (1968) ise aktif temsil ve pasif temsil kavramlarıyla konuya açıklık getirmiştir. Bu süreçte, pasif temsilin sonuç yaratabilmesi için mutlaka aktif temsile dönüşmesinin gerekli olmadığı savından hareketle sembolik temsil yaklaşımı geliştirilmiştir (Meier ve Stewart, 1991; Hinder, 1993a, 1993b; Selden, 1997a; Gade ve Wilkins, 2013). Sembolik temsil yaklaşımına göre temsil olgusunun sonuçları değiştirebilmesi için temsilci bürokratin herhangi bir eyleme geçmesi gerekmez, temsilcinin kamu bürokrasisinde bulunması sonucun değişmesi için yeterlidir (Pitkin, 1967; Gade ve Wilkins, 2013). Sembolik temsil yaklaşımı araştırmacılar tarafından polisler (Theobald ve Haider-Markel, 2009; Meier ve Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Andrews ve Miller, 2013; Andrews vd, 2014; Riccucci vd., 2014; Hong, 2017), harp malulleri (Gade ve Wilkins, 2013), öğretmenler (Grissom ve Keiser, 2011), engelliler (Allen ve Cohen, 1980) ırk, etnik köken ve cinsiyet bazlı olarak yapılan araştırmalarla ampirik teste tabi tutulmuştur. Kavram uluslararası literatürde geniş ilgi görmesine rağmen Türkçe literatürde yeterli ilgiyi görmemiştir. Temsili bürokrasi konusunda yapılan çalışmalar Aşkar (2019) tarafından kavramın teorik yönünü açıklayıcı bir makale, Lamba ve Tatlısu (2019)

tarafından Türk yüksek öğretim kurumlarında cinsiyet temsiliyi inceleyen makale ile Arslan (2019) tarafından temsili bürokrasi yaklaşımını teorik ve ampirik yönüyle genel olarak ele alan kitap çalışmasından ibarettir.

Yöntem

Araştırmada nicel analiz yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Anket tekniğinden yararlanılmıştır. Araştırmanın evrenini Nevşehir ilinde ikamet eden vatandaşlar oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmanın verileri küme örneklem metoduyla belirlenen 550 kişiden oluşan örneklem kitesinden elde edilmiştir. Araştırmanın evrenini Nevşehir'de ikamet eden vatandaşlar oluşturmaktadır.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

Sembolik temsilin vatandaşların kamusal faaliyetlere katılımı üzerinde pozitif yönlü etki yarattığına yönelik literatürde bulgulara rastlanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada da, Nevşehir'deki örneklem ölçeğinde, jandarma ve polisin kendilerini temsil ettiğini düşünen katılımcıların kolluk faaliyetlerine katılım ve destek sağlama eğilimlerinin yüksek olduğu bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır. Bulgulardan hareketle, toplum destekli kolluk faaliyetlerinden beklenen etkinliğin sağlanabilmesi için toplum kesimlerinin katılımının teşvik edilmesi gerektiği değerlendirilmektedir. Bunu gerçekleştirmenin aracı kolluk kurumlarında temsil mekanizmasına işlerlik kazandırmaktır. Türkiye'de temsili bürokrasiye ilişkin ampirik nitelikteki ilk çalışma olma vasfı taşıyan bu çalışmada pasif temsilin sembolik temsile dönüştüğü, vatandaşların kolluk faaliyetlerini meşru görmelerine katkı sağladığı, vatandaş katılımını sağladığı ve vatandaşların kolluk birimlerine güvenini pekiştirdiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bulgulardan hareketle Türk kamu bürokrasisinin meşruiyetini artırmak, güvenilirliğini pekiştirmek; kamu hizmetlerine vatandaş katılımını sağlamak için bürokrasiye temsil vasfı kazandırmak bir kamu politikası olarak belirlenebilir.

1. INTRODUCTION

Kingsley (1942) has created representative bureaucracy term by means of a work with the same name after the World War II. The representative bureaucracy approach, based on the opinion that bureaucrats should represent various parts of society like politicians, went beyond Europe, and it was assumed as a means to control the administrative discretion of bureaucracy by David Levitan (1946) in the USA. However, Long (1952) asserted that the bureaucracy would be more representative than the Congress actually. On the other hand, Mosher (1968) tried to explain the issue with the terms of active representation and passive representation. In this process, symbolic representation approach has been developed based on the allegation that it is not compulsory that passive representation transforms into active representation in order for passive representation to create a result (Meier and Stewart, 1991; Hindera, 1993a, 1993b; Selden, 1997a; Gade and Wilkins, 2013).

According to symbolic representative approach, it is not necessary for a representative bureaucrat to start any action to change the results of representation fact; however, it is enough for a change that the representative individual exists in public bureaucracy (Pitkin, 1967; Gade and Wilkins, 2013). Symbolic representation approach has been tested empirically based on race, ethnicity and gender in some research such as in police (Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2009; Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Andrews and Miller, 2013; Andrews, 2014; Riccucci et al., 2014; Hong, 2017), for veterans of war (Gade and Wilkins, 2013), for teachers (Grissom and Keiser, 2011) and for disabled people (Allen and Cohen, 1980).

It seems that the term has not been studied adequately in Turkey although there has been some studies in international literature. The studies in representative bureaucracy include only an article by Aşkar to clarify the theoretical perspective of the term (2019), and an article by Lamba and Tatlısu (2019) to determine the gender representation in universities in Turkey, and a book by Arslan (2019) to examine the representative bureaucracy approach theoretically and empirically.

Considering the literature mentioned above, it is aimed in this study to examine the transformation of passive representation into symbolic representation, and to put forward the relationship between the symbolic representation and the attitudes of trust, participation and legitimacy toward public bureaucracy. Research data have been collected by means of e-questionnaire form from 550 participants who were selected with cluster sampling method from people living in Nevşehir.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The term of representative bureaucracy was used firstly in a book named as “Representative Bureaucracy” by J. Donald Kingsley (1944) with the allegation that public bureaucracy should reflect the features of ruling social class (Frederickson and Smith, 2002, p.62). Therefore, Kingsley has been considered as the first researcher to put forward the theory of representative bureaucracy. As his contemporary supporters did, Kingsley considered the representative bureaucracy as a means to develop

administrative responsibility as well (Kernaghan, 1978, p.490). He asserted that the responsibility feelings would become stronger if bureaucrats have the same demographical values with society (Dauda, 1990, p. 467). Kingsley discuss that when social groups get an opportunity to represent themselves in public bureaucracy, the accountability feelings in bureaucracy will develop and the public interest will be improved accordingly. Kingsley examined representation attitude based on group rather than individual and has developed the approach in line with his observations in public bureaucracy of England during the World War II. As a result of his observations, he has concluded that English public bureaucracy was effective to implement the policies of ruling political party since both of them shared an economic inclination of middle-class. Kingsley asserted that this shared demographical history created common values and norms between the elected and the bureaucrats, and this feature enabled the discretion of political authority to be adopted by bureaucrats accordingly and easily.

The observation of Kingsley happened at the same time that a transformation from aristocracy into middle-class hegemony were occurring in English social structure. The researcher asserted that the transformation in the society had to reflect in the public bureaucracy. It is vital for bureaucracy to achieve a representative structure in order for executive power to meet its responsibility. The most important concern of Kingsley was the social class integration of bureaucracy. He preferred the upper and middle class English society to be represented rather than the representation of society as a whole. He attributed his allegation that this type of limited representation would provide a mosaic including a variety of political elites of nation, and be much better than the representation with biased small groups (Kim, 1994, p.389). According to Kingsley, a democratic administration would be possible after the end of war even though the future was unclear yet. Because the world would have democratic features after the war. Representative bureaucracy as one of the steps to institutionalize this situation put forward some ideas toward that the social groups should have representatives not only in political sense but also in administrative level (Kelly, 1998).

When Kingsley first introduced the theory of representative bureaucracy in 1944, it meant to draw attention the mechanisms, which public organizations accounted for social demands, and especially the motivations on which the decisions taken by officials were based. Kingsley, who objected the approach of “mechanic” Weberian, rational public authorities which asserted that the public officers were impartial practitioners of political decisions, observed that the public officials behaved with respect to people’s demands since they have the same opinions as individuals they represent rather than because of their obligation to behave impartial. Public officers were stuck in the ideologies of their class and behaved accordingly. This approach put forward by Kingsley are different and narrower than the term perceived as representative bureaucracy nowadays. Kingsley focused on social class as a demographical variable in his study.

In the studies carried out after Kingsley, the representative bureaucracy approach drifted apart from its first meaning. David Levitan (1946) and Norton Long (1952) in USA have examined the representative bureaucracy as a means to control administrative discretion. Levitan (1946) alleged that

external controls on bureaucrats were not enough, and the control means for the purpose of bureaucratic/administrative accountability became insufficient. He asserted that it would be necessary to make bureaucrats responsive to the society they represent in order to provide that they use their administrative discretion fairly and appropriately. Thus, people will adopt the actions of public institutions since bureaucracy will reflect the demands and expectations of people. Levitan suggested the representative bureaucracy term as an alternative to the bureaucratic system in USA by emphasizing the requirement to focus on the internal control of public officials' behaviors and to motivate bureaucrats on democratic values. In his work in which he tried to embed democracy into bureaucracy, he objected the politics-administration dichotomy, and criticized the impartiality notion of bureaucracy and focused on wider social, economic and political issues. What he was trying to emphasize was to refer that public officials should continue their services to people with loyalty indiscriminately under whoever is in power instead that they become members of political parties or play parts in active politics. Bureaucrats should be in a position to reflect any demand and expectation of each group in society to public bureaucracy just like politicians.

Norton Long (1952) has extended Levitan's argument a short time later by emphasizing that bureaucracy would be more representative than the congress actually and as a result, it would support more capacity to support democratic values accordingly. It is valid not only according to country's class structure but also for groups, capabilities, economic interests, races, nations and religions. Precedence of a legislative body elected is indisputable but it is necessary also for legislative and bureaucracy to complete each other to meet social requirements. According to the researcher, the most appropriate place is public bureaucracy to represent the rich variety of USA. He underlines that the expertise and variety of values of bureaucrats are more than the members of parliament in terms of contribution to management. Long asserted that rich and male people have opportunity to be represented in the congress. People who cannot have opportunity to be represented sufficiently in the congress might have more effective field to be represented through bureaucratic channel instead of political channel. Considered that the bureaucracy is the formative of many political alternatives for political channel of legislative and executive, representation ought to be taken into consideration as a primary criterion for employment in bureaucracy. Bureaucracy provides an important constitutional element of pluralism in government because of the extensity of interests represented in its composition. Bureaucracy provides an environment to develop national combination under favor of the structure, permanence and processes of it (Long, 1952, p. 814).

Another researcher to contribute in this theory after Long (1952) is Paul Van Riper. In the study of Van Riper (1958), symbolic importance of representative bureaucracy was emphasized to legalize citizenship policy. According to Van Riper (1958), the transformation to bring a representative feature in bureaucracy is accomplished only by enabling bureaucracy, which is a reflection of society, to represent general believes and attitudes of society. The researcher emphasizes that the implementation of policies determined is affected with the experiences and personal attitudes of bureaucrats. According

to Van Riper, if a bureaucracy has a representative feature passively, the decisions taken by this bureaucracy reflect the common experiences and attitudes of that society. A representative bureaucracy is a structure in which there is a separation between bureaucrats as a group and their attitudes and practices on one hand, and society, social membership and their administrative behaviors, and the practices and expectations of government on the other hand. In other words, representative bureaucracy suggests a structure that represents the society widely in which it belongs, and to reflect the nation substantially in its societal ideals and activities. According to Van Riper, a representative bureaucracy should include the reasonable profile of society in terms of profession, class, geography and similarities, and conform to social ethics and attitudes. When these are fulfilled, the decisions taken in a representative bureaucracy would conform to both public opinion and the decisions of related departments in government, and would not cause any problem. Briefly, a representative bureaucracy is a statement of similarity and conformity between general behaviors of society and social expectations from government and its administrative actions on the one hand and the bureaucrats as a group and their administrative behaviors and practices on the other hand (Van Riper, 1958, p.552).

One of the researchers interested in representative bureaucracy in USA is Samuel Krislov. Krislov did not only collect the facts related to insufficient representation of a part of society in management but also developed a wider social justice argument for equal opportunity in his work in 1967 named as “The Negro in Federal Employment: The Quest for Equal Opportunity”. This perspective required abandoning of the idea of impersonal and anonym bureaucrat and of that there was a solid discrimination between politics and administration. Traditional models, which placed the legislative power over democratic hierarchy and transferred political implementations to bureaucracy, started to be rejected because of insufficient democratic contents (Groeneveld and Van de Walle, 2010, p.12). According to Krislov (1967, p.64), the representation of social groups in public bureaucracy is an indication of power distribution in a wide foundation. Thus, bureaucrats represent the facts regarding the society which they manage, and the values which they possessed. Krislov determined that there were four inseparable meanings of representative bureaucracy following his literature review. They are (i) right of all social groups to participate and affect the management, (ii) availability of bureaucracy to carry out its functions to the extent that it has a feature of representation, (iii) representative feature of bureaucracy for both politically and analytically since bureaucracies symbolize values and ruling facts, and (iv) the fact that the social texture and behaviors toward future in a society might be encouraged only by means of bureaucracy. Foundation of representative bureaucracy has changed in line with Krislov (1974, p.20) in time and it started to represent whole society rather than the prevailing social class only. The Researcher has considered the representation term on the bases of race, ethnicity and gender. Therefore, representative bureaucracy means a workforce reflecting a composition of all citizens in a country. Various parts of society should be represented in bureaucratic positions just like political ones.

Subramaniam (1967) asserts that there is more opportunity for the representation of middle-class people in bureaucracy since bureaucracies are generally composed of middle-class groups. According to the researcher, a representative bureaucracy is not a new term. The term is based on the rejection of the tradition of European aristocracy in employment of public officials during the presidency of Andrew Jackson. Subramaniam states that the development process of representative bureaucracy has been emerged in different ways in Europe and USA. Expectations about the evolution of representative bureaucracy have changed the course considering the development of performance measurements of political representative institutions and public bureaucracy simultaneously in Europe. However, representative political institutions and representative public services have developed simultaneously but separately, and the performance tests have less emphasized in USA (Subramaniam, 1967, p.1011). Subramaniam accepts that there is a wide agreement in representative bureaucracy term, but states that there is no agreement in the representative level desired and the categories which will be represented. Two main problems have survived about the term. First of them is considered by European leftwing-critics as the improper evolution of representative democratic political institutions for 150 years and the dissatisfaction from public bureaucracy. Second is resulted from the idea of satisfaction of all groups' requirements and general social interests, as asserted by dogmatic supporters of representative bureaucracy. It is considered that representative bureaucracy is single and the most effective answer to the problem of bureaucratic power. However, selection of public officials on merit-principle, that is one of the basic principles of classical bureaucracy, contradicts with this consideration. Which one would be preferred if the principle of representation and the merit-principle contradict in bureaucracy? Will expertise, information and professionalism be sacrificed to enable public service to be more representative? Furthermore, if there are many contradictions in the opinions of various groups to be represented and the representatives of these groups try to prefer to protect the group interests to which they belong, is it possible that the bureaucracy resulted from this situation might be divided and ineffective? (Subramaniam, 1967).

Pitkin (1967), who is contemporary of Subramaniam, studied the inclinations of representative individuals who behave for the sake of their groups (active representation), in addition to the idea to represent all social groups in public bureaucracy. According to his passive representation theory in 1967, the representation fact will be alive to the extent that the representatives of groups in bureaucracy behave with respect to the interests of their groups. Basic theme of representative bureaucracy is assumption that the passive representation results in active representation. Therefore, it is assumed that the bureaucrats will behave completely on behalf of the groups they represent. The researcher asserts that the passive representation is not absolute in bureaucracy in order for a bureaucracy, which is materially representative, to make decisions.

Primary motivation source of the interest in passive representation is the expectation of that the representatives of disadvantaged groups in bureaucracy will feel much responsibility to those disadvantaged groups on the basis of common values and understanding (Pitkin, 1967). Pitkin describes

three main components of representation as sensitivity, interests and actors. Sensitivity indicates symbolic representation. If a representative of group participates in an organization, the group believes in that organization more. Sensitivity indicates an action carried out on behalf of an individual or group as described in contemporary active representation theories. The interests represented might be extended in a wide area from individual or group interests to general public interests. In addition, there is an interest representation which is a mixture of group and public interests, and which is undetermined and more complex. Actor might be a bureaucrat or an organization itself.

It is asserted by Mosher (1968) first time that an individual, who is not a part of government's political wing, might represent the interest of others. Mosher (1968) states that these concerns compose the core of discussions in public administration by mentioning that the power of bureaucracy to form policy is resulted from the concerns about the representative role of bureaucracy. According to Mosher, the concerns resulted from bureaucracy will diminish and public organization will be more sensitive to citizens if it reflects the demographical features of people it serves. Because, bureaucracy will not be considered as a threat against democracy if it represents the interest groups in society (Mosher, 1968). He asserts that bureaucracies exist to present, and bureaucratic decisions is affected by the values of bureaucrats. Values of a bureaucrat is formed by his social background, education and other factors related. Mosher tried to diminish the complexity of representation by dividing it in two parts as passive and active representation. According to him, sociologic meaning (or passive) of representation is related to origins of individuals and the extent that they reflect the society as a whole. For example, origin, nature (urban, rural, suburb, etc.), previous occupation, education, family income, social class, race and religion could be considered in that category. Considering normative traces of Kingsley's thesis, Mosher determines that the bureaucracies behave with respect to the requirements and interests of the groups they feel close to themselves, and calls that as active representation. According to Mosher, active representation complies with the expectation that public officials pay regards to the interests and demands of the groups they represent. Unlike Kingsley (1944), he defends that a bureaucracy should represent all groups in society rather than dominant groups only.

2.1. Passive Representative Bureaucracy

Passive representation is adapted to literature by Pitkin (1967) as descriptive representation. Descriptive term is included into literature by Griffiths and Wollheim (1960, p.188). Descriptive representation approach asserts that the representation term and especially representative bureaucracy can be seen when the representatives reflect the features of voters represented. Descriptive representation approach is related to representation term and especially representative bureaucracy theory (Kingsley, 1944; Long, 1952).

Mosher (1968), who inspired from Pitkin (1967), discriminate two meanings of bureaucratic representation as passive representation and active representation. Passive representation is related to the source of individuals' origins and to the extent, it reflects the society. Roots (rural, urban, suburb, etc.), previous profession, father's occupation, education, family income, social class of family, race,

religion are such factors in this meaning. Passive representation describes an individual who has the same roots with the population he serves. Passive representation indicates the conformity degree of public bureaucracy with the society it serves. Passive representation in bureaucracy focuses how much the different sections of society are represented and whether bureaucracy reflects the society or not. It tries to serve general society. Opportunity and power equity is an indication of access, and supports legitimacy of public bureaucracies (Mosher, 1968). This kind of representation is defined as conformity by political science researchers (Mansbridge, 1999), and as passive representation by representative bureaucracy researchers (Mosher, 1968). Therefore, passive representation means, “to be something rather than doing something” (Pitkin, 1967, p.60). Mosher’s theoretical discrimination and definitions are repeated or adapted by later researchers and tested empirically.

It is possible to see Mosher’s ideal effects in later definitions with respect to the term. For example, Meier and Bohte (2001) define the passive representation as the statement of similarities of demographic features in bureaucrats and citizen groups such as the situation race, gender, age, social class and religion. Rosenbloom and Dolan (2006) emphasize that the texture of public officials reflects the general population as a whole. Dovi (2007) asserts that citizens should have representatives who have common experiences and are similar to them by reminding that the passive representation has been the base of democratic theory. Naff (2011) and Roch et al. (2010) emphasize that personal structure of public institutions should reflect the population or the variety of population. Stokes-Brown and Dolan (2010) describe passive representation as a composition of social roots in bureaucracy, and state that passive representation symbolizes the democratic representation and legitimacy of state. Passive representation is related to how bureaucracy reflects the composition of population it serves such as race, ethnicity, gender and social class (Keiser, 2010). Representatives are typical members of a bigger class they represent. Black council members represent black voters; women council members represent women voters. Few researcher has realized that the statement to change “passive” term might be resulted not only from visible features such as skin color or gender but also from shared experiences. Thus, a representative with a background in farming business will represent the group of farmers (Mansbridge, 1999, p.630). Passive representation or the extent of bureaucracy to reflect society in demographically increase the legitimacy of state and provides symbolic interests by creating equal opportunity for all groups (Krislov, 1974; Mosher, 1968; Selden, 1997a). A bureaucracy with complete and correct representation of citizens plays a strong symbolic role for governance regime (Meier and Hawes, 2009, p.282).

Studies on the subject of passive representation do not concentrate on the effects of representation on political outcomes. Representation is considered as an endpoint in itself according to that approach (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006, p.851). The thought that is stated implicitly in passive representation studies is that the passive representation will direct and constitute other representative forms (Thompson, 1976; Saltzstein, 1979). Those approaches has increased concerns about passive representation and caused an idea that passive representation is a supplementary (Esman, 1999) or

intermediary (Selden, 1997a) means in the course to the transformation into active representation. Because, Mosher, who adopts and defends passive representation, rejected active representation since he perceives it as a treat to social integrity and objectivity. Passive representation can be seen as an attractive means to make bureaucracy more democratic or to decrease social tensions on one hand, but it might be considered as a violation of employment based on merit-principle and individual right of citizenship on the other hand (Meier and Hawes, 2009).

2.2. Active Representative Bureaucracy

Active representation approach has been brought by Mosher (1968) into literature with the term of passive representation to provide clarity to the representative bureaucracy approach against critiques. The approach is formed based on the values related to demographic origins and emphasizes the programs, policies or decisions that provide interest to individuals with similar origins (Meier, 1993). Mosher (1968), by defending the opinion that individuals from minority groups will try to their best to increase interest for these minority groups from public services when they are employed in public bureaucracy, qualifies that situation as active representation. He searched an answer to if there is active representation actually. Mosher, as a founder of the term, has defined the active representation as a pressure of an individual or administrator in bureaucracy for the interests of people who he/he represent. According to Meier and Stewart (1992), active representation happens when bureaucrats use their administrative discretion power for interest of a specific group with the values he shared. Hindera (1993a) defines active representation as the use of administrative discretion to defend the interests of his voters and to eliminate the discrimination among voters on the interest of different groups. Active representation means specifically the transformation of the values resulted from common demographic origins into the programs, policies and decisions by bureaucrats, which provide interests to citizens with similar demographic origins (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006, p.851).

The researches related to the term after Mosher, have indicated that the passive representation has not only symbolic effects and proved that the active representation exists. It has become more important to provide representation opportunity for all groups and to solve normative problem of active representation (Lim, 2006). The researchers assume that there is a connection among the experiences and attitudes of managers and their political decisions in order for active representation to actualize. It is assumed that decisions, attitudes and values of bureaucrats are formed by means of different life experiences. The effective element to affect his administrative discretion is these values and attitudes. Bureaucrats are not different from other people. When they have to choose, they reflect their own personal values in the decisions they take (Dolan, 2000, p.516). It might be asserted that the decisions taken according to this assertion will serve the interests of social groups having the same values with the bureaucrats who represent them.

Empirical researches suggest that there are two explanations of active representation based on individual interests and group communication (Hindera, 1990, 1993a). First theory based on individual interests predicts that the representation of a group will unite with the interests of that group positively

(Niskanen, 1971). Second is the communication theory that predicts that the passive representation of a group will be connected to the interests of that group positively and to the interests of other groups negatively. It seems that the interviews conducted with people having the same ethnicity with the researcher are more effective than the interviews carried out with the people with different ethnicity from the researcher (Hindera, 1993b, p.427). Does an active representative bureaucracy contribute in democracy by correcting some of its weak elements or does it damage democracy by dividing society into small parts? What level should it be supported up to, and in what condition should it be avoided? There is no complete consensus among the researchers on representative bureaucracy toward the answers of these questions (Lim, 2006). That is resulted from that the passive representation has some symbolic values considered important in terms of a democratic society although there is no guarantee for democratic decision-making (Gravier, 2013).

Active representation is based on a common identity that bureaucrats might be connected with citizens. Additionally, the passive representation is possible to transform into active representation if “represented” identity variable is open to both citizens and bureaucrats. However, the mobility of identities makes that representation hard (Dovi, 2002). Gade and Wilkings (2013, p.268) who question the idea that the identities are formed with objective criteria, defend that the identity is composed of the features both created with the personal choices and obtained from the institution included in addition to some unchangeable features. Organizational socialization enables public official to have the mobility of identity and thus, may put public official in a different identity. Therefore, public institution becomes representative only in terms of symbolic perspective in the situations that the identities change persistently (Naff and Capers, 2014, p.525). In other words, the society group related to the bureaucrat feels as if represented even though the bureaucrat does not behave on behalf of the group.

2.3. Symbolic Representative Bureaucracy

Phenomenon of representation is approached with the perspectives from bureaucrats and public institutions in both passive and active representation terms. However, symbolic representation considers it from the perspective of citizens. Symbolic representation term transformed from the literature of political representation into the literature of bureaucratic representation focuses on the perspective of citizens, and is concentrated on a citizen group that perceives to be represented (Theobald and Haider-Markel 2009, p.410; Gade and Wilkins, 2013). In other words, symbolic representation is interested in the behaviors of citizen who feels to have been represented. For that purpose, it examines the behaviors of citizen but the behaviors of bureaucrats. Therefore, it contradicts the typology of bureaucratic representation terms (Gravier, 2013, p.821-822).

It has been examined if the bureaucrats are required to protect the interests of social group they represent, in order for passive representation to affect public service or society after the discrimination of passive representation and active representation in the representative bureaucracy approach. It has been concluded in the studies that they create a change in society by existing in bureaucracy even if they do not behave for the interest of groups they represent (Kranz, 1975). In line with the findings, symbolic

representation term has been included in the literature as a new representation typology. There are some studies to associate passive representation with political outputs directly (symbolic representation) (Meier et al., 1989; Meier and Stewart, 1991; Hindera, 1993a, 1993b; Selden, 1997a). It is asserted in symbolic representation that the attitudes and behaviors of citizens and political outputs might change by means of a reflection of commitment of citizens and with the participation of individuals into public bureaucracy as passive representatives rather than actual activities of individuals in bureaucracy. Feeling of commitment is defined through social identities such as gender, race and profession. It is asserted in symbolic representation that the participation of individuals from minorities in bureaucracy can change the perceptions of attitudes of the minority groups and their perception on the legitimacy of state. Symbolic representation does not require an individual in bureaucracy to act for a goal. It is sufficient to participate in bureaucracy with a power to change the political outputs (Pitkin, 1967; Gade and Wilkins, 2013).

In symbolic representation, there is no demographical features and actual activities of bureaucrats, and the political outputs resulted from representative individual in bureaucracy. The political output of symbolic representation consists of a perception of individuals in minority groups that they are represented in public bureaucracy. Symbolic representation, that is indefinite from passive representation, is based on emotions and attitudes. A semantic is imposed on a symbol far beyond its actual meaning. The semantic or meaning is emerged only from individual's belief rather than any reality or any similarity of actuality. Results do not affect symbols as much as they do in the minds and belief systems of people. Symbolic representation is based on a system of common values emerged from an understanding between bureaucrat and people, and it has bilateral function (Duerst-Lahti and Verstegen, 1995, p.217). Individuals assume that a bureaucrat with similar features with themselves will perceive any issue like themselves and tries to solve their problems effectively (Hale and Kelly, 1989; Selden, 1997b).

The gains from symbolic representation provides interest not only individuals from minority groups but also all individuals in society, and it can be asserted that it might be a means to provide social integrity. Because of the Weberian structure of public bureaucracy, individuals from minority groups may not be able to behave actively for the interest of their groups but the minority groups of representatives perceive that they are being represented in public bureaucracy. This perception provides a symbolic positive effect on minority groups and enables the minority groups to feel that they are represented in bureaucracy. Therefore, the minority groups can support public policies accordingly. In a political perspective, bureaucratic representation may play a symbolic role by providing equal opportunity and representation (Groeneveld and Van de Walle, 2010; Gravier, 2013; Peters et al., 2013). Even though the passive representation does not turn into active representation, its existence in public bureaucracy indicates that any individual has equal opportunity to be employed in public bureaucracy regardless of what minority groups he belongs. Therefore, it is asserted that passive representation

provides a positive effect on society at the very least even though it is not effective always in practice (Mosher, 1968, p.17).

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Purpose, Sample, Data Collection Method and Measurement Means of the Research

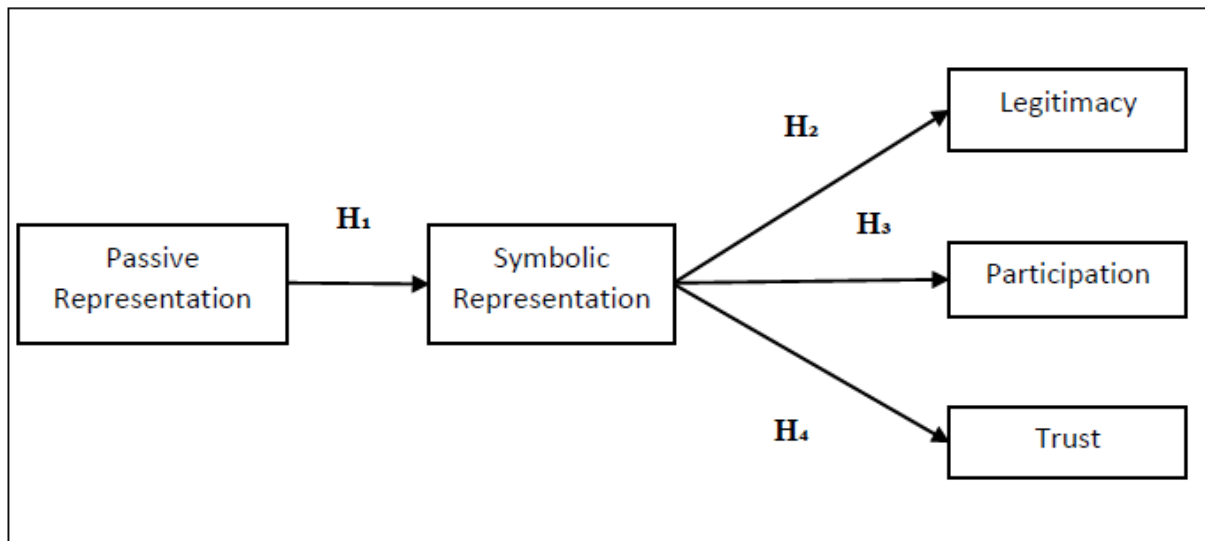
In this study, the perception of symbolic representation of the people who are serviced by the Gendarmerie and the Police which are two important general law enforcement agencies in the public administration structure in Turkey; and as a result of that perception, the attitudes of people are examined in terms of the legitimacy of these agencies, the participation in the activities and the trust toward these agencies.

The population of research is composed of 282.300 citizen living in Nevşehir. The sample includes 550 individual determined with cluster sampling. The confidence interval is 95%. The possible faults number because of the size of sample has been determined as 4,17% (less than 5%). Research data have been collected with a questionnaire form from the sample, which was prepared by author after reviewing literature by taking care of the social, bureaucratic and cultural structure of Turkey. The data have been obtained by means of the questionnaire form with 26 questions through implementation of electronic survey method. Questions were prepared with five-choices according to Likert method. The highest point (5) that might be added from each question is “strongly agree” and the lowest point (1) is “strongly disagree”. Some forms (34) of 584 questionnaires have been rejected and not used in the evaluation because of invalidity.

3.2. Research Model and Hypotheses

Conceptual model of the research has been developed as following by reviewing the theoretical and empirical findings in the literature related to the representative bureaucracy.

Figure 1. Research Model



Symbolic dimension in the representative bureaucracy theory is a primary part of passive representation as mentioned by Mosher (1968) and Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006). Passive

representation is related to symbolic representation and serves to symbolic role (Pitkin, 1967; Gravier, 2013, p.821). Symbolic representation may change the behaviors of citizens and the outputs on the benefit of citizens accordingly (Bradbury and Kellough, 2011). Bureaucrats from minority groups can change the attitudes of citizens from minority groups by providing attraction for these citizens (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2009; Thielemann and Stewart, 1996). Increasing research results indicate that only the existence of representatives from minority groups may change the attitudes and perceptions of citizens regarding legitimacy of government (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty 2006; Theobald and Haider Markel 2009). Bureaucrats in representative position create an effect by forming a change in citizens' behaviors in the relationship between passive representation and political outputs rather than by representing the interests of any group actively. Attitudes of citizens toward public services is possible to change when the bureaucrats are similar to them or the citizens perceive that the bureaucrats are like them (Lim, 2006). Reviewing previous findings, H1 hypothesis of the research is as following. *H1: Passive representation turns into symbolic representation.*

Symbolic representation contributes in the development of administration. When citizens think that they are represented in bureaucracy, they do not question the legitimacy of administration (Thielemann and Stewart, 1996). The level of reflection of personnel composition in public bureaucracy on the demographical composition of society shapes the legitimacies of society (Gade and Wilkins, 2013; Meier and Capers, 2013; Riccucci et al., 2014). The researches carried out indicate that an improving effect is observed on the perception of trust, satisfaction and legitimacy when there are some sociological similarities between bureaucrats and citizens (Meier and Nicholson Crotty, 2006; Gade and Wilkins, 2013). When citizens realize that they are represented in an organization, they may have better perception toward the legitimacy of the decisions and aims of bureaucracy. For example, Theobald and Haider-Markel (2009) carried out some research on symbolic representation in the police based on race and ethnicity. They determined that the symbolic representation has a function on individuals of the society who think that they are represented. According to the results of that research, passive representation results in black people to change their attitudes. It is determined that a black individual feels comfort and accepts the legitimacy of action when he is stopped by a black police officer while driving, and that a caucasian individual feels comfort when he is stopped by a caucasian police officer. Accordingly Riccucci et al. (2014) has also determined that organizational gender composition affects the attitudes of people to evaluate law enforcement units. Hong (2017) has concluded that an increase in the number of official from minority groups provided a decrease in the accusations and complaints (11%) and total complaints (20%) in following year. The researcher determined that the increase in the percentage of individuals from minority groups in British and Welsh law enforcement forces provided a decrease in the general complaints against police force as well as the complaint number per officer. H2 hypothesis has been determined as following by reviewing the findings in literature. *H2: There is a*

positive directional relationship between symbolic representative and the perception of legitimacy toward law enforcement practices.

Symbolic representation might be an element to improve political outputs especially in some fields as public security (Ricucci et al., 2015). It encourages society to participate in administration and contributes in governance (Conner, 2016). Existence of public officials who reflect values of citizens provides more legitimacy and effective political outputs by strengthening participation of the social groups on law representation level (Conner, 2016, p.298). It enables political outputs to be implemented, which they are less supported by required for the interest of society (Pitts et al., 2010; Peters et al., 2013). Social support might be achieved toward public policies; resistance toward difficult policies are diminished; and policy implementation costs are decreased (Ricucci and Ryzen, 2017, p.28). For example, employment of female officers in law enforcement units enables reports of domestic violence complaints from women. When citizens think that they are represented in public bureaucracy, they support more public service in which they are represented (Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2009; Gade and Wilkins, 2013; Ricucci et al., 2014). In a representative bureaucracy research which Meier and Nicholson-Crooty (2006) conducted on the officers of 60 top police districts in USA, it was determined that the possibility of reporting complaints from crimes against women in the districts having female officers was higher and the percentage of arresting suspects was high as well. The findings obtained by these researchers indicate that to have more female officers in districts provides symbolic representation more for women and enable women to report crimes against themselves at ease. The possibility of women to report a crime against themselves increases if the district has a female officer to listen their reports. The same findings have also obtained by Andrews and Miller (2013) and Andrews et al. (2014). There is a significant relationship between the representation level of women in female officers and the reporting rates of domestic violence against themselves. The women trust female officers will understand them better in these crimes (Chanes and Saltzstein, 1998, p.761). Ricucci at al., (2014) has found in a research in the police units that the representative level of gender results in the attitudes of citizens' trust toward public organizations. According to the researchers, citizens become more eager to participate in public service delivery when they perceive more legitimacy in public bureaucracy. Therefore, H3 hypothesis of the research is as following. *H3: There is a positive directional relationship between the perception of symbolic representation and the participation in public activities.*

It has been determined in a research on teachers and school administrators that the job satisfaction of teachers are high and the turnover rate is low when they work with a school manager from the same race with them. In line with the representation theory, job satisfaction level is high and turnover rate is low in the teachers who work with the manager with same race (Grissom and Keiser, 2011).

Gade and Wilkins (2013) who defends that the passive representation may turn into the symbolic representation in the attitudes and behaviors of citizens without a requirement of active interaction have focused on how citizens consider and evaluate the services of a public organization when they know

that the manager of the organization has the same features with them. The researchers examined this their theses on war veterans who took professional rehabilitation service, and they determined that the veterans who took service from the advisors who were also veterans, evaluated the services with higher satisfaction level. Allen and Cohen (1980) asserted that the disabled patients considered disabled advisors as more emphatic and trustworthy. Priester et al. (2007) determined that the individuals with alcohol addiction problem were inclined to prefer being rehabilitated by advisors who used to be addicted to alcohol. Riccucci at al. (2015) implemented an experimental design and proved their symbolic representation theses. The researchers determined that women were more eager to cooperate and produced more important political outputs when the public bureaucrats or managers working with them were female. In line with the researches mentioned above, H4 hypothesis has been determined as following. *H4: There is a positive directional relationship between the perception of symbolic representation and the trust toward bureaucracy.*

4. DATA ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

At start of the analyses, validity and reliability tests have been implemented and the Cronbach Alfa Value has been determined as 0,89. In order to determine how the data pattern is, Kolmogorov Smirnov Test has been used and the significance value has been determined as <0,05. Therefore, it has been determined that the research data are non-parametric. In the analysis to determine the differences between two groups, Mann Whitney U Test has been used and the correlation test has been used to determine the relationship.

4.1. Demographical Variables

The findings obtained based on the result of definitive statistics are indicated on Table 1. Features as gender, location of residence, age, education, and military service field are included in the table. The facts about whether they have a relative in the law enforcement agencies are indicated in the table as well.

Table 1. Demographical Variables

Group	GENDER		LOCATION OF RESIDENCE						
	Female	Male	Village/ Town	Town Center	City Center				
N	177	373	75	141	334				
%	32,2	67,8	13,6	25,6	60,7				
AGE									
Group	18-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	50+		
N	134	100	95	88	55	49	29		
%	24,4	18,2	17,3	16,0	10,0	8,9	5,3		
EDUCATION									
Group	Primary School	High School	College	Bachelor	MBA/MSc	PhD			
N	33	115	56	250	58	38			
%	6,0	20,9	10,2	45,5	10,5	6,9			
INFORMATION ABOUT COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE						RELATIVE IN GENDARMARIE		RELATIVE IN THE POLICE	
Group	Non	Army	Navy	Air	Gendarmerie	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	244	186	14	11	95	247	303	189	361
%	44,4	33,8	2,5	2,0	17,3	44,9	55,1	34,4	65,6
INFORMATION ABOUT INCOME									
Group	0-999	1000-999	2000-2999	3000-3999	4000-4999	5000-5999	6000+		
N	85	30	77	64	93	60	141		
%	15,5	5,5	14,0	11,6	16,9	10,9	25,6		

Reviewing the demographical data, it seems that the participants are male at the rate of 67,8% and reside mostly in city center (60,7%). 58,4% are over thirty years old; more than half have completed compulsory military service (56,6%). 55,1% have a relative in gendarmerie and 65,6% have a relative in the police.

Table 2. Frequency Chart

QUESTIONS	N	%		
I think that the gendarmerie personnel represent me and my values.	394	71,7		
I think that the police represent me and my values.	329	59,8		
I feel proud when I saw or heard of a success of gendarmerie.	515	93,7		
I feel proud when I saw or heard of a success of police.	503	91,4		
I perceive an employee of gendarmerie as one of us.	453	82,3		
I perceive an officer of the police as one of us.	362	65,9		
I always consider to be stopped and checked by gendarmerie as normal.	436	79,2		
I always consider to be stopped and checked by police as normal.	386	70,2		
I know that anything implemented by gendarmerie is required.	347	63,1		
I know that anything implemented by police is required.	295	53,6		
The practices of gendarmerie on us is required for our security.	487	88,6		
The practices of police on us is required for our security.	447	81,3		
I support any precautions by gendarmerie for our security and order.	473	86,0		
I support any precautions by police for our security and order.	451	82,0		
I do not hesitate to call gendarmerie when I had a problem.	486	88,4		
I do not hesitate to call police when I had a problem.	464	84,3		
I do not hesitate to report any crime to gendarmerie when I witness.	494	89,8		
I do not hesitate to report any crime to police when I witness.	482	87,6		
I always trust gendarmerie.	438	79,7		
I always trust police.	362	65,9		
I believe that the gendarmerie will be ready to help me when I need.	455	82,7		
I believe that the police will be ready to help me when I need.	391	71,1		
I do not hesitate to report to gendarmerie when I become victim of a crime.	504	91,6		
I do not hesitate to report to police when I become victim of a crime.	484	88,0		
I believe that the gendarmerie will try its best to solve my problem.	301	64,7		
I believe that the police will try its best to solve my problem.	245	42,5		
		Yes helped %	Non %	Yes, but did not help
If you have a relative or friend in gendarmerie, did he/she help you on an issue related to his/her profession?		12,9	45,5	41,6
If you have a relative or friend in police, did he/she help you on an issue related to his/her profession?		16,5	36	47,5

Frequency distribution of the answers to questionnaire form is indicated on Table 2. Frequency values are composed of sum of positive answers as “agree” and “strongly agree”. According to the findings, the rate of individual who think that the gendarmerie represents himself (71,7%) is higher than the police (59,8%). Similarly, it is observed that the results of gendarmerie are higher than those of the police. On the other hand, the rate of getting help from a relative or friend is higher in the police (16,5%) than the gendarmerie (12,9%).

4.2. Tests of Hypotheses

In order to test H1 hypothesis as “passive representation turns into symbolic representation”, the answers to the questions related to representation values have been compared in terms of people with a relative/friend (officer, non-commissioned officer, specialized gendarmerie, specialized sergeant, contractual gendarmerie) in gendarmerie and people with a relative/friend in police (senior officer, officer, warden). The findings gathered with Mann Whitney U Test have been indicated on Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3. Mann Whitney U Test Between Participants with or without a Relative in the Gendamerie

	REPRESENTATION IN THE GENDARMERIE	REPRESENTATION IN THE POLICE
Mann-Whitney U	30927,500	34833,500
Wilcoxon W	61555,500	65461,500
Z	-3,557	-1,410
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,158

According to the analyses on Table 3, the participants with a relative/friend and the participants without a relative/friend in gendarmerie, it is observed that there is a significant difference in two groups in terms of answers to questions about whether the gendarmerie represents them or not. However, there is no significant difference between two groups in terms of the police. Mean rank value indicates that the people with a relative/friend in gendarmerie are more positive on the idea that the gendarmerie represents them. Therefore, it seems that the passive representation turns into the active representation in terms of gendarmerie.

Table 4. Mann Whitney U Test Between Participants with or without a Relative in the Police

	REPRESENTATION IN THE GENDARMERIE	REPRESENTATION IN THE POLICE
Mann-Whitney U	31981,500	32111,000
Wilcoxon W	49936,500	50066,000
Z	-1,224	-1,144
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,221	,253

According to the findings on Table 4, there is a difference but not significant in the answers to the questions about whether participants are represented, in terms of participants with a relative/friend in the police and the participants without a relative/friend. The answers of same participants to the questions about whether the gendarmerie represents themselves indicate almost the same results.

Therefore, it seems that passive representation does not turn into symbolic representation in terms of the police.

In line with the findings, it has been determined that the passive representation turns into the symbolic representation in the gendarmerie. Therefore, H1 has been accepted in terms of gendarmerie. However, it has been rejected in terms of the police.

On the other hand, it has been concluded that there is no important difference in the perceptions toward the gendarmerie (4,177) and the police (3,973) in terms of representation rates. The perceptions of participants toward representation are quite high for both law enforcement agencies.

In order to test H2 hypothesis that there is a positive directional relationship between the symbolic representation and the legitimacy perception, a correlation analysis has been implemented between the answers to questions related to the representation factor and the legitimacy factor, and the results are indicated on Table 5.

Table 5. Correlation Chart between Representation and Other Dimensions

		GEN. REPRESENTATION	GEN. TRUST	GEN. LEGITIMACY	GEN. PARTICIPATION	POL. REPRESENTATION	POL. TRUST	POL. LEGITIMACY	POL. PARTICIPATION
REPRESENTATION IN GENDARMERIE	Pearson Correlation	1	,835**	,753**	,714**	,779**	,674**	,623**	,617**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
	N	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550
		GEN. REPRESENTATION	GEN. TRUST	GEN. LEGITIMACY	GEN. PARTICIPATION	POL. REPRESENTATION	POL. TRUST	POL. LEGITIMACY	POL. PARTICIPATION
REPRESENTATION IN POLICE	Pearson Correlation	,779**	,675**	,627**	,586**	1	,850**	,698**	,679**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
	N	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550

The findings on Table 5 indicate that there are positive directional and significant strong relationships between the representation dimension and legitimacy dimension of gendarmerie, and the legitimacy dimension of police. Reviewing the correlation values, it is observed that the legitimacy perception toward gendarmerie (.753**) is higher than the police (.623**). Similarly, it is observed that there is a positive directional and significant strong relationship between the representation dimension and the legitimacy dimension of the police and the legitimacy dimension of gendarmerie. Reviewing the correlation values, it seems that the police representation and the legitimacy toward police (.698**) is higher than the legitimacy toward gendarmerie (.627**), but the difference is very low. On the other hand, the participants perceive more legitimacy toward activities of the agencies in which they think that they are represented. Therefore, H2 hypothesis has been accepted according to the findings obtained.

Table 5 indicates the results of correlation analysis to test H3 hypothesis about that there is a positive directional relationship between the symbolic representation and the participation in public activities. In line with the findings on Table 5, it has been determined that there is a positive directional and significant strong relationship between the mean value of representation dimension of gendarmerie and the participation dimension of gendarmerie (.714**) and the participation dimension of police (.617**) and between the mean value of representation dimension and the participation dimension of gendarmerie (.586**) and the participation dimension of police (.679**). Therefore, H3 hypothesis has been accepted.

Results of correlation analysis to test H4 hypothesis about that there is a positive directional relationship between the perception of symbolic representation and the trust toward bureaucracy are indicated on Table 5. It has been observed that there is a positive directional and significant strong relationship between the representation dimension of gendarmerie and the trust dimension of gendarmerie (.835**) and the trust dimension of police (.674**); and between the representation dimension of police and the trust dimension of gendarmerie (.779**) and the trust dimension of police (.850**). In line with the findings, H4 hypothesis has been accepted.

First of two important findings is the existence that there is a positive directional significant strong relationship between the representation dimension of gendarmerie and the representation dimension of police (.779**). It means that the participants who feel to be represented in one of these agencies have same representation perception in other agency. Secondly, the relationship among the dimensions of legitimacy (.753**), participation (.714**) and trust (.835**) in terms of participants who think that the gendarmerie represents themselves is stronger than the relationship among the dimensions of legitimacy (.623**), participation (.617**) and trust (.674**) toward police; and the relationship among the dimensions of legitimacy (.698**), participation (.679**) and trust (.850**) in terms of participants who think that the police represents themselves is stronger than the relationship among the dimensions of legitimacy (.627**), participation (.586**) and trust (.675**). It means that the participants feel more trust, participate more and perceive more legitimacy on the agency in which they feel to be represented

5. CONCLUSION

It is possible to state that the passive representation turns into symbolic representation based on gendarmerie in line with the difference in the answers toward representation variable between participants with a relative/friend in gendarmerie and participants without a relative/friend in gendarmerie with respect to the findings of this research. However, the situation is not the same in terms of the representation variable toward the police. Therefore, it has been determined that there is no difference in the perception of representation between the participants with a relative/friend and the participants without a relative/friend in the police. However, the participants have perception of that the

both the gendarmerie and the police represent themselves. This outcome might be resulted from the conservative structure of the province where this research was conducted.

In the scale of this research population, it is possible to state that the participants who think that both gendarmerie and police represent themselves evaluate more legitimacy in the actions of both gendarmerie and police. The participants consider more legitimacy for the activities of the law enforcement agency (gendarmerie or police) which they think that they are represented. For this purpose, one of the methods to provide legitimacy for the activities of public bureaucracy on people is to create employment for various society groups in public bureaucracy. Society will reject less and support the public activities which society considers more legitimacy.

It is observed that there have been findings in literature about the symbolic representation creates positive effect on the participation level of citizens in public activities. It is concluded in this study also that the citizens who think that the police and gendarmerie represent themselves are eager to participate and support the activities of law enforcement agencies in the scale of this limited research. It is required to encourage the social groups to participate in society-supported activities of the law enforcement agencies in order to gain efficient support from society. One of the means to gain this support is to run representation mechanism better in law enforcement agencies.

One of the benefits resulted from symbolic representative is to increase trust on public bureaucracy. Citizens who think that the gendarmerie and police represent themselves trust in both law enforcement agencies. The trust of individual toward the agency, which he/she believes represented, seems higher than the other. In this perspective, representative bureaucracy might be a key element to satisfy the trust issue between the government and the governed. Bureaucracy might be enabled more representative in order for citizens to participate in government and bureaucracy.

In this study that might be qualified as first empirical research in relation to representative bureaucracy in Turkey, it has been concluded in line with the findings of this limited research that the passive representation turns into symbolic representation, and it contributes in citizens to perceive the law enforcement agencies more legitimate, and it enables citizens to participate in law enforcement activities, and it increases the trust of citizens toward law enforcement agencies. In line with the findings of this research, it will be an important public policy to make bureaucracy more representative in order to increase the legitimacy, develop the trust and enable citizen participation in public services.

It might be suggested for next studies to investigate various public institutions other than law enforcement agencies.

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