

## Summary

Representativeness of bureaucracy has been a topic of research and discussion ever since it became a political issue. For The Netherlands this has been the case from the beginning of the 20th Century, more strongly however since the Second World War. This advent of an issue coincided with a marked increase in tasks taken up by local and central government respectively. Overall, government permeated society to a degree that was hitherto unknown. Related to this economic growth (industrialization) and political emancipation of non-involved Citizens (lower income groups, Catholics) made the larger public more aware of the importance of representative bureaucracy. All this is not to say that representation had not been important until the late 19th Century. Indeed, applicants for political-administrative posts were discriminated up to this time on political and (mostly) religious grounds.

F.M. van der Meer, J.C.N. Raadschelders, L.J. Roborgh, Th.A.J. Toonen

## 1 Introduction

In the course of the twentieth Century governments all over the world, at central and at local levels have considerably grown in size. It is a well-known fact that the growth of governmental tasks coincided with and often was generated through such interrelated processes as inter alia industrialization, demographic growth, urbanization, and democratization.

The growth of government in The Netherlands took place from the 1880's onwards. One of the changes in Dutch society at the time was the cultural and political emancipation of lower-income groups, which hitherto were not represented in political bodies (Parliament, Municipal Councils). Labour organized itself (from the 1860's onwards) and got involved in politics (after the 1880's). Labour acquired influence in the political arena through the creation of social-democratic parties or by joining existing political parties (liberals, denominational parties).

By the late 19th nineteenth Century lower income groups effectively voiced their wish to get involved in government. As a result, relations between members of political bodies politicized and adherents to new doctrines slowly settled into the political and administrative structure of central and local government. This shows that of the processes mentioned above, democratization is of special importance in relation to the topic of representative bureaucracy.

This chapter describes the way in which representative bureaucracy developed in The Netherlands from the late nineteenth Century onward. We will attempt to present and compare data on developments at central as well as at local level. These data are taken from a research project that is currently undertaken by F.M. van der Meer and L.J. Roborgh.<sup>1</sup> In section two we will present the framework we use and the sources from which our information is drawn. Section three presents a concise overview of the growth of central and local government in The Netherlands and will summarize the main causes of this growth. The fourth section will pay attention to developments in representation from the early 1700's up to the 1940's. This is necessary to understand and appreciate the changes that took place after 1880. Material presented in this section is chronological and descriptive since there are not many

quantitative data available regarding the aspects of representative bureaucracy mentioned in section two. Section five concentrates on developments after the World War II up to 1988.

## 2 Theoretical framework: definitions, normative considerations and sources

When discussing this topic it is important to make a clear distinction between representativeness as a political issue and as an empirical phenomenon. Whether or not representation is something to strive for is not a matter for consideration in this chapter. Some themes however need to be mentioned.

There are at least three reasons why representative bureaucracy is considered to be important in contemporary (western) societies.<sup>2</sup> Firstly there is the 'equal chances' argument. Different groups in the population need to have equal chances to be elected or appointed to political and administrative posts, according to their quantitative size in the total population (proportionality). This is the 'political reward motive'. Secondly representative bureaucracy gets attention from the perspective of legitimacy. If different groups in the total population are represented in political and administrative bodies then the people are supposed to recognize themselves in those public institutions. That generates a basis of trust in and acceptance of public action. We can call this the 'political legitimization motive'. Finally there are the concepts of 'loyalty' and external control. The assumption is that if the administrative bureaucracy, and more specifically: the civil service, is composed in a representative manner it will be better tuned in its choice of loyalties to the diversity of political values in the society. This is the 'politico-loyalty motive'.

When speaking of representativeness of government as an empirical phenomenon we need to make a distinction between electoral and administrative representation. The concept of 'representative bureaucracy' refers to the administrative representation. Civil servants are defined as all those who are employed by central and local government (i.e. administrative personnel, workmen, teachers, nurses, policemen etc.).

Representation pertains to the composition of public administrative (or: bureaucratic) organizations. Such institutions are representative when they reflect the structure of the population. There are at least three forms of representativeness: a) demographic representation, b) opinion representation and c) interest representation. If demographic representation is the issue, the population-structure can

be decomposed in a variety of ways, such as: religion, ethnicity, language, class, income, education, gender, region of origin and political affiliation.

The debate on representativeness, be it of electoral or of administrative bodies - generally take place with one of the other two concepts of representativeness in mind. Opinion representativeness means that the opinions of the members of the civil service as a whole would reflect those of the population at large. Representativeness of interests would mean that the structure of the civil service would reflect the variety of interests within the larger political community.

Although one meaning of representative bureaucracy is usually implied by the use of the others, there is only a weak relationship between the three. The relation between social-economic background, political opinion and interest representation is weak and at least dynamic. What people say (opinion) is not necessarily the same as what people do (interest representation) and none of this is completely determined by their training or other social, economic, historical or demographic backgrounds.

As an object of empirical research each concept of representative bureaucracy requires a different approach and methodology. The issue of interest representativeness requires that the analysis of the bureaucracy takes into consideration institutional features, such as veto-rules, monopoly positions, the protection of minorities, decisionmaking procedures, the professional representation of social groups, administrative appeal, courts, ombudsman, etc. The issue of opinion representativeness generally cannot be presented, let alone be resolved on the basis of secondary, readily available material. It would require an extensive survey in which the same questions and issues would be presented to a (representative) sample of Citizens and civilservants. To a certain extent, this will only replace - instead of answer - the question of representative bureaucracy!

In this contribution we will confine ourselves to the question of the demographic representation and pay special attention to gender, education, political affiliation, social class (i.e. social background), and religion. There are three remarks to be made about this choice. Firstly, education, political affiliation, class and religion have played a role in Dutch society ever since the 1700's. Secondly, gender and ethnicity have been of much less importance until the last decades. As a result of the influx of guest workers after the 1960's (Moroccans, Turks etc.), ethnicity has become an issue in the eighties. Thirdly, knowledge on region of origin and income is only available for the twentieth Century. Our present research indicates that available data on these last three aspects are not very reliable. For these reasons we will not enter into a discussion about ethnicity, regional background and income although their importance in the discussions about representative bureaucracy.

Data used in this chapter are drawn here from secondary sources (literature, the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics) and from research by the authors that already has been published as well as will be published next year.

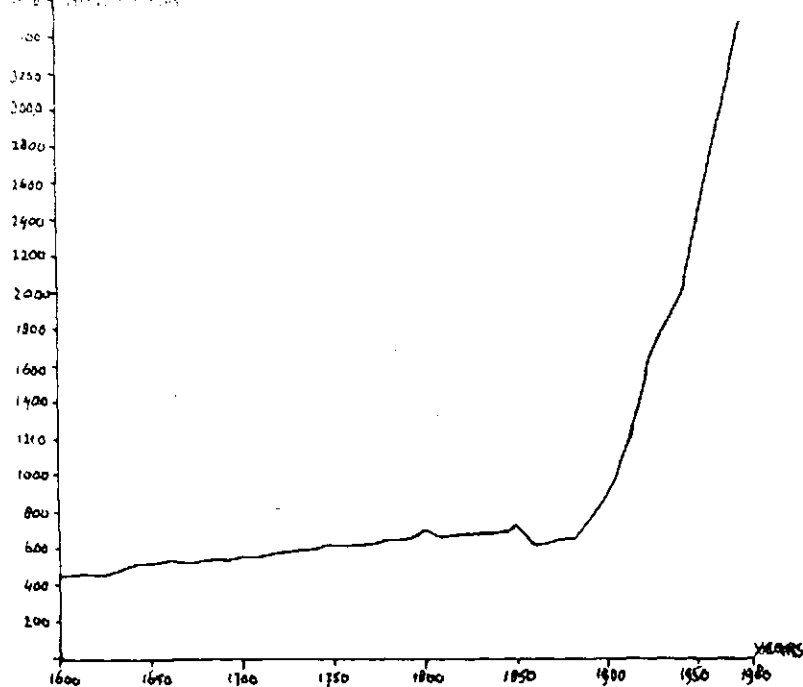
### 3 The growth of local and central government

From a truly historical perspective the growth of government is a relative recent phenomenon. We distinguish the following phases in the evolution of the scope and scale of Dutch government:

1. 1600-1795: slow growth of the size of government both at central and at local level. Government tasks, functions and regulations were mainly directed at the collectivity and of a complementary nature to services in the primary (agriculture) and secondary sectors (trade, handicraft, industry).<sup>3</sup>
2. 1795-1880: gradual growth of the size of central government and Stagnation followed by decline (1850-1880) of local government. The State withdraws from exercising the abovementioned complementary tasks and evolves into a 'laissez-faire' State.
3. 1880-1940: rapid growth of local government followed by a rapid growth of central government (after 1910). The State develops tasks aimed at the individual (labour mediation, public schools, sanitation, health-care etc.).
4. 1940-1960: rapid growth continues both at central and local level. Governmental tasks diversify to a great extent. The welfare, intervention state emerges.
5. 1960-1970: sustained growth at central and local level. The maintenance state is being created.
6. 1970-present: declining growth at central and local level.

graph 1: Development of the total amount of municipal functions in the cities of Alkmaar, Beverwijk, Purmerend and Zaandam together, 1600-1970.'

The distinction between collectively oriented and complementary tasks is derived from W. Prevenier, 'Synthese van het colloquium' (= synthesis of the seminar) in: Het openbaar initiatief van de gemeenten in België. Ancien Regime (= Public initiative in Belgian municipalities) (1984) 720.

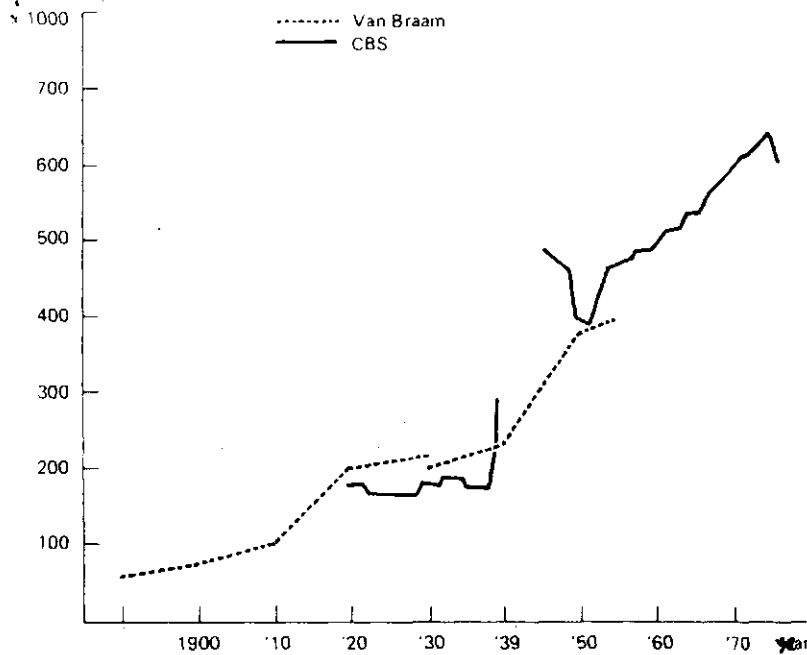


This evolution can be illustrated with some graphs and tables. The first graph shows the development of municipal functions in four municipalities in The Netherlands between 1600-1970.

The graph reflects the rapid change in the development of local government functions.

The next graph shows the development of the overall size of government in The Netherlands between 1890-1980. This graph shows a slightly different curve, which indicates that developments at central level were not as strong after 1920 as at local level. Little is known about the size of central government before the 1880's.

graph 2: Increase of government size in The Netherlands, 1890 - 1980



Another indicator for changes in public employment over the last forty years can be illustrated through labor volume statistics. These figures are useful since they can be compared over a long period of time.<sup>6</sup>

table 1: The development of the labor volume of the government in general, civilian officials on central and local level 1947-1970 (1950=100)

year	total government		central		local	
	abs (x 1000)	index	abs (x 1000)	index	abs (x 1000)	index
1947	463	98.6	--	--	--	--
1950	392	100.0	91	100.0	92	100.0
1955	469	119.6	106	116.4	98	106.5
1960	490	125.0	105	115.3	105	114.1
1965	516	131.6	109	119.8	118	128.3
1970	567	144.6	123	135.1	134	145.7

As a consequence of the economic and population growth in the fifties and sixties, government grew rapidly. The democratization movement of the sixties was especially important since more and more Services were demanded from government. The social and welfare programs that were developed between 1956-1972 were a major factor in the increase of government expenditure and proved to be a burden to the budget of central and local government as soon as the economic tide turned (after 1973). The economic crisis induced government into involvement in ailing industries. Also special efforts were taken to reduce unemployment. Other factors responsible for the growth of government have been identified in literature. Among them are demographic growth, economic growth, changes in the physical and geographical environment, political developments, relations between central and local institutions, urbanization, cultural unification etc. We will merely point out that no factor can be singled out as of prime importance, they are too much related to one another.<sup>7</sup>

As a result government size between 1970-1985 increased as much as it did between 1947-1970. This is shown in table 2 (next page).

table 2: The development of the labor volume of the government in general, civilian officials on central and local level 1970-1985 (1950=100)

year	total government		central		local	
	abs (x 1000)	index	abs (x 1000)	index	abs (x 1000)	index
1970	567	144.6	123	135.1	134	145.7
1975	630	160.7	138	151.6	150	163.0
1980	714	182.1	155	170.3	176	191.3
1985	736	187.7	168	184.8	187	203.3

<sup>7</sup> See for instance E. Etzioni-Halevy, *Bureaucracy and Democracy* (1983) 116-123. For detailed discussion of factors inducing growth of government tasks we refer to the available literature. Cf. Ch.L. Taylor, *Why governments grow. Measuring public sector size* (1983); P.D. Larkey, C. Stolp, M. Winer, 'Theorizing about the growth of government: a research assessment' in: *Journal of Public Policy*, vol.11 no.2 (1981); R. Rose (ed.) *Public employment in Western nations* (1985).

The main question that we will try to answer in this paragraph is how 'representative bureaucracy' could become an issue in the Dutch public service.<sup>8</sup> Firstly, we will describe representation in the context of the Dutch Republic (1588-1795), the French Occupation (1795-1813) and the early Kingdom (1815-1880). Then we will describe the major changes in Dutch society that led to major alterations in Dutch politics and a growth of governmental tasks. In relation to that we will present some information on the growth of representative bureaucracy in the period 1880-1940.

##### 4.1 Representation in the Dutch Republic, 1588-1795

In terms of nation-state development the second half of the 16th Century was of great importance to The Netherlands. In the second half of that Century a complex set of factors led to the Dutch Revolt (also known as the Eighty Years War, 1568-1648). Among the most important ones were the economic decline and the centralization policies of the Habsburgs. The Dutch Revolt also had a religious component. It is well known how the Dutch territories adhered to Calvinist doctrine and that angered Philip II who had succeeded his father Charles V in 1555. Political events followed quickly one after another during the eighties. Several northern territories and cities in Flanders and Brabant signed the so-called Union of Utrecht (1579), that voiced a common effort in the battle against Spain. Peace negotiations between the opponents led to nothing and two years later the Dutch abjured the sovereignty of Philip II (Decree of Secession, 1581).<sup>9</sup>

The independent Estates (i.e. provinces) tried to find a new sovereign for several years, but in vain. Finally in 1588 the 'Dutch Republic of the Seven United Provinces' was born, against the Estates' wishes.

The Protestant religion was declared to be protected by the government, but it was not a State religion like in England or the Scandinavian countries. Nevertheless, Catholics were no longer allowed to take posts in the political and/or administrative structure. This religious discrimination was rather

Information in this paragraph is mostly taken from J.C.N. Raadschelders, o.c. 58-6.5, 77-78, 142-144, 166-174, 265-269.

9

A deed unheard of in 16th Century Catholic ideology on sovereignty; see, F.H. Hinsley, *Sovereignty* (1966) 132.

effective during the 17th century and the early 18th century. Schoolbooks were rewritten. Most Catholics lost their seats/jobs in government. The Catholic religion was practiced in secret. In the second half of the eighteenth century the attitude towards Catholics became less strict. However, it would take another century before Catholics became represented again in political and administrative functions.

As is characteristic of early modern government, Dutch government was mainly run by elites. The difference between the Republic and its neighboring countries was that those elites were not exclusively aristocratic. The Republic was a bourgeois nation, hence why the merchant elites were represented as well. What is striking, however, is that political and administrative functionaries at local and central government level were mainly recruited from among the merchant elite. Nowadays, functionaries are recruited among those who enjoyed higher education. One requirement for specialized functions (town clerk in large towns, pensionary) was imperative, namely an education in law at Leiden University.

Thus, during the time of the Dutch Republic politics and administration were dominated by educated Protestants of the higher social circles.

#### 4.2 Representation during the French Occupation, 1795-1813

The French invasion of January 1795 led to changes in government and administration. The existing political bodies were dismantled and replaced by provisional political bodies chosen by the people. It fitted the spirit of equality and fraternity that those bodies were supervised in some places by so-called citizen societies. Purges of the administrative personnel followed from April onwards. Each civil servant was fired and screened. Black lists were drawn of people who adhered to the so-called 'Orange Aristocratic System'. When 'clean', functionaries were re-appointed after having sworn an oath on 'The Rights of Man'. A year later the Protestant religion no longer enjoyed state protection. People of all denominations could be appointed to the public service. This situation lasted until 1798.

For some time conflict had been smoldering as to the kind of government structure that The Netherlands should have. The Federalists favored a situation in which the provinces (i.e. the former Estates) would enjoy large autonomy, while the Unitarians advocated a centralized state. The Unitarians won their case. Also, the right to elect was limited again to those who enjoyed a certain wealth. This situation would remain until the extension of the franchise in 1917-1919. Government was dominated again by the Protestant elites.

The years between 1813 and 1851 were very important with regards to the structure of the newly created Kingdom (1815). A decentralized unitary State came into existence, the legal structure of which was designed by Thorbecke in a series of Acts (Constitution, 1848; Provincial Act, 1849; Municipal Act, 1851)."

Little changed in the field of representation. Mayors were usually selected from the local elite and appointed by the King for periods of 6 years. It was not uncommon that a mayor could held his office for scores of years. Members of municipal Councils were elected for life (as had been the case during the Republic) and also recruited from the local elite. The administrative personnel was predominantly male and recruited from the local population. Even at public schools the number of women assigned as teachers was very little. At central level political and administrative posts were still dominated by those who had enjoyed a legal education. As far as we know there were no women assigned to the better positions.

#### 4.4 Towards representative bureaucracy 1880-1940

In the second half of the nineteenth Century Dutch government underwent major changes, caused by a variety of factors. The population started to grow. Industrialization set in and this led to increase of incomes. Municipalities took the lead in the development of new public tasks. They started to absorb private initiative in many fields for a variety of reasons. Firstly, the population demanded local government intervention to ensure better health and societal care, to improve public sanitation (cleansing departments were created), to improve public works. The influence of certain professional groups (like doctors) was very important. Municipalities also took up tasks to improve the quality of service delivery and realize profits at the same time (gas- and electricity companies), to fight usury (public housing) etc. These developments reflect the influence of the ideals of Enlightenment, that slowly filtered down into the society. These ideals comprised on the one hand that government should refrain from intervention in the field of economic relations, while on the other hand intervention was considered necessary in such fields as education and health and poorcare. Freedom and equality needed to be protected against the State. From these ideals Liberalism and Socialism/Marxism would develop. In the second half of the nineteenth Century a plural power structure came into existence. 'Friendly societies', labor unions and political parties were created around certain ideological/religious principles and/or around 'social

class' (Liberals, Socialists, Catholics, Protestants). The Dutch society became segmented into four pillars (consociational democracy)."

Socialists came in municipal Councils from the early 1900's onwards. The first socialist mayor was appointed in 1914. Important in terms of political representation was the extension of the franchise in 1917 (all adult men) and 1919 (all adult women). Women too could now elect and be elected. The number of women in Councils and Parliament remained small though.

We already paid attention to the enormous growth of governmental tasks in the past Century. It is important to note that this brought about great changes in the functioning of administrative personnel. At central level exams were required for all those who applied for a post in the civil service. Open competition for Jobs became normal.<sup>12</sup> These developments occurred at the same time as in Great Britain. More and more, quality became the important criterion for selection. At local level functionaries were no longer recruited from the local population only. It became common practice that they moved from town to town and to higher posts. It has been said that the advent of the plural society meant that public administrative functionaries needed to assure and safeguard their position. It is true that ever since the early nineteenth Century the realms of politics and administration started to differentiate. Politically appointed persons were less and less involved in the execution of tasks; administrators became important as the principal executioners and advisors. Through the efforts of higher civil servants at local level, a whole structure of post-entry courses was developed. Administrators became a self-conscious group in society.

The societal and cultural emancipation of certain groups in the population (lower-incomes, women, Catholics) was hardly translated into large-scale representation in political and administrative posts. The number of people in political functions from lower income groups was limited, since most meetings were convened during the afternoon. It would take years before municipal councils would finally start to meet at night. A city like Beverwijk was early: in 1919 the Council decided in favor of meetings after 7 p.m. In Alkmaar, however, this was only realized in the fifties of this Century.

The number of women in the civil service was small. If appointed at all, they were expected to resign (and in some cases fired) in event of marriage (celibacy-clause in their labor-contract). The arguments

See on this H. Daalder, 'The consociational democracy theme' in: *World Politics* (1974) 604-621 and A. Lijphart, *Democracies; patterns of majoritarian and consensus government in twenty-one countries* (1984).

in favor of resignation upon marriage are well-known: women were important to the family as cornerstone of the society, competition for jobs with men, and the man was the traditional wage-earner. The United Nations declaration on equal chances for men and women, for example, led to fierce debates at municipal level in the fifties and it is since the early sixties that the celibacy-clause has disappeared from the contractual agreement. Catholics (mostly men) fared a little better. They did get representation in political and administrative bodies. At local level this was especially the case in towns with a Catholic majority. For average posts, administrative personnel was trained by means of in-service and/or post-entry courses. Higher functionaries were still recruited from amongst those who had a degree in law.

The conclusion of this paragraph can be that discrimination of applicants for political and administrative posts was predominantly political and religious of nature up to the 1900's. The fact that women were not represented was not an issue. Only in the first decades of this century did a development towards a more representative bureaucracy occur. However, the situation on the eve of the Second World War left much to be desired.

## 5. Representation 1940-1988

In this part of this chapter we'll focus on changes in the composition of Dutch bureaucracy since 1940. The following subjects will be under discussion: distribution of public employment by sex, educational background, political affiliation, social background, and religious background.

The choice of subjects is rooted in a long established research tradition in The Netherlands on the field of representative bureaucracy as established by authors as Van Braam, Rosenthal, Derksen, and Van Schendelen. One should keep in mind that this research was almost exclusively confined to higher civil servants working at central government, and Members of Parliament. The officials working at local and regional government level have almost totally been neglected. Bureaucracy taken as a whole has not been a subject of investigation since 1957. Towards the end of 1990 two studies concerning respectively central and local bureaucracies will be published in which developments since 1957 to the present day will be analysed. These developments relate to changes in the representative bureaucracy. Besides the use of already published material we will draw some tentative conclusions in the light of data gathered by means of a large scale survey held in 1988/1989.

The number of women employed at central government level at the turn of the Century was less than two percent. This stands in marked contrast to the situation on the local level. In 1889 the percentage women employed by municipalities amounted to 13.5 %. This difference can be explained by local government tasks especially in education and health care. These sectors were traditionally dominated by the females. In the course of the twentieth century these percentages steadily increase:

**Table 3: Number women employed by central and local government in percentages of total employment. 1889-1950**

Year	Central government	Local government
1889	2	13.5
1910	6	x
1920	16	21
1930	x	20
1938	17.5	x
1950	17	19

Source: Van Braam (1957) 96-97

We can conclude from these data that after a rapid increase till the 1920's the percentages of women employed by central and local government stabilized towards the middle of the century. From 1950 onwards to the middle of the seventies there has been a marginal increase. The real change took place from 1978 onwards as can be seen in the next table. One should be aware, however, that the data in table 3 cannot be compared to table four because 'government' was defined in a different way before 1950. Table 2 concerns the central government departments with their main field agencies and local government excluding public education.

**Table 4: Number of women employed by central and local government in percentages of total employment, 1978-1987**

Year	Central government	Local government
1978	18.9	23.2

1984	22.1	27.0
1986	24.4	27.9
1987	24.9	28.4

Source: survey Van der Meer, Roborgh

From the Information given in this table we may conclude that the share of women employed by central and local government has risen by respectively 6% and 52%. It is interesting to notice that the number of women entering government service in 1988 increased to around 50% of the total new entries. The effect is somewhat diminished by the fact of strict recruitment policies: government was no longer allowed to recruit personnel because of financial cutbacks.

Only in comparison with data pertaining to the number women as a part of total employment regardless of private or public we can put the figures presented above into perspective.

**Table 5: Number of women employed in public and private sector in percentages of total employment, 1920-1987**

Year	total		women	
	abs(x 1000)	%	abs(x 1000)	%
1920	2719.2	100	629.6	23.1
1947	3866.4	100	943.6	24.4
1981	5107.9	100	1590.4	31.1
1987	5864.0	100	2104.0	35.9

Source: 90 Years in statistics (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1989)

The conclusions that can be drawn from the tables 4 and 5 are twofold. The first one is that government both on central and local level have a considerable lower level of female employment compared to the feminine component of total employment. But at the same time we can conclude that increase of the percentage of women in the last decade is almost the same for total employment and for government employment.

There are two important issues at stake with respect to discussions about the educational background of central and local government bureaucrats. The first one has to do with the level of educational qualifications considered necessary for the recruitment of personnel. In this respect a distinction must be made between the pre- and post-entry educational background. A second issue concerns the academic background of higher personnel. We will limit ourselves in this section to the pre-entry education.

After the Second World War there has been a growing tendency of higher and more formalized pre-entry qualifications both at local and central government level. In the fifties and sixties it was still possible to reach the higher elections of government bureaucracy with a relatively low level of pre-entry education. Recruitment patterns were characterized by longstanding careers and post-entry internally organized education. This pattern changed in the last two decades to a great extent. Pre-entry education became more important and careers were not made on the basis of seniority but on the basis of merit. The same tendency towards more formalized educational qualifications - although to a lesser extent - can be noticed on lower hierarchical levels.

**Table 6: Educational background of lower, middle and higher administrative personnel in percentages of the total, 1951**

<b>Administrative personnel Education</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Middle</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Low (primary)</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Middle (medium)</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>High</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Van Braam (1957) 195

On the local level a difference must be made between the larger and smaller municipalities. In smaller municipalities this change to pre-entry education and career-development took and takes place at a much slower rate. This tendency of a higher education is paralleled by general developments in Dutch society as to an increasing degree of participation in higher forms of education. As a consequence the use of post-entry education, organized by government, as a means for the advancement of careers has diminished.

**Table 7: Educational background of administrative personnel at central and local level in percentages of the total, 1988/1989**

Government-level	Central	Local
<b>Education</b>		
Low (primary)	43.9	40.0
Middle (medium)	30.7	38.3
High	25.4	21.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: survey Van der Meer, Roborgh

Comparing the figures it should be remembered that in the fifties about three quarters of all administrative personnel fall in the category 'low' whereas nowadays this just under 50%.

As said above there is a parallel development of higher education to be seen under the general population. But as the number of people with higher ranks in government has grown substantially faster than most other sectors of employment it can be said that the trend of higher pre-entry education has been more manifest in government than in these other sectors.

Of central and local government bureaucrats respectively 92% and 6.1% had an academic training prior to entering government service. The percentage of higher government officials with an academic background has increased considerably since the fifties. This is especially the case in the government departments and the big cities, somewhat less in the smaller municipalities.

**Table 8: Academic training of director-generals and other top civil servants in percentages of the total, 1961-1981**

Subject	Directors-general			Other top civil servants		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
Law	64	51	26	26	17	15

sciences	4		5		5	10
Natural						
sciences	28	23	40		58	50
Total	100	100	100		100	100

Source: U. Rosenthal, 'De mandarijnen van de rijksdienst' (= The mandarins in the central civil service) in: Bestuurswetenschappen (= Public Administration) no.5 (1983) 311

In Dutch public administration there has been a long Standing debate about the sort of academic training public officials possess as compared to the desired training.

Traditionally lawyers were dominant amongst the academically trained bureaucrats - as has been shown above- but in the period after the Second World War there has been a shift to education in the natural, economic and the social sciences as can be seen from these data concerning the higher civil service.<sup>13</sup>

### 5.3 Political affiliation

Since the end of the Second World War the topic of the political background of the higher civil servants has become a subject of heated debates. Till the middle of the sixties a taboo rested on the issue. Local and central government officials-were expected to be the archetype of the Weberian 'neutral' bureaucrat. This picture changed in the last decades. Strong positions were being maintained especially about the party affiliation of top civil servants and to a lesser extend of top local government officials. Officially the doctrine of a neutral bureaucracy in which quality and not party matters dominates the appointments is still being upheld.

The issue of political affiliation, and more specifically appointments, has been a very sensitive one. Research on this subject matter is scarce. The first investigations of the political background of civil servants have been conducted in the seventies and eighties. They are limited to the top civil servants. Local government has until recently been neglected.

The data in this section mainly refer to older research concerning top civil servants and new Information about the total of local and central government officials collected in the survey mentioned in the introduction.

It has been assumed in literature that civil servants - taking social and educational background into consideration - were and are mainly recruited from the centre and right-wing of the political spectrum. Such assumptions have hitherto not been supported by empirical evidence. Indeed, knowledge concerning the political preference of civil servants in earlier days (id est: up to the late eighties) is not available, with the notable exception of the highest civil servants."

**Table 9: Political preference of civil servants at central government compared to the results of the general elections (GE) for the Second Chamber (1986, 1989)**

political party servants	civil	GE 1986	GE 1989
PvdA (Labour Party)	32.3	33.3	31.9
CDA (Christian Democrats)	29.0	34.6	35.5
WD (Liberal Party)	17.3	17.4	14.6
D66 (Leftwing Liberal Party)	13.0	6.1	7.9
Green party	5.7	3.1	4.1
Rightwing confessional parties	2.7	3.7	4.1
Total	100	100*	100*

Source: survey Van der Meer, Roborgh

(\* = rounding off error in total)

Comparing the political preferences of civil servants working at central government level with the results of the general elections of 1986 and 1989 we can see a strong underrepresentation of the Christian democratic party. Also the right wing confessional parties score less than might be expected. Both the left and rightwing (the last one compared to the 1989 elections) liberal parties are overrepresented. The labor party has almost the same percentage as won in the general elections.

If we differentiate between several government departments we notice that some differences do occur. The statement made previously that the Christian-Democrats are underrepresented is especially the case with the departments of Economic Affairs, Home Affairs, and Education. Only the department of Finance can be mentioned as an exception. We can see from table 10 that the right (CDA, WD, RW) has a majority of plus-minus 55%. All the other departments can be considered as mainly left-

wing orientated departments. This is especially surprising considering the fact that there has been a supposed link between the nature of the department and the political preferences in literature. The 'economical' orientated departments would be more right wing inclined than for instance the social departments. With the exception of 'Finance' this doesn't substantiate from these figures.

**Table 10: Political preference of the total number of civil servants in five national government departments**

	PvdA	CDA	W D	D66	GP	RW	T
Finance	31.0	31.6	19.1	11.6	3.7	3.0	100*
Economic Affairs	33.5	15.9	25.3	17.2	6.9	1.1	100*
Home Affairs	34.9	14.2	15.8	22.4	6.8	5.9	100
Labour	37.5	21.5	12.0	12.6	16.4	..	100
Education	30.1	16.6	19.5	22.4	9.8	15	100*

Source: survey Van der Meer, Roborgh

(T = total; \* = rounding off error in the total)

A quite different picture emerges when we look to local government. As can be seen in table 11 a large variation can be noticed in the political affiliation of civil servants dependant on the size of the municipality they work for. So is the labor party most strangely present in the larger cities, whilst the Christian democratic party mostly draw their support from civil servants in the smaller local government units. The two liberal parties and the green party are becoming more in favor as the size of the municipality increases. It should be remembered when comparing these figures to the results of the general elections as shown in table 9 that the confessional parties have their power base in these smaller municipalities. Nevertheless the Christian democrats are to a certain extent underrepresented among the civil servants of the larger cities. The figures for the labor party are more or less in tune with the results of the general elections. The liberal parties and the green party are in this respect overrepresented.

**Table 11: Political preference of civil servants in municipalities for three size groups (size-group = population of municipality)**

14000- 40000	30.0	41.3	9.1	8.9	6.2	4.4	100*
100000-250000	40.0	20.5	13.6	11.3	12.6	1.8	100*
250000-and higher	37.8	13.8	14.7	17.4	14.2	2.2	100*

Source: survey Van der Meer, Roborgh

(T = total: \* = rounding off error in the total)

When we turn from analyzing the political preferences of general government bureaucracy to those of the higher civil service it is clear by comparing the figures of the departments in the tables 10 and 12 that the higher civil service is more right wing orientated than the whole of the civil service. This with the notable exception of Economic Affairs.

Table 12: Political preference of higher civil servants in five national government departments

	PvdA	CDA	VVD	D66	GP	RW	T
Finance	24.1	33.9	20.5	17.0	0.9	3.6	100
Economic Affairs	40.0	20.0	15.6	17.8	4.4	2.2	100
Home Affairs	36.8	21.1	10.5	15.8	10.5	5.3	100
Labour	32.3	25.8	9.7	16.1	16.1	--	100
Education	32.3	25.8	19.4	19.4	--	3.2	100*

Source: survey Van der Meer, Roborgh

(T = total: \* = rounding off error in the total)

When we change the perspective to the political preferences of the higher civil servants in local government bureaucracy the same discrepancy as seen in table 11 can be observed here. It must be said there are some important differences between the percentages of each party when comparing the general and the higher civil service. The support of the labor party is relatively smaller among higher civil servants than in general local government bureaucracy. The reverse is the case with the Christian democratic and the liberal parties. Although the Green Party is less prominent present among higher civil

**Table 13: Political preference of higher civil servants in municipalities divided in two size groups**

	PvdA	CDA	WD	D66	GP	RW	
<b>0 -100000</b>	<b>31.3</b>	<b>38.0</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>100*</b>
<b>100000-and higher</b>	<b>36.7</b>	<b>16.5</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>16.4</b>	<b>12.0</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: survey Van der Meer, Roborgh

(T = total: \* = rounding off error in the total)

#### 5.4 Social background

Related to the social background of the members of civil service many authors have stated that government personnel is mainly recruited from the middle classes. As we have seen this was also the starting-point for the discussions on representative bureaucracy. The idea was that their middle class origins would have an effect on their attitudes and values. Government bureaucracy in this view could in essence been seen as 'middle class' government. As said earlier we will not enter into the validity of this argument. In paragraph 4 it is mentioned that government bureaucracy historically was 'bourgeois' dominated. Here we want to look in possible changes after the Second World War. In 1951 the social background of local and central government civil servants in comparison to the occupation of their fathers was as follows:

**Table 14: Social background of low, middle, high ranking civil servants in 1951 (measured to the occupation of their fathers in percentages)**

	Low	Middle	High	Total	
Working class		38	26	10	33
'old' middle classes		28	30	27	29
'new' middle classes		33	42	62	37
entrepreneurs		1	1	2	1
Total 100		100*	100*	100	

Source: Van Braam (1957) 213

n.b.: 'old' middle class = manufacturers, small businessmen, farmers, shopkeepers etc; 'new' middle class = lower, middle-level, and higher employees, and civil servants, artists, general practitioners, lawyers etc.

From table 14 we can conclude that most civil servant have a middle class background. This percentage increases according to the 'high' of their position in the hierarchy. The opposite is true with respect to the percentage of civil servants with a working class background.

For an adequate understanding of the representativity of the social background of civil servants it is necessary to take the social background of some other categories of the total working population into account (table 15). From this table can be seen that the higher civil servants (high) in table 14 has a resemblance to the category A (teachers in secondary education) in table 15. The other categories in table 14 cannot be compared to whatever category in table 15. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that lower and middle civil servants constitute a category that does not fit a category on a social stratification list.

Table 15: Social background of several categories of the working population in respectively 1949/1951 and 1953/1954 (measured to the occupations of their fathers in percentages)

	A	B	C	D	E	F
working class	11	1	1	29	55	48
'old' middle classes	36	36	29	58	24	26
'new' middle classes	51	61	62	5	20	24
entrepreneurs	1	2	7	--	1	2
others/unknown	1	--	1	8	--	--
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

explanation: A = teachers in secondary education; B = general practitioners; C = lawyers; D = shopkeepers; E = office staff, low; F = office staff, high.

Analyzing the data from 1988/1989 survey we can find some differences in the social background of central and local government officials. On central level there are more civil servants with a working class background than on the local level. When we compare the results for total government nowadays with the Situation in 1951 there has been a (small) shift from the 'middle classes' to the 'working class'.

**Table 16: Social background of administrative personnel in 1988/1989**  
(measured to the occupation of their fathers in percentages)

	Central	Local	Total
Working class			
'old' middle classes			
'new' middle classes			
entrepreneurs			
<b>Total</b>	<b>100*</b>		<b>100*</b>

Source: survey Van der Meer, Roborgh (\* = rounding off error in total)

### 5.5 Religious background

The discussion about the religious background of bureaucrats has long historical roots. The pillarization of Dutch society and the long process of Catholic emancipation made it a burning issue in the period upto the middle of the sixties. In the discussion the underrepresentation of Roman Catholics in especially the higher ranks was a point of fierce debates. Both on the national and the local level - as can be seen from the table below - the number of Roman Catholics was substantially lower in comparison to higher civil servants with a Dutch reformed background.

**Table 17: The religious background of administrative personnel 1951**

Low Middle High

<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Dutch Reformed</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Calvinist</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Others</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>None</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100*</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100*</b>

Source: Van Braam (1957) 242

(\* = rounding off error in total)

This was the more remarkable because of the fact that at the time Roman Catholicism was the largest denomination. Firstly, this underrepresentation is explained to a certain extent by the then lower Standard of education and the younger demographic build-up of the Roman Catholic part of the population. Secondly, and this concerns central government level, most of the civil servants were recruited from the western part of the country whilst most Roman Catholics lived in the southern provinces of The Netherlands.

Table 18: The religious background of the Dutch population in 1947, 1971, 1986

<b>Religion</b>	<b>1947</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1986</b>
<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>38.5</b>	<b>40.4</b>	<b>31.0</b>
<b>Dutch Reformed</b>	<b>31.1</b>	<b>23.5</b>	<b>14.4</b>
<b>Calvinist</b>	<b>9.7</b>	<b>9.4</b>	<b>5.8</b>
<b>Others</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>4.2</b>
<b>None</b>	<b>17.1</b>	<b>23.6</b>	<b>44.2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100*</b>

(\* = rounding of error in total)

Source: 1947 and 1971 from 90 Years of statistics (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1989), 1986 from C. van der Eijk, G.A. Irwin, B Niemoëer, Dutch Parliamentary Election Study, 1986; Steinmetz

The picture in the eighties has changed dramatically. At the one hand the large deconfessionalization in the seventies and eighties has increased the category 'none' very substantially. In spite of this the number of Roman Catholics working in government has risen whilst especially the Dutch Reformed confession has fallen sharply.

**Table 19: The religious background of administrative personnel at central and local level. 1988/1989**

Religion	Central	Local
Roman Catholics	29.4	27.9
Dutch Reformed	16.9	15.1
Calvinist	8.4	6.9
Others	2.9	4.6
None	42.3	45.6
Total	100*	100*

(\* = rounding off error in total)

Source: survey Van der Meer. Roborgh

## 6 Summary and conclusions

Representative bureaucracy is considered to be an important topic in contemporary (western) societies because it is thought to be closely related to the issue of legitimacy of governmental authority. This paper presented information on the development of representation in The Netherlands (with special attention for the postwar period) on the basis of secondary material and against the background of the growth of governmental tasks.

One aspect of representation has been subject to discussion ever since the creation of the Dutch Republic in 1588, namely the religious background of political and administrative functionaries. We have seen how it was virtually impossible for Catholics to get elected and/or appointed into central and local government posts. The higher political and administrative functionaries were recruited from the entire elite.

During the first years of the French occupation tendencies toward a more representative

the entire population. Furthermore, denomination no longer was a hindrance for government posts.

It took, however another 80 years before representation became politicized. That is to say, as far as religion was concerned. The pillarization of the Dutch society, of which the formation of political parties according to ideological/religious principle was a manifestation, contributed to this. Representative government therefor was only an issue at the level of political functionaries. Other 'aspects' of representation were not subject to debate (gender, social class). This is interesting since the government apparatus did become more representative from the 1900's onward. Women were appointed in positions to which formerly only men were appointed (town clerk's office); the social background of civil servants in general became more diversified. This is directly related to the growth of governmental tasks: the 1900's and after saw an influx of lower administrative personnel and workmen. At the same time, government became less representative in terms of educational background. Government-growth led to increased demand for trained personnel. For the first time, recruitment was linked with formal demands of education.

Of the period after the Second World War one could say that the years 1945-1965 are characterized by few developments in terms of representation. After 1965 representative bureaucracy became a nation-wide issue. From the mid-seventies onward, governments at local as well as at central level did pursue a conscious personnel policy aimed at enhancing the representativity.

Did bureaucracy become more representative since 1945? From the tables in paragraph five we can conclude the following. The percentual share of women has increased considerably, although not as much as in some other countries. The same has happened with Catholics. Both groups, however, are not represented according to their percentual numbers in the total population. The administrative apparatus is more equally composed of people from the various social backgrounds. Related to this is the fact that government bureaucracies have become more leftist as compared to the postwar years. Affiliation with the political left increases as the size of the Organization increases. Last but not least, the educational background of administrative personnel increased. It is likely that this is comparable to the overall increase of educational background of the Dutch population. Since 1969 every child is by law required to attend secondary education until the age of 16.

It is not surprising to see that representative bureaucracy has become a societal interest to such an extent. As in other nations in The Netherlands, the governments' claim to the legitimate use of authority was challenged after the mid-sixties. We may conclude that the Dutch government

striving for. A more modest approach which takes representative bureaucracy to imply a civil service drawn from all social, racial, cultural, ethnic and religious groups on the basis of ability (cf. Subramaniam, 1967, p 1010) poses already enough problems to be resolved both scientifically as well as practically.

#### Literature:

- Braam, A. van, *Ambtenaren en bureaucratie in Nederland* (Zeist 1957)
- Braam, A. van, *Leerboek Bestuurskunde* (Muiderberg 1986)
- Broesterhuizen, E.A.A.M., 'De groei van de Nederlandse overheid sinds 1900' in: *Bestuurswetenschappen*, vol.33, nr.6 (1979)
- Daalder, H., 'The consociational democracy theme' in: *World Politics* (1974)
- Eldersveld S.J., Kooiman. J., Tak, Th. van der, *Bestuur en beleid. Politiek en bestuur in de ogen van kamerleden en hoge ambtenaren*, (Assen, 1970).
- Etzioni-Halevy, E., *Bureaucracy and democracy* (London 1983)
- Hinsley, F.H., *Sovereignty* (New York 1966)
- Larkey, P.D., Stolp, C, Winer, M., 'Theorizing about the growth of government: a research assessment' in: *Journal of Public Policy* vol. 11, no.2 (1981)
- Lijphart, A., *Democracies; patterns of majoritarian and consensus government in twenty-one countries* (London 1984)
- Meer, F.M. van der, Roborgh, L.J., 'Changing patterns in local and central government employment: an adaptation to a post-industrial society' in: L.J. Roborgh, Th.AJ. Toonen, R.R. Stough (eds.) *Public infrastructure redefined* (Bloomington/Leiden/Rotterdam 1988)
- Meier, K.J., 'Representative bureaucracy. An empirical analysis' in: *American Political Science Review*, 69, 1975, p. 526-542
- Prevenier, W., 'Synthese van het colloquium' in: *Het openbaar initiatief van de gemeenten in België* (Brüssel 1984)
- Raadschelders, J.C.N., 'Departementen in historisch en vergelijkend perspectief in: J.L.M. Hakvoort, J.M. de Heer, *Wetenschap over departementen. Theoretische confrontaties* (Den Haag 1989)
- Raadschelders, J.C.N., *Plaatselijk bestuurlijke ontwikkelingen 1600-1980* (Leiden 1990)
- Rose, R. (ed.), *Public employment in Western nations* (1985)
- Rosenthal, U. 'Mandarijnen van de rijkdienst' in: *Bestuurswetenschappen* no.5 (1983)

- Taylor, Ch.L, **Why governments grow. Measuring public sector size (Beverly Hills/London/New Delhi 1983)**
- Toonen, Th.AJ., **The Netherlands: a decentralized unitary State in a welfare society' in: R.A.W. Rhodes, V. Wright, Tensions in territorial politics of Western Europe (London 1987)**
- **Statistical Yearbook of The Netherlands**
- **80 Years in Statistics (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1979)**
- **90 Years in Statistics (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1989)**