

The Market for Civil Servants: Public Administration in The Netherlands

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1. Introduction

The Dutch civil service has undergone profound changes over the last two decades. Although certainly not unique in this respect reform has left its mark on the size, the organization and the preferred mode of operation of the civil service. In this contribution we will concentrate on the aspects related to the labour market for civil servants. We intend to explore the relation between the changes in demand for civil servants and the changes in how (future) civil servants are educated and trained for a job in government. Using the 'market' metaphor we will look at the demand for and the supply of civil servants. For reasons of limitation we concentrate on 'higher' civil servants working at central government departments.

The 'market' for civil servants has undergone radical changes since the early 80s. A first feature which will be examined in section 3 is the changing demand for civil servants. Great efforts have been made since this period to reduce the size of public employment. After decades characterized by an ever expanding demand for new staff, down sizing became the buzz word in the policy making community. The success of this new policy is one issue to look into. Additionally and perhaps even more important for our purpose is to find out which kind of jobs were axed away. As we will disclose the higher civil servants were more or less 'spared'. This reduction policy resulted not only in a changed public outlook of government employment in wider society but also it fundamentally altered the composition of central government employment. The popular policy credo was a 'smaller, but better' government that is copied in the American efforts to create an entrepreneurial government that 'works better and costs less'. The connection with the New Public Management motto 'value for money' can easily be seen. New and higher professional standards were required of the new and sitting staff. In order to improve civil service quality new emphasis was put on management development (MD) and training and education programs. Both elements were seen essential in order to guarantee a high standard supply of officials. With respect to the aspect of training new initiatives were taken both at the pre-entry and post-entry level in order to meet the changing demand. This issue will be discussed in section 4. Finally the conclusion completes this survey of programs in public administration in The Netherlands.

In order to fully understand the exact nature of these changes in the Dutch public labour market we have to pay attention to the political administrative

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environment. To a large extent the features of the political administrative system determines the way recruitment and training for the civil service is organized by the intermediary influence of the system of personnel management (Bekke, Toonen & Perry 1996). Therefore ample attention will be paid to this system in the next section.

2. The Dutch political-administrative system

The Netherlands is a constitutional parliamentary democracy situated in the Northwestern corner of Europe. In its present form the constitutional system dates from the middle of the 19th century, 1848 to be exact. It has shown great durability as the general outline still persists almost unchanged to the present day. According to the constitution, The Netherlands is a monarchy. The powers of the monarch are (with a few exceptions) mainly ceremonial. The monarch is seen as a symbol of the national unity and continuity. Underlying the division of powers within the Dutch state is the concept of the decentralized unitary state. Although sovereignty resides in the undivided 'state' the powers of this state is divided over central, provincial and local government. Intergovernmental relations can not be understood solely in terms of hierarchy but by emphasizing intergovernmental cooperation and adjustment. By this last mechanism, a system of checks and balances is operating. The same is true with respect to the division of powers within a particular level of government. The model operating in central government with respect to legislation is one of cooperation between the chambers of parliament and the cabinet of the day. Although cabinet is accountable to parliament and needs the explicit or implicit support of a majority, the close relations between ministers and coalition parties causes in practice an osmosis between legislature and the executive.

The coalition nature of Dutch government inhibits the establishment of a (strong) central political direction (Van der Meer & Raadschelders 1997). Although a cabinet structure has developed over the years, ministers (and their departments) have a large degree of autonomy. For instance the minister responsible for coordinating central government personnel policies (Home Affairs) can not override another minister using his 'formal' powers in this particular field.

Explaining the fragmented nature of government we have to point to the political and societal system. Cohesive powers in central government have always been weak (Van der Meer, Dijkstra & Roborgh 1997). No single party has ever held a majority in Parliament in modern times. The fragmentation of the political landscape is mirroring the cleavages in Dutch society. At the same time it has prevented the development of a homogeneous political executive. So the division in Dutch politics and society tends to lead to a dispersal of power and tasks. Therefore coordination is more achieved by negotiation and bargaining than by issuing formal directions. This tradition of bargaining is essential for understanding decision making in Dutch society and government. It is also to be found in the social-economic relations.

Whether actually so successful as often heralded the Dutch economic 'poldermodel' is an other expression of this feature of Dutch society².

Because of the decentralized political administrative system, central government, provinces, municipalities are responsible for regulating the legal position of staff employed by their organizations. A civil service act (Civil Servants Act 1929) is in force but this act operates as a general framework³. Its main purpose is to secure that (decentralized) statutes are operative (Van der Meer, Dijkstra & Roborgh 1997). Human resource management decisions are equally the sole responsibility of each government.

Due to the absence of a strong cabinet structure personnel policies are decentralized to the individual ministries. Most powers concerning human resource management are decentralized to individual departments. A department is responsible for hiring new staff, making career decisions, developing and running of management development programs and training policies. To a certain extent each department can therefore be seen as an independent employer. An exception must be made for collective wage bargaining. Recently some limitations to this departmental autonomy have introduced with respect to the higher and top civil servants. For the top civil servants at the national level the Algemene Bestuursdienst (ABD) has been introduced. The ABD is the Dutch equivalent of the senior executive service. It serves as a unified top executive in order to offset compartmentalization by promoting (interdepartmental) mobility and developing management development programs for the staff involved.

3. The Demand for Civil Servants

The demand for civil servants has a qualitative as well as a quantitative component that reflects the 'smaller, but better' credo. We start with the latter as operationalised in a decade of the personnel reductions. We will then switch to the efforts to improve the performance of the civil service by management development.

Quantitative: Efficiency Movement

In our introduction we have pointed to the policy change towards the size of the civil service dating from the early 80s. At that particular time government launched a large-scale effort to reduce the sky-high budget deficit of that time. It did so by targeted spending cuts. In addition to this reconsideration of public expenditures, several other change processes were triggered. The

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2. The poldermodel fits in the typical Dutch tradition of accommodation politics as 'coined' by Arend Lijphart. The revival is remarkable. The same politics of accommodation accounts for the Dutch disease of the 70's.
 3. The term 'civil servant' is used here as a synonym for public official. It covers the public officials at the provincial and municipal level of government as well as the judiciary, the military and the police. Furthermore, the employees of all kinds of semi-public organizations are not seen as civil servants.

government established six so-called 'major operations' to improve its performance (Van Nispen & Noordhoek, 1986). One of these major operations was deliberately focused on the reduction of the number of employees of the central government by 2 percent per year, over a period of 4 year (1981-1985). The results of the so-called '4 x 2 percent operation' were disappointing and the Dutch government decided stronger medicine was needed. The 4 x 2-percent operation was replaced by a 'weight watchers'-operation (1986-1990). The outcome of that operation was somewhat ambiguous. The target of a personnel reduction of 25,000 employees was not met completely, but the foreseen growth of the number of employees was brought to a halt. A continuation of the efforts was deemed necessary, but the application of across-the-board cuts, known as the 'cheese-slicer' method was no longer considered appropriate. In the early 90's, the efforts to reduce the government workforce merged with those to lever public services to the private sector for the operation efficiency.

The target of operation efficiency was set at about 6,000 fte's by 1995. On face value, the objectives of the operation appear to have been achieved. At the start of the operation, in FY 1991, the number of positions was 151,920 fte's. Whereas a total of 151.648 fte's were originally projected for FY 1995, the personnel reductions would bring down the FY 1995 count to about 145,000 fte's. Unfortunately, as the result of a change in definitions of government statistics, neither the actual number of employees nor the actual number of positions in FY 1995 is clear. The government reports a number of 106,238 fte's for FY 1995, but has excluded about 38,500 fte's that reside in the department of Defense and the department of Justice. Clearly, the personnel reduction goal of operation efficiency is met when these excluded fte's are taken into account. However, over the period in question, there have been increases of personnel in policy areas not affected by operation efficiency, and these may conceal the true level of goal attainment⁴.

In the 80s the market for civil servants has become tight due to the retrenchment policy of Dutch government. Besides, the public sector follows the private sector and has cut back on the number of hours per week. A full-time job is reduced from 40 to in the end 36 hours per week. The result is an increase of employees as measured in fte's. However, the number of persons keeps about the same because the government has decided not to hire new personnel temporarily with the exception of specific categories like computer experts. It may be clear that the job opportunities have a serious impact on the interest for government-oriented studies like public administration. Not surprisingly, we see a drop in the number of enrolled students.

The demand for civil servants is apparently reduced by downsizing, decentralization and privatization resulting in the withdrawal of the department on their core-business. Although it has to be said that in some cases, for instance the ministry of Finance and the ministry of Justice, ministries still contain large policy executing branches and agencies.

4. The local government suffered even more since central government passed the burden partly to the provinces and municipalities.

Nevertheless the general tendency has been that most executing agencies are becoming more and more independent. The Wiegel committee estimates that the real 'hard core', i.e civil servants involved in policy making of the departments stands for about 16.6 percent of the total number of employees at the national level, though other numbers circulate (see: Table 1)⁵.

Table 1: *The Number of Employees per Ministry (1995)*¹

Ministry	FY 1995	Core	Peripheral
High Colleges of State			
MP's Office	296	185	111
Foreign Office	3.636	1.090	2.546
Justice	24.850	805	24.045
Home Affairs	1.470	1.010	460
Education, Culture & Science	2.072	895	1.177
Finance	29.760	1.000	28.760
Defense ²	103.875	875	103.000
Housing, Spacial Planning & Environmental Affairs	3.850	1.400	2.450
Transport & Public Works	10.635	1.600	9.035
Economic Affairs	.838	1.060	3.778
Agriculture & Fishery	3.100	920	2.180
Social Affairs & Employment	2.400	1.120	1.280
Health Care, Sports & Welfare	4.075	945	3.130
Total	194.857	12.905	181.952

1. The numbers of employees differ due to the source of information and a change of definition. The judiciary, the military and the police are not longer seen as civil servants since the mid 90s.
2. The number of employees includes the military service.

Source: Wiegel 1993.

5. For instance Van der Meer & Roborgh have a estimate of 21.000 employees.

However, it must be remembered that the decline of number of civil servants is mainly statistical. It is argued that the effects of so-called downsizing and privatization are in effect cosmetic. Changing definitions and creative accounting can do a lot. Furthermore creating independent agencies (which may still have public status) and decentralization of tasks to other layers of government often involve a transfer of government employment than real cuts.

Table 2: *The Number of Higher Civil Servants as Ratio of the Total Number of Civil Servants at the National Level 1976-1994 (x 1000).*

Year	Civil Servants		Percentage
	Total	High	
1976	135.1	16.6	12.3
1980	146.4	20.1	13.7
1985	154.4	24.1	15.6
1990	148.5	31.2	21.0
1994	142.4	34.7	24.1

Source: Kerngegevens bezoldiging overheidspersoneel 1976-1995.

The number of *higher* civil servants has even risen as a ratio of the total number of civil servants (see: Table 2). We will not go into discussion what this implies for the results of the desired curb on government. Essential is that the market for higher civil servants is still expanding. The brunt of the cuts therefore have been realized in the lower echelons of the civil service.

Qualitative: Management Development

In our introduction civil service reform we have made mention that the civil service reform policy did not limit itself to cutback policies. Besides the quantitative dimension ample attention was focused on the qualitative aspects of the civil service. As said earlier part of the reform was brought about the bare necessity to reduce the financial problems of central government. At the same it was realized that the position and the role of central government in the economy and society had to be altered. The new credo was creating favourable conditions for private organizations and groups instead of direct government intervention. Likewise the organization and functioning of

government had to be modernized. The new role of government in society demanded a new kind of civil service with new attributes. The new civil servant should be less oriented on bureaucratic procedures and take a more proactive posture'.

This aspiration has some important consequences for personnel management. Although the image should be avoided that in the period up to the 80s little was done to an active personnel management. Nevertheless since the 80s new efforts were made to develop active human resource policies. Crucial to the human resource policies were the management development schemes.

The various MD programs pertain to the combined effort of the organization and higher civil servants to develop the personal qualities and skills of the higher civil servant servants in order to meet the demands for an adequate task performance (Home Affairs 1992). Management development entails a systematic approach to career development of higher civil servants and organizing the relevant training facilities. It involves selected groups of (higher) officials who have shown some promise or are considered to have ample opportunities to make a substantial career steps. The aims of MD policy in The Netherlands are to:

- enhance the mobility within government ministries;
- to adapt to present and future function and management requirements;
- realizing a better cooperation within administration;
- spreading a aspired organizational culture;
- a reliable system of manning crucial posts (Home Affairs 1992).

It is important to observe that there is no overall MD (and training) system for the whole of central government. For the majority of (higher) personnel each department has developed its own policy. The only exception is the ABD mentioned in the last section. Usually departmental MD policies are designed under the auspices of a MD council in which the top of a department (secretary general, directors general, the director Personnel Management) is participating. With the exception of top officials belonging to the ABD, participation in MD programs is not compulsory. However refusal to participate may have implications for the future career.

Recently, attention in the MD policy has been focused on policy towards enhancing what is now termed 'the employability' of civil servants. This means that a civil servant identifies him- or herself with government and the public sector in general (also being open to the labour market in general) and not with a particular department or unit. The main focus of this policy is again to increase the flexibility of staff, promote mobility and combatting compartmentalization. This employability policy consists of three components (Home Affairs 1997):

- The stimulation of mobility within central government;
- An extensive training policy;

- An active labour market policy.

Having discussed the context of management development it is obvious that training for the civil service is a crucial element of MD policies. In the next section we will turn to the organization and contents of Dutch training for the civil service in The Netherlands.

4. The Supply Side of the Market

On the supply side of the market for civil servants we have to make a distinction between the people finishing pre- and post-entry education⁶. Pre-entry education in The Netherlands is quite important due to the Dutch system of recruitment. Most further civil servants are (still) recruited under a so-called job-system. A person is only recruited for a particular job. In the majority of the cases individuals remain in the civil service for the rest of their working life and follow their careers. Nevertheless in this system there is hardly no 'formal' policy towards career management. This is contrary to the career system.

Pre-Entry Training

The emphasis on recruitment for a particular position makes the quality and nature of pre-entry training very important. A person should be able to perform the given task almost right from the start. Examining the educational background of the higher civil servants employed by Dutch central government it becomes apparent that primarily those individuals are recruited with an academic or higher professional education in disciplines as economics, law, social and technical sciences (Van der Meer & Roborgh 1993; Van Braam 1957).

The importance of the institutions of higher education goes further than providing pre-entry education to aspiring civil servants. At the same time post-graduate courses relevant to civil servants are organized by the institutions of higher education. Most universities are very active (amongst others for reasons of additional revenue) in this field. Some exploit these course on a commercial basis. Furthermore universities and university staff are involved in all kind of post-entry courses. Finally one should not neglect the use of standard university training (master courses) taken by civil servants aspiring to make a career step. As said a university training is considered imperative for a higher civil servant. In 1995 the departments of Public Administration of the universities of Leiden and Rotterdam have started so-called evening classes for civil servants. Other universities have developed similar initiatives.

6. See for an introduction into the Dutch educational system William Z. Shetter, *The Netherlands in Perspective: The Dutch Way of Organizing a Society and its Setting*, Nederlands Centrum Buitenlanders, Utrecht 1997, p. 68-75.

Concerning the disciplinary background a relative shift has occurred from recruiting legal trainees to employing graduates in economics, public administration, political science, and technical scientists (Van der Meer & Roborgh 1993, p. 326). In many university (and higher professional) curricula special provisions (streams) are made for students who aim a career or position in government. The creation of a master's program in public administration in the 80s and specializations in public administration, for instance, in law and economics are examples how the (personnel) demands and programs offered by institutions of higher education are connected.

A look at the supply side of the market for pre-entry training in public administration from a historical perspective reveals that the study of public administration has its roots in the law school. It originally focused on the administration of local government widening afterwards to other sectors of government. It is more or less accepted to consider G.A. van Poelje the 'founding father' of the study of public administration in The Netherlands in the early 20th century. He saw the necessity of the professionalisation of (local) civil servants, started his career as a lawyer in local government. In the late 20s he became the first chair in public administration at the Nederlandse Economische Hogeschool, the predecessor of the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. The focus was at that time mainly on local government. Young people were prepared for a job in the administration of communities.

In the mid 60s the study of public administration became part of the domain of the political science. It started to flourish at various places as a concentration - Amsterdam, Leiden, Nijmegen - followed by the first full-fledged master's program in public administration at the then Technische University of Twente at Enschede (1976)⁷. A decade or so later a joint program in public administration was launched by the Leiden University and the Erasmus University of Rotterdam (1984), supported by the director-general of Higher Education, a former professor of Public Administration at the Catholic University Nijmegen⁸. Later other universities followed⁹. The last shoot at the trunk is University of Technology at Delft that runs a program in public administration from a technological perspective¹⁰.

The development of the study of public administration as a separate discipline has been fostered by the establishment of the *Vereniging voor Bestuurskunde* (Association of Public Administration) that performs as a platform for scholars and practitioners. It issues a journal, called *Bestuurskunde* (Public Administration) that is published eight times per year.

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7. The Dutch academic system educates for the so-called doctorandus-degree (drs.) that may be seen as the equivalent of a master's-degree. No distinction is made between graduate and undergraduate students. The first year is completed with a propaedeutic exam that performs as a selection mechanism for the remaining three years of the curriculum. The program is completed with a internship that is integral part of the master's thesis (NASPAA Self-Study Report 1998).
 8. He would soon join forces as professor of Public Administration at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. See for an insight view Daalder's memoirs (Daalder 97, p. 219-221).
 9. We abstract from PA-chairs in Business and Law Schools.
 10. The concentrations focus on systems engineering, policy analysis and management.

The question may be raised what public administration in The Netherlands is all about. We deal here with public administration as a discipline that prepares students for a position in public administration as a profession (Waldo 1955; Rutgers 1993). It is more or less accepted that the study of public administration tries to bridge at least two gaps. First, the intention of the study of public administration is deliberately not only descriptive, but also prescriptive in nature. One of the assignments of the study of public administration is to improve the performance of the public sector. Second, the study of public administration claims to be inter-disciplinary or at least multi-disciplinary, because problems in society don't stop at the borders of the traditional disciplines (Van Braam 1988; Hakvoort 1989). The last few years we feature a shift in the subject of the study of public administration. The procedures and organization of the government were seen at the heart of the study of public administration for a long time. Nowadays, governance is considered more and more to be the core of the study of public administration and governance is not restricted to the public sector. Furthermore, the dividing line between the public and private sector is not sharp cut and continuously changing. In line with this development is the attention that is given to public-private partnerships.

The number of professors may be seen as a first indicator of the scope of the programs in public administration (see: Table 3).

Table 3: *The number of professors of Public Administration in The Netherlands (1997)*

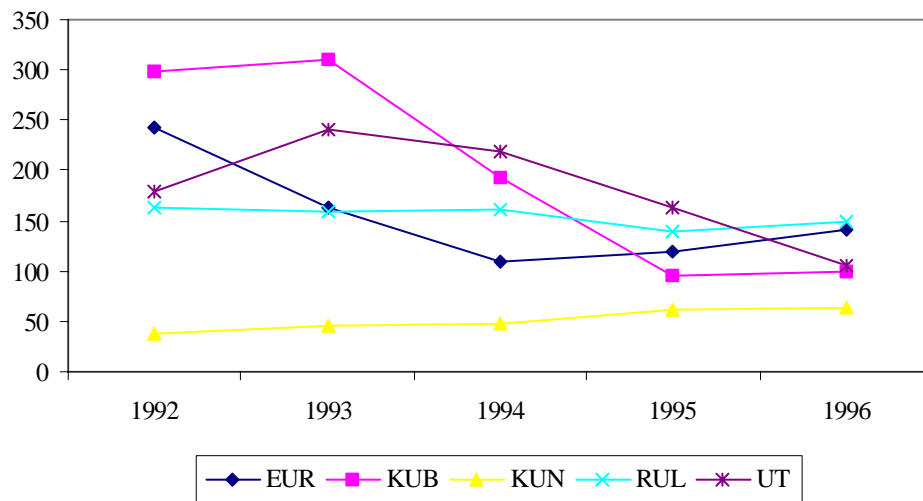
	Full Professors	Associate Professors	Assistant Professors	Total	Fte's
EUR	6	5	14	25	22.4
KUB	2	2	6	10	9.7
KUN	3	2	3	8	6.8
OU	1			1	1.0
RUL	3	4	15	22	20.9
UT ¹	9	9	20	38	34.7
Total	24	22	58	104	95.5

1. Two vacancies excluded

Source: *Visitatierapport* 1998.

A look at the enrolment of new students in the five full fledged programs shows a peak in the late 80s. Since, the number of students has declined gradually and stabilized somewhere in between 100 and 150 students per university, part-time students excluded (see: Graph 1).

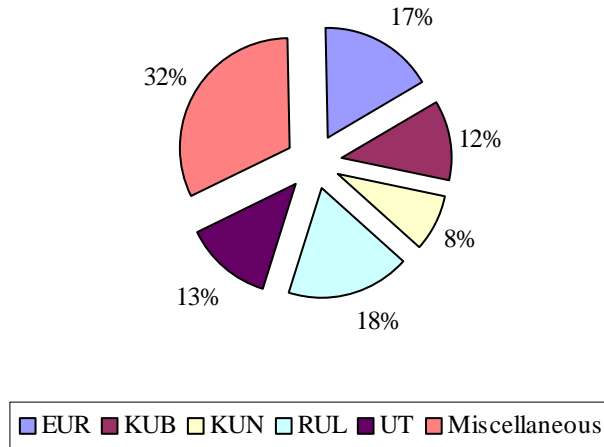
Graph 1: *The Development of the Total Number of Students per Full Fledged Program (1992-1996)*



Source: *Visitatierapport* 1998

The relative share of the full fledged programs in public administration, the Open University excluded, is visualized below (see: Chart 1).

Chart 1: *Market Share of the Full-Fledged Programs in Public Administration*



Source: *Visitatierapport* 1998.

In addition, a smaller number of students take a concentration as part of their study in one of the other disciplines, mainly law and political science (see: Annex 4).

Finally, the University of Utrecht has established a Center for Policy and Management that offers a wide variety of graduate as well as post-graduate programs. The most relevant are the track in Policy, Organization and Society and a track on Law, Administration and Management.

The various universities do not only compete for students, but work also together in areas as education of Ph.D.-students and exchange programs with foreign partners.

A survey among graduates of the University of Twente shows that 31.0 percent ($n = 316$) works for the private sector. The public sector, more precisely, central government is second best with 18.7 percent of the population. The half of it is involved in the process of policy making (De Haan & De Weert 1990, p. 32)¹¹.

A secondary analysis of a survey among the graduates of the joint program of the Leiden University and the Erasmus University of Rotterdam reveals that about 25 percent of our former students ($n = 479$) is working for central government. The large majority has to do with policy. About 65 percent of the students working for central government is involved in the process of policy making. The service industry is second with 17.1 percent and local government stands for 14.6 percent. The industry employees only 2 percent of the population (Berveling & Klaassen 1996).

11. The response was 316 out of 518, that equals 61 percent.

We would like to underscore that study of public administration is relatively new. The graduates have to compete for jobs with their counterparts with another disciplinary background. In job announcements is deliberately asked for people with a background in the study of public administration nowadays. The department of Finance that hired only economists for a long time, now houses many people trained in the social sciences among which the study of public administration. The requirements for the new civil servants has given the study of public administration as a multi-disciplinary study a competitive edge over the more traditional disciplines. The department of Housing, Spatial Planning & Environmental Affairs is running an on the job training in public administration and the Ministry of Social Affairs & Employment has scrutinized the research programs of the departments of Public Administration of the various universities on common interests.

The market for the training in public administration is further supplemented by the entry of vocational training institutes like the school for Hoger Economisch en Administratief Onderwijs (HEAO) in 's Hertogenbosch and the Thorbecke Academy in Leeuwarden that provide a professional training as in the early days of the education and training in public administration¹². The professional training centres have a wide appeal among high school graduates since the qualifications are not so high as for the universities¹³. A vocational training is often seen as a stepping stone for an academic education in public administration.

Post-Entry Training

That increasing attention is focused on pre-entry education does not diminish the importance of post-entry education. As we have seen in the section on MD programs training and retraining is becoming more and more an integral part of 'being a civil servant'. Civil servants are sent to all kind of courses in order to maintain a high professional standard. In this sense there is no difference between persons recruited under a job or a career system.

Basically in a job system a civil servant is taking a course or training to adapt him or her to the requirements of the particular post. Looking at the 'short' term (function based) courses it is quite difficult to give a comprehensive overview. There is a wide range of training activities, provided by all kind of institutes. The course range stretches from computer courses, developing management and personal skills, courses in personnel and financial management and introductions on the implications of the general administrative law on administration. Additionally in many departments new junior staff members will receive an introductory post-entry course on the particular nature of the department and the style of policy making.

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12. In sum 4 out of 39 vocational training institutes provide a program in public administration (see annex 5).
 13. The vocational training programs stand for about 15 percent of the total number of students enrolled in one of the pre-entry training programs in public administration.

Training in the career system is not so much meant for improving the direct performance of a particular person but to prepare this official for his line of career in a particular branch of government. As said there are a few branches of government which still use a career system: the judiciary, the police and the military are the major examples. Although (especially in the case of the judiciary) a high level of pre-entry education is required the persons have to be equipped for their career by in service training¹⁴.

In the case of the police and the military training institutions sometimes recruit students with a completed secondary education. They are given a program of a couple of years consisting of formal and practical instruction. Furthermore 'higher' police and military academies exist where selected individuals are trained for the higher ranks. For legal magistrates there is an education and training program (RAIO) where legal graduates are prepared for positions as judges and public prosecutors. In the case of the Foreign Office future diplomats and foreign office officials receive a training of about six months after their selection¹⁵. The program is provided by the department itself in cooperation with the international institute Clingendael that is located in The Hague. The institute also delivers short courses on international topics for instance to the Ministry of Defense.

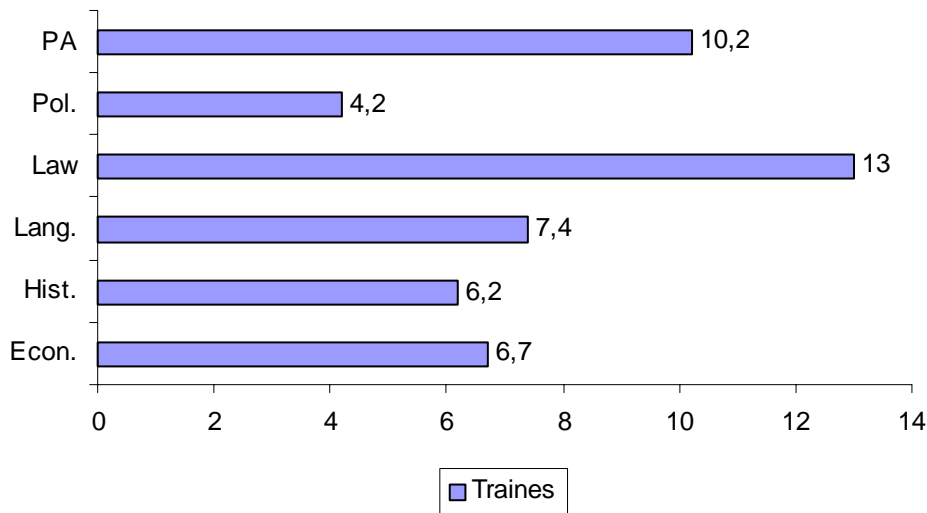
Finally, we feature five, cooperating academies of public administration that are geographically spread over the country (see annex 6). They provide training for middle rank civil servant.

The differences between the traditional career civil servants and the rest of the higher civil service are becoming smaller. The concept of management development is very much responsible for these changes. An other example of the advance of a career system is the creation of the Senior Executive Service (ABD) mentioned before. At the same time some ministries - the Ministry of Education, Culture & Science, the Foreign Office, Home Affairs, Housing, Spatial Planning & Environmental Affairs - have started to appoint young university graduates with a considered high potential as (management) trainees. The trainees are appointed for a three year period and will serve at different parts of the organization and additionally receive an extensive training program (Home Affairs 1997).

A recent survey among the applicants for a traineeship shows that public administration belongs to the front-runners, giving leeway only to students with education in law. However, the number of civil servants with background in public administration is still relatively small¹⁶.

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- 14. The judiciary, the military and the police are not longer seen as civil servants since the mid 90s.
 - 15. The program has become under discussion recently due to a regauge of the Dutch foreign policy. A more individual training will replace the so-called 'klasje', that prepares civil servants for a job as diplomat.
 - 16. The outcome is in sharp contrast with the number of civil servants with a background in economics, that may reflect the appeal of the salaries payed by the market. Only 6 percent of the applicants had a training in economics, while 24 percent of the workforce.

Chart 2: *The Number of Applicants for a Traineeship per Disciplines*
(N = 1174)



Source: *De Volkskrant*, June 6, 1998

The training programs that focus at career development are becoming more and more important for the whole of the higher civil service because of these changes. For instance, some promising higher civil servants are sent to, for instance, the master's program in public administration of the Nederlandse School voor het Openbaar Bestuur (Netherlands Institute of Government) in the Hague or the Master of Business Administration program of the Erasmus University of Rotterdam in order to prepare civil servants for higher positions. The NSOB is an initiative of some universities in the western part of the country. These post-doctoral programs are meant for higher civil servants with an extensive experience in government. Programs with an equal aim are offered by the ROI, the privatized training institute for central government. Furthermore, The Netherlands hosts the European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA) at Maastricht that offers courses in public administration for officials of Western and Eastern Europe.

Turning to the training methods normally used in The Netherlands four different methods can be distinguished:

1. The formal instruction by providing courses. The word 'training' often suggests a formal and structured method of transfer of knowledge and skills. Courses provided or commissioned by various government departments, the ABD and other public organizations are obvious examples of this kind of instruction. Nevertheless it is a grave mistake to limit post-entry training solely to formal training. In the MD programs also less 'formalized' methods are used;

2. Training in and on the job. Starting a new job often means slowly becoming more competent in meeting the job requirements. This is often happening by way of trial and error. In the departmental trainee programs mentioned earlier this method is institutionalized and accompanied by more formal training;
3. The detachment of higher personnel to public and private institutions at home and at the international institutions as, for instance, the European Union and the OECD. The method gets more and more attention nowadays since also training institutes include internships in their program;
4. The transfer of knowledge, information and experience by the commissioning of research and organizing of seminars. It is evident from the past that the use of seminars, contact groups, the commissioning of research has been and still is an important instrument for transferring information on the policy implications to a wider circle of government officials.

Different institutions are offering courses. With respect to the organization of courses a distinction has to be made between those courses which are organized and provided by government itself (in-house production) and those courses which are contracted out to external institutes. Contracting out can signify that a government department orders a course from a university department or a specialized public or private training institute adapted to the particular needs of that organization or sending civil servants to courses which are generally provided on the market. Besides these general courses there are also many specialized courses provided on demand. A government department can request that these courses are adapted to their particular needs. In this sense a flourishing market for (government) training courses has come into existence over the last decade. Government departments act as customers on this market and a wide range of public and private organization as suppliers. There are special liaison officers in each department (and often units) and their counterparts in the training institutions are so-called 'program-managers'. In the interaction the actual training programs are shaped. This training market serves as a coordinating mechanism where central direction is lacking. It has as an advantage that training policies are more tailor made to the need of a particular department.

Looking at the size of the market in financial terms, in 1996 about 189 million guilders was involved. This amounts to 2.3 % of the money involved in the annual pay.

Table 4: *Training Costs per Person per Ministry*

Number	Ministry	Costs
II	High Colleges of State	1.357
III	PM's Office	1.086
V	Foreign Office	2.139
VI	Justice	2.071
VII	Home Affairs	2.155
VIII	Education, Culture & Sciences	2.325
IX	Tax office	2.180
	Finance (department)	1.783
X	Defense	
XI	Housing, Spacial Planning & Environmental Affairs	1.070
XII	Transport & Public Works	.227 ¹
XIII	Economic Affairs	1.539
XIV	Agriculture & Fishery	1.396
XV	Social Affairs & Employment	1.735
XVI	Health Care, Sports & Welfare	1.576
Total		
Average		1.685

1. The figure for the ministry of Transport & Public Works is referring to the central training expenditure. Most expenditure is decentralized to the various departmental units.

Source: Home Affairs, Mensen en Management in de Rijksdienst 1997.

From table 6 can be seen that there is a large degree of variation in the amount of money spent on training per ministry.

5. Conclusion

In this article we have used the metaphor of the market, highlighting specific characteristics, while leaving other elements more obscure. We believe that this metaphor provides an useful context of meaning.

The market for civil servants trained in public administration is highly customer-driven and, therefore, rather flexible. It reflects the basic characteristics of the decentralized unitary state with its emphasis on accommodation and checks and balances. The fragmentation urges suppliers to adjust their training programs to the continuously changing demand of the public sector.

The demand side of the market has suffered an ongoing reduction of personnel. In addition, the government has issued an anti-recruitment policy with the exception of specific categories like computer experts. It has generated an internal market for civil servants that gave an impetus to in-house and mid-career training programs that are frequently contracted-out to the universities. The initiatives in management development and, more recently, employability embody and stress the need for an 'éducation permanente'.

On the supply side of the pre-entry market we feature a supplement of the university system with a growing number of vocational training institutes providing training programs for that segment of the market. As for the post-entry market we see a wide range of highly fragmented for profit and not for profit institutes competing for higher civil servants. The link between demand and supply at that market is very close due to the aggressive competition.

Finally, we would like to underscore the role of individuals in the development of the study of public administration is striking. We have already mentioned Van Poelje as the founding father of the study of public administration. The next generation spread the wings of public administration by their entrepreneurial spirit, moving from one place to another, the establishment of new programs and structures.

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Annex 1: *Acronyms*

ABD	Algemene Bestuursdienst (Senior Executive Service)
GEO	Grote Efficiency Operatie (Operation Efficiency)
EIPA	European Institute of Public Administration at Maastricht
EUR	Erasmus University of Rotterdam
HBO	Hoger Beroepsonderwijs (Institute for Higher Professional Education)
HEAO	Hoger Economisch en Administratief Onderwijs (Higher Economic and Administrative Education)
KUB	Catholic University Brabant at Tilburg
KUN	Catholic University Nijmegen
MD	Management Development
NOB	Nederlandse Onderzoeksschool voor de Bestuurskunde (Netherlands Interuniversity Institute of Government)
NSOB	Nederlandse School voor het Openbaar Bestuur (Netherlands Institute of Government) in The Hague
OU	Open University in Heerlen
RAIO	Rechterlijke Ambtenaar in Opleiding (Training Program for Employees of the Judiciary)
ROI	Rijksopleidingsinstituut (Government Training Institute) in The Hague
RUG	University of Groningen
RUL	Leiden University
RUU	University of Utrecht
TUD	University of Technology at Delft
UT	University of Twente at Enschede
UvA	University of Amsterdam
VB	Vereniging voor Bestuurskunde (Association of Public Administration)
VSNU	Vereniging van Samenwerkende Nederlandse Universiteiten (Association of Cooperating Dutch Universities)
VU	Free University of Amsterdam

Annex 2: *Minimum Program in Public Administration*

Basics	Sociology	Law	Political Science	Economy
Aspects	1. Administrative Science 2. Organization Theory	1. Public Law 2. Private Law	1. Political Theory 2. Democracy Theory	1. Public Economy 2. Public Finance
Collection of Information Empirical Knowledge	1. Theories and Concepts to Describe, to Analyze and to Explain the Role of Actors, the Structure and Content of Public Policy, the Structure and Operation of the Public Sector in Interaction with the Society.			
	2. Knowledge of the subject mentioned above.			
	3. Methods for the Collection and Analysis of Empirical Knowledge.			
	4. Skills to apply these methods.			
Application	1. Methods for the Design and Evaluation of Public Policy and the Organization of the Government			
	2. Skills to apply these methods			

Annex 3: *Total Number of Enrolled Students per Full Fledged Program (1996)*

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
EUR	979 17	794 44	623 56	561 106	493 145
KUB	88	572	651	478	384
KUN		133 15	204 38	160 39	137 47
OU					(177)
RUL	745	720	635	576	501
UT	925	1.006	1.006	931	792
Total ²	2.754	3.284	3.213	2.851	2.499

1. The Open University excluded.

Source: *Visitatierapport* 1998.

Annex 4^a: *The Development of Enrolled Students per Full Fledged Program (1984-1997)*

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
EUR	243	163	109	120	142
KUB	299	311	193	95	99
KUN	38	46	48	62	63
OU					(177)
RUL	163	159	161	139	149
UT	179	240	219	163	105
Total ¹	922	919	730	579	558
Average ¹	184	184	146	116	112

1. The OU excluded

Source: *Visitatierapport* 1998.

Annex 4^b: *The Development of Enrolled Students per Concentration (1984-1997)*

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
RUG	22	18	13	8	22	22
RUU						
TUD	80	132	132	87	87	158
UvA				207	171	137
VU	61	57	42	37	(15)	
Total	163	207	187	339	280	317
Average	54	69	62	85	93	106

Source: *Zelfstudies 1997, CBS 1998.*

Annex 5: *Pre-Entry Programs in Public Administration*

Academic Programs

- Full-fledged Programs:
 - Universiteit van Twente in Enschede
 - Universiteit van Leiden
 - Erasmus Universiteit van of Rotterdam
 - Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen
 - Katholieke Universiteit Brabant in Tilburg
 - Open Universiteit in Heerlen

- Concentrations:
 - Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
 - Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht
 - Technische Universiteit Delft
 - Universiteit van Amsterdam
 - Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam

Vocational Programs

- Haagse Hogeschool, Sector Gezondheidszorg, Gedrag en Maatschappij
- Hogeschool Enschede, Academie Bestuur en Recht
- Hogeschool 's-Hertogenbosch, Hoger Economisch Onderwijs
- Noordelijke Hogeschool Leeuwarden, Thorbecke Academie

Annex 6: *Post-Entry Programs in Public Administration*

Academic Programs

- The Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael in The Hague
- Het Europees Instituut voor Bestuurskunde/The European Institute of Public Administration [EIPA] in Maastricht
- De Nederlandse School voor het Openbaar Bestuur [NSOB]/The Netherlands Institute of Government in The Hague
- Het Rijksopleidingsinstituut [ROI] in The Hague

Professional Programs

- Bestuursacademie Noord-Nederland in Groningen
- Bestuursacademie Oost-Nederland in Velp
- Bestuursacademie Zuid-Nederland in Tilburg
- Bestuursacademie Randstad in Maarssen
- Bestuursacademie Nederland in The Hague

Annex 7: *The Dutch System of Programs in Public Administration*

Layer	Pre-Entry	Post-Entry
Graduate	Universities	Universities
Post-Graduate		Training Institutes
Vocational	HBO's	
Professional		Bestuursacademies