



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **The Dutch Administrative Elite: A look at the socio-demographic and career- educational background of the Algemene Bestuursdienst's Top Management Group**

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### **Citation**

Dijksterhuis, D. (2023). *The Dutch Administrative Elite: A look at the socio-demographic and career- educational background of the Algemene Bestuursdienst's Top Management Group*.

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3655850>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Master Thesis:

**The Dutch Administrative Elite: A look at the socio-demographic  
and career- educational background of the Algemene  
Bestuursdienst's Top Management Group**

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Date: **7<sup>th</sup> of August, 2023**

## **Abstract**

**Objectives:** The main objective of this thesis is to create and provide empirical data on the socio-demographic background of the top administrative elite in the Netherlands, the Top Management Group of the Algemene Bestuursdienst. It furthermore seeks to connect elite studies literature to a public administration context.

**Methods:** The thesis is based on a data set primarily constructed using LinkedIn data and data provided by the Algemene Bestuursdienst at times of new appointments. The thesis uses descriptive statistics to analyze some of its findings.

**Results:** The thesis finds that in doing research on elites, discussing context is crucial. On the Top Management Group of the Algemene Bestuursdienst it finds that the people who occupy the top functions within the Algemene Bestuursdienst have a largely varying profile regarding their educational background. Most civil service elites grew their career inside the civil service. Data on whether elites were sticky was inconclusive as variances and standard deviations were too big relative to their respective mean.

**Keywords:** Elites, Administrative Elites, Algemene Bestuursdienst, Senior Civil Service, Elite studies, Top Management Group

## **Preface**

The document you are about to read is my thesis for the MSc Public Management and Leadership at Leiden University. The thesis is on the socio-demographic, career- and educational background of members of the elite of the Dutch civil service, the Top Management Group of the Algemene Bestuursdienst. I chose this topic because I have always had an interest in elites and how they are related and interact with each other.

This thesis process was one that was very long and tedious, but that I am very thankful to have completed. I learned a lot of lessons not only about the topic of the thesis but also about myself over the course of writing it.

Before anything else, I need to thank a few people who have helped a great deal in me completing this thesis. First of all, my parents. I will never forget their unwavering patience with me throughout this process. Second, I need to thank my supervisor, Dr. Johan Christensen. Despite me mailing at unusual times and taking longer than any of us may have wanted to to complete this process, Dr Christensen was always quick to respond and very helpful whenever I needed it.

Thank you all very much, your impact on this thesis cannot be overstated.

Without further ado, I hope you enjoy reading my thesis.

Daan Dijksterhuis

7<sup>th</sup> of August, 2023

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## **1. Introduction**

The role of top civil servants, how they are appointed and what kind of government that creates is an important topic within public administration literature (Bekker, 2020). Being employed in a career-based or a position based system can create vastly different dynamics for these top civil servants (Kuperus & Rode, 2016). Over the last two decades, the systems by which civil servants, and in particular top public managers, are hired have drastically changed across Europe (Kuperus & Rode, 2016). But who are these top managers? Asking people on the street to name a politician is an easy task, but ask them to name a top civil servant and most will blank. As the government's policies are often at the centre of the public discourse, making sure that the government comes across as reliable and capable is very important for its success (Bekker, 2020). The elites within the government, the top public managers operating from the shadows, are just as crucial in achieving this as the as their spotlighted political counterparts (Bekker, 2020; Groeneveld et al., 2021).

Recently, the quality of the government's elites and the organization that is responsible for hiring them, the "algemene bestuursdienst"<sup>1</sup> (hereafter ABD), in the Netherlands have been called into question (Noordegraaf et al, 2020). In particular the very recent and very public scandal of the child's benefits affair caused a severe strain on the public image of the government in general. This and other public affairs have caused the general imaging of the ABD to become one of an organisation which operates a "job carousel" for high ranking civil servants, putting them in positions where they have no practical know-how of relevant fields and where their main task has become to keep their ministers out of harm's way (Noordegraaf et al, 2020). Given the importance of good public management on the quality of government and the uniqueness of the ABD system in comparison to an international context, it is interesting to further examine the workings of the ABD.

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<sup>1</sup> Translated: Senior Civil Service

## **1.1 Research goal**

This thesis has several goals. The first is connecting the elite studies literature with a public administration framework. The rise of organizations and institutions such as the ABD is a recent development in contrast to when most elite studies/elite sociology literature was originally published. While elite studies do mention and study administrative elites, the context of these administrative elites studied in the foundational works of the elite studies field has historically been very different. A construction such as the Dutch one, the English one and more recently the Estonian one, where a central Top Public Management office selects and appoints the top of the civil service, and therefore the administrative elite, did not yet exist when Mills (2000) released his work on “The Power Elite” (Kuperus & Rode, 2016). Therefore starting a discussion on how these institutions, in the case of this thesis specifically the Dutch example, can be explained through an elite studies narrative is a useful contribution to public administration literature. Furthermore, learning about the actions and the behaviour in contexts other than a government setting may teach lessons in an effort to improve the current ABD system or the way in which it is perceived. Thirdly, this thesis aims to dive deeper into the identities of top managers in the Dutch government, breaking down this image that the top senior civil servants operate in an illusive “job carousel”. By providing descriptive information on their background, this thesis hopes to shed some light on how accurate this framing of the top of the Dutch civil service truly is. In doing so, one of the thesis’ goals is therefore also to give a more general summary of who is in the top of the civil service and what their background is, giving insight into the diversity of the members of the ABD on several levels later discussed.

## **1.2 Research question**

Given the aforementioned goals of this thesis, the main research question of this thesis is as follows:

*What does the socio-demographic background and educational- and career background of members of the highest administrative elite in the Netherlands, the Top Management Group of the Algemene Bestuursdienst, look like and which similarities or differences can be found between them?*

In terms of socio-demographic background, the main dimensions this thesis covers are sex/gender and being a person of colour or being white. In terms of career background, the thesis focusses on several dimensions. It focusses on the frequency and average tenure within a position at ABD level within the central government. This eventually gives an insight into what the average turnover rate is of an average ABD position. It also focusses on the total amount of time spent in an ABD level function within the central government. Another dimension it covers is whether current ABD Top Management Group (hereafter TMG) members have built their career mostly from within the government or from outside of the government, pursuing an elite government position later on in their career. The thesis furthermore focusses on whether TMG members have international experience; if they have either worked or studied abroad. It lastly focusses on what and where they have studied, giving an insight in both the educational level and the topics most commonly studied by present members of the TMG.

In order to answer this question, the thesis uses the quantitative and qualitative data collected for this thesis. This is a data set made by the researcher of this thesis, which contains collected data on the 94 members of the TMG. It focusses on the abovementioned dimensions of a TMG member's career and socio-demographic background (i.e. their gender, their education, etc.). The research was conducted between June and early August of 2023. The research therefore focusses on the 94 members of the TMG who were active in function during that period of time. The main sources of data collected were firstly the announcements of appointment which the ABD puts out on their website or the *Rijksoverheid's* website whenever a new member of the TMG is appointed. Secondly a main source of data used are the LinkedIn profiles of a large majority of the TMG members. Thirdly, in some cases the independent website parlement.com was consulted. Lastly, primarily for individuals who did not have sufficient data through the aforementioned means, in rare cases where they were available, the CV's of TMG members were consulted. A small N in the data (N = 94 members of the TMG; not all of whom had the possibility to acquire complete information on) results in the thesis using descriptive statistics to interpret its data, as the sample size is too small to test statistical relations and causality.



### 1.3 Scientific relevance

While elite studies speaks of “economic” elites, “cultural” elites or “political” elites, it very sparsely discusses the role of elites within governments (Kahn, 2020). A lot of the foundational texts on elite studies and elite sociology study elites as individuals, a social group or phenomenon who use their power and resources to influence political decisions. These studies often focus on the gatekeeping formal and informal institutions created by elites to increase or maintain their power status (Kahn, 2020). This is not to say that a connection between elite studies/sociology and public administration is completely absent in the existing literature. Domhoff (1967) discusses for instance how actors in the upper levels of government and business seem to have similar backgrounds and social connections. A large number of the existing literature however is fairly dated, as Domhoff’s piece also dates from 1967, and often very US centric. Many of the developments regarding Senior Civil Service networks have only begun over the last two to three decades. The ABD for instance is only 25 years old, which means it sprouted long after elite sociology texts such as Domhoff’s had been published. While these foundational texts of the elite studies and elite sociology field do a good job at discussing the different characteristics of what a set of elites looks like or how they would act, applying these findings to more modern contexts, institutions and networks such as the ABD is rather new. Raadschelders and Van der Meer (2014) discuss “Dutch administrative elites” between 1980 and 2011. They describe the administrative elite as a rather closed system, though Noordegraaf et al. (2020) point out that during this period the ABD was still being introduced and has changed in form and image quite drastically over the last decades. This further emphasizes the relevance of discussing this group of interest.

What also contributes to the relevance of this thesis is the uniqueness of the ABD network it discusses. As Kuperus & Rode (2016) point out, only three countries in Europe have a central senior civil service, those being Estonia, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Noordegraaf et al. (2020) discuss how the uniqueness of this system, with a centrally coordinated top civil service, is something that many European countries look to as inspiration. It is therefore necessary to further discover the consequences of a systems such as the ABD’s. This is only reinforced by the findings of Kuperus & Rode (2016), who point out that there have been a large amount of significant and impactful changes in how European countries recruit, hire and manage their top civil servants over the past two decades.

Next to this, the data that this thesis collects can also be used to gain insights into the career paths of top civil servants. It gives a background check on the most influential figures within

the Dutch government and shows, within the scope of the research question, to an extent how they got to their current position and how long it took for them to get there. This is interesting to discuss since quantitative academic sources covering the top of the Dutch civil service such as Ennser-Jedenastik (2016) cover periods before the ABD system was introduced.

#### **1.4 Societal relevance**

In terms of societal relevance, this thesis aims to contribute to the public discourse on the image of the Dutch civil service. It is interesting to see the paradox of the ABD; how on the one hand the quality of the Dutch civil service can be called into question quite firmly over recent years as a result of mismanagement and public scandals, yet at the same time the Dutch civil service is being praised both by domestic politicians and looked at as an international example (Noordegraaf, 2020). By looking more closely at the characteristics and the individuals occupying the ABD, the thesis aims to be able to say something about validity to the public image, biases and prejudices that concern the ABD and the Dutch civil service in general.

Next to this, the role of social elites in Dutch society has recently become a more prominent area of discussion. Journalist Sander Schimmelpenninck (2022) for instance made a series of episodes on the public network on the social and economic “gap” between rich and poor people in the Netherlands. In this show he highlights the power that one’s decent can have over their social status as well as their ability to grow on the social ladder. He discusses for instance the role of these elites in education and the housing market. Fellow journalist Joris Luyendijk discusses similar topics in his book “de Zeven Vinkjes” (*tr: The Seven Checkmarks*). In this book he discusses the seven characteristics that members of Dutch society can possess to climb the social ladder more easily, if not effortlessly (Luyendijk, 2022). These characteristics are: at least one well-off/highly educated parent, at least one parent of Dutch decent, male, heterosexual, white, a VWO/Gymnasium diploma (highest level of high school) combined with a university degree. These things make it so that one is “never the exception” and can therefore not be labelled negatively (Luyendijk, 2022).

Finally, as former secretary general Roel Bekker (2020) argues in his book “Dat Had Niet Zo Gemoeten!” (*tr: “That should not have happened like that!”*), it is always important for a good, well-managed government to continuously analyse their own and their employees’ performance in diverse ways. Finding new ways to analyse the government’s institutions can

create new insights which can in turn be used to improve those same institutions, leading to a government that can better serve society as a whole.

### **1.5 Structure of the thesis**

This thesis will follow the following structure. The second chapter of this thesis will outline the theoretical framework that this thesis will operate under. It will draw on existing literature from elite studies as well as give an overview of the general working's of the ABD system. It then discusses what aspects of elite studies literature are relevant to the ABD. From this, the thesis then derives several hypotheses. Chapter three outlines this thesis' research design, discussing and justifying what methodology is utilized, what data was collected in which way and discussing the reliability and validity of this thesis' findings. Chapter four first presents and then analyses the collected data, analysing and discussing it's implications on the different hypotheses. In chapter five the thesis then discusses the conclusions that can be drawn from chapter 4, along with answering the thesis' research question. Furthermore it provides a discussion on what the implications of the findings of this thesis as well as providing recommendations for future research.

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

This part of the thesis discusses the literature that this thesis builds its argument upon. It discusses three main topics in existing literature. First, this section will look at the historical context of elite studies and elite sociology. Drawing on historical works such as Michels (1915) and Mills (2000) as well as more recent works such as Kahn (2012), the thesis discusses the definition of what makes an “elite” and theorizes on what this could look like in a government setting. It lays out a summary of the different characteristics of elites themselves as well as those of institutions that aim to keep them in power. Secondly, the thesis will highlight government’s top public management (TPM) systems and discuss more specifically administrative elites (elites within the civil service). Here it will discuss among other things the different top public management (TPM) systems as described by Kuperus & Rode (2016). The thesis further explains how exactly the ABD works, its history and how it fits into the broader picture of TPM systems later on in the research population section of the research design and methodology section of the thesis. At the end of both sections, it summarizes the findings relevant to the research question and the creation of the thesis’ hypotheses. This chapter is finished off by discussing the hypotheses that can be drawn from the discussed theory.

### **2.1.1 Elites**

Elite studies research is diverse in how it views elites and who they consider elites. Kahn’s *The Sociology of Elites* (2012) attempts to start a general overview of important literature on elites. He begins by establishing that, generally speaking, there are two schools within elite studies: a Weberian one whom discuss elites in relative terms to the power and economic resources they possess and a Marxist school who “think of elites as those who occupy a dominant position within social relations” (Kahn, 2012: pg 362). Kahn himself defines elites as follows:

*“those who have vastly disproportionate control over or access to a resource. Within this definition we can think of elites as occupying a position that provides them with access and control or as possessing resources that advantage them—the difference is in our unit of analysis (individuals or the structure of relations). Important for this definition is a secondary point: The resource must have transferable value. (...) Understanding elites means not just*

*making sense of the resource they control or have access to; it also means considering the conversion of that resource into other forms of capital.*” (Kahn, 2012: pg 362-363).

What the most important resource or capital is, is relative to context and time. It could be argued that within his definition, Kahn takes a more Weberian approach than a Marxian approach, as he later elaborates on how current elites often work in finance, do not inherit their wealth and rely on earnings rather than capital.

Robert Michels (1915) has a fairly negative framing of how elites work and what effects they have on democratic institutions, primarily focussing his analysis on political parties. He argues that an oligarchy (in other words rule by elites) is inevitable as: “The majority of human beings (...) are predestined by tragic necessity to submit to the dominion of a small minority” (Michels, 1915. pg 390). This is the result of 3 things (Dickinson, 1916):

1. Direct self government of large groups is very difficult, nigh impossible.
2. The psychology of the mass makes leadership inevitable.
3. The incompetence of the mass makes leadership indispensable.

“Michels argues that as organizations become more formally organized, they become less democratic. To meet organizational demands and stay in power, organizational leaders tend to act in antidemocratic ways. (Kahn, 2011)”.

Pareto gives a more sociologically focussed take on what an elite is in his book *The mind and society: A treatise on general sociology* (Kahn, 2011). He argues that not every individual possesses the same level of qualities and those with the highest level of qualities are considered to be elite. The most talented people at a given time should be part of the elite and should that talent be lost, then that respective person should be removed from the elite. Furthermore, Pareto argues that “in healthy societies elite status is not inherited or protected through social institutions” (Kahn, 2012).

C. W. Mills also published two books on American society which are considered important contributions to elite studies. In “*White Collar*”, Mills (2002) writes about the post-war society of “white collar employees”, describing the life and characteristics of an American middle-class employee. In this book he focusses on the growing role of the middle manager. He notes the ease with which these lower to middle class people are replaced by their superiors for better functioning counterparts. Interestingly, Mills finds that a focus on social skills, such as kindness and charisma, may prove more effective in increasing ones position or

becoming elite (as being kind can help further your goal with a client, leading to better outcomes more often). Having a good personality may be just as important as your other skillset in becoming elite.

In Mills' second book "The Power Elite" he in a way expands his argument from "White Collar" that in American society lower/middle class employees are easily replaced by introducing his idea of "the power elite"; individuals who work in the upper levels of the military, corporate world or executive branch of government (Mills, 2000). He explains that the existence of this power elite renders people who do not fall within this group as relatively powerless and at the hand of the decisions of the elites in the aforementioned professions. The earlier mentioned "white collars" could be considered tools to this power elite. In Mills' explanation of the power elite, financial wealth plays a significant role in explaining why these elites continue to stay ahead of the non-elite class. Return from investments, as well as having good lawyers, creates an advantage that is hard to catch up with without a significant amount of financial wealth. In stark contrast to what was earlier discussed regarding Pareto's work, Mills explains that the power elite have a social consciousness; they know that they are elite and recognise other people who are elite as such. In terms of demographics for this elite he notes that these elites tend to be male, white, urban and educated. Climbing up the ladder to elite status has very little to do with how talented people are in their function and more with how alike people are to their superordinate.

Michael Mann is another scholar who published on elites and power structures. He is known for his IEMP model. He summarizes his approach in two statements. Firstly he explains how "Societies are constituted of multiple overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power. (...) societies are not unitary. They are not social systems (closed or open); they are not totalities. We can never find a single bounded society in geographical or social space." (Mann, 1986; pg 1). What he essentially means by this is that the term "society" is a fairly meaningless one, as it implies a complete and rigid social system, rather than a fluid one where power relations change/shift within and between power networks, and as a unit of analysis often focusses on states which is just one of the four main power networks that he discusses in his second statement: "The second statement flows from the first. Conceiving of societies as multiple overlapping and intersecting power networks gives us the best available entry into the issue of what is ultimately "primary" or "determining" in societies. A general account of societies, their structure, and their history can best be given in terms of the interrelations of what I will call the four sources of social power: ideological, economic,

military, and political (IEMP) relationships. These are (1) overlapping networks of social interaction, not dimensions, levels, or factors of a single social totality. This follows from my first statement. (2) They are also organizations, institutional means of attaining human goals. Their primacy comes not from the strength of human desires for ideological, economic, military, or political satisfaction but from the particular organizational means each possesses to attain human goals, whatever these may be.” (Mann, 1986; pg 2).

The state, which in this model would be considered in the political relationships network, is unique in that it serves its purpose by laying down rules and settling disputes (Mann, 1984). “People in general, and the economic network in particular, desperately need the regulatory and judicial services offered by the political network.” (Domhoff, 2005).

### **2.1.2. Summary on Elites**

Most scholars in elite studies agree that elites can be classified as individuals or groups of individuals who have an immense and/or disproportionate amount of control over a given resource. Whether this resource is simply financial wealth or something else like political power/influence is not always consistent between authors. The most important resource to own is also often argued to be context dependent and relative (Kahn, 2012). As Mann’s (1986) IEMP explains, since power networks are fluid, these different types of resources/power are often intertwined and reliant on one another.

One characteristic that further seems to be the result of this disproportionate amount of control of resources is that elites, upon having required elite status, often become sticky. This results from them utilizing their relatively high amount of resources to either protect or increase that relative difference or to expand it into other areas (i.e. a businessman could fund a politicians election campaign, in which case he would use his large economic capital to gain political capital; he might lose relatively little in economic capital compared to what he gains in political capital compared to what he owned before, leading to a net gain in overall resource control). This is reinforced by the “socialization of elites”: elites from different branches often find themselves in similar social networks (Domhoff, 1967; Pareto, 1963; Mills, 2000; Mills, 2002). This results in a common socialization and network participation which make it so that individuals in the upper echelons of government and business frequently have similar attitudes, reinforced by their social ties to one another (Kahn, 2012).

In terms of demographics of elites specifically, Domhoff (1967) and Mills (2000) mention that American and European elites are different in that Europe had descendants of aristocrats, whereas the American elite is primarily made up of successful businessmen. Mills (2002) furthermore explains that the elites that he researched were overwhelmingly white, urban and educated men.

### **2.2.1. Administrative Elites and Top Public Management (TPM) systems**

It is important to look more closely at administrative elites specifically as a group of elites. Although the elite studies scholars mentioned in the previous section do mention the role of elites in the administration of governments, they do mention that sources of power vary in different contexts and networks (e.g. Mann, 1986), meaning it is important to zoom in on this typology of elites in specific when researching a civil service elite such as the TMG of the ABD. Furthermore, this section briefly explains Top Public Management systems, as the appointment and status of top civil servants varies quite largely in international contexts.

Henry Jacoby's (1973) book *The Bureaucratization of the World* makes an attempt at summarizing the history of bureaucracy, drawing from historic examples such as for example the absolute monarch state form in France, the rise of Prussian bureaucracy in Germany and more recently the rise of the communist party in Russia. Similar to Michels (1915) and Mills (2000) he argues that bureaucracy is an institution that controls individuals, describing it as a great by-enlarge anonymous machine which is getting increasingly complex. Because of increasing complexity, it is resultingly increasingly difficult for individuals to make their will known (Jacoby, 1973; pg 1). As complexities in bureaucracy increase, the bureaucratic elites become stronger: the machine that is the bureaucracy of government becomes more complex and only the bureaucratic elites have the manual on how to read it. Plans from both citizenry and politicians to change the bureaucracy have to pass through that bureaucracy to change policy, which results in these original plans either being altered or disregarded altogether. As a result, administrative elites have a vested interest in keeping bureaucracy complicated and anonymous to the masses, as it is integral to maintaining their power status and power to influence policy.

Page and Wright (1999) fight this Bureaucracy of the World premise on two fronts. Firstly they discuss that Jacoby's theories are mainly about the concept of bureaucracies more generally, rather than state bureaucrats, elaborating that bureaucratization as a process or



strategy can also be utilized by non-state actors. Secondly, they discuss how there is increasingly more evidence that a development in bureaucracy does not immediately increase political power for senior bureaucrats (Page & Wright, 1999). In their book, Page and Wright want to understand the position of senior officials in the modern state. Their main focus is on understanding the political status (what is the character of the elite civil servants and what is its position in government?) and the political roles (what functions do top administrators assume?) of the top civil servants. They note that for a lot of countries, this information on how top civil servants are situated within government is scarce, if present in the first place, at the time of their research. Their book is a collection of chapters from multiple contributors describing their respective countries on multiple characteristics of political status put forth by Page and Mills. These characteristics include among others recruitment patterns, career structures internal status differentiation and the politization of the senior civil service.

Dahlström, Lapuente and Teorell (2010) also attempt to gain more insight into how different public administrations are organized. They specifically focus on the degree of “Weberianism” within public administrations. An example of one of the characteristics of Weber’s model is principal-agent dilemma’s in which rulers (principal) have trouble controlling their administrative elites (agents) as interests between the two parties differ (Dahlström, Lapuente and Teorell, 2010). The question that Dahlström, Lapuente and Teorell want to answer with their paper is what the key characteristics of bureaucratic structures are. Their answer is that “the employment system in the public sector offers a useful and principally decisive way of classifying public bureaucracies in comparative public administration” (Dahlström, Lapuente and Teorell, 2010; pg 9).

Another cross country comparison of senior civil service systems was conducted by Knassmüller and Veis (2015). They argue that culture plays a large role into how senior civil service systems change and what types of adaptations they make. They explain for instance that in Austria and Germany New Public Management reforms, which focus on an individualistic world view which contrasts with cultural beliefs within their respective civil services, have been met with resistance (Knassmüller and Veis, 2015). The main focus of their paper however is on how different senior civil services train their members. They compare Austria and Germany to Switzerland and the Netherlands who had recently reformed their respective training systems (the introduction of the ABD being the main reform in the Dutch example). These reforms “reflect the individualistic perspective by highlighting competition, personal career mobility as well as managerial and leadership competencies.” (Knassmüller

and Veis, 2015). In the Netherlands they state that this creates tensions because of the hierarchical nature of public institutions. They conclude that doing research on administrative elites requires contextualisation, as world views and cultural history that shaped these administrative institutions contribute to their complexity and variety.

These previous authors all emphasize the importance of understanding the context that different administrative elites operate under. Kuperus & Rode (2016) give an overview of what how that difference in context practically looks like in European countries. They distinguish several types of systems. Their first distinction is between career-based, hybrid and position-based systems, noting that purely career-based systems no longer exist in the EU. Career-based systems value “education credentials rather than position-related competences” relative to position-based systems (Kuperus & Rode, 2016; pg 14). They also note that the amount of countries adopting a hybrid system has grown relative to their research in 2008. The trend they discuss is that currently (traditionally) career based systems increasingly adopt position-based elements. This trend is deemed to be due to fast changes in public administration and the issues public managers have to deal with, requiring them to have broader experience.

Secondly they discuss typologies of Top Public Management (TPM) organisational models. They distinguish between five different types of organizational models found within the EU:

No 1.	Centralised TPM organisation: this model suggests that top public managers (TPM) are formally defined in a national piece of law or regulation as a separate and special group of civil servants. Furthermore, this particular group is managed by a central office created for the support and administration of senior civil servants. Such an office provides a support service for TPM and it administers the recruitment, management, remuneration, evaluation and promotion of the TPM. In this model special conditions apply to TPM which distinguish them from other civil servants.
No 2.	Formalised TPM status with special conditions: this model suggests that TPM are formally defined in a national piece of law or regulation as a separate and special group of civil servants, however, there is no central office administering and supporting top public managers. TPM are usually administered by the same office(s) as that which administers the civil service in general. Furthermore, this model implies the existence of special conditions for TPM which distinguish them from other civil servants.
No 3.	Formalised TPM status without special conditions: this model implies that TPM are formally referred to in a national piece of law or regulation as a separate and special group of civil servants. However, they do not enjoy any special conditions in comparison to the general civil service. The only difference between TPM and other civil servants is their status.
No 4.	Recognised TPM group with special conditions: this model suggests that top public managers are not formally defined in any piece of national law or regulation, but that high-level civil servants' positions are considered exceptional and have a special social status. This particular group also enjoys special conditions in relation to their recruitment, appointment, support and benefits.
No. 5	No special TPM recognition or organisation: this model suggests that TPM are not formally defined in any piece of national law or regulation, and also do not receive any special support or enjoy special conditions in comparison to other civil servants. This means that TPM positions are considered as an equal part of the general civil service and the same conditions and benefits must therefore apply as for the general civil service.

Table 1: Typologies of TPM Organizational Models, by Kuperus & Rode 2016.

	<i>Formal TPM status</i>	<i>No formal TPM status</i>
<i>Special conditions for TPM</i>	<i>No. 1</i> With central TPM office: EE, NL, UK	<i>No. 4</i> DK, DE, ES, FRA** (level 2), SL, CY, LV, LT, HU, AT, SK, SE, EC
	<i>No. 2</i> BE, CZ, IE, FR** (level 1), IT, LU, MT, PL, PT, RO, FI	
<i>No special conditions for TPM</i>	<i>No. 3</i> BG	<i>No. 5</i> HRV

Table 2: Table from Kuperus & Rode (2016), showing EU member stats by typology of TPM model in 2015.

Narrowing the analysis of Kuperus & Rode down to the Dutch example that this thesis discusses, they note that it is notable that the Dutch system is only one of three with a central TPM office. Of the three, the Dutch central TPM office, the ABD, is the most centralized (Kuperus & Rode, 2016; pg 17). The Dutch system is classified as a mainly position based system in terms of employment systems. They describe managers in the Dutch system as “general managers for the whole central public administration and not experts in a specific area” (Kuperus & Rode, 2016; pg 25) and explain that having a central TPM office has helped in decreasing the distance between ministries and different policy departments, as managers are expected to be able to work in different departments/ministries. “This further creates a more integrated policy approach to managers and leaders as a separate group with similar values and ideas.” (Kuperus & Rode, 2016; pg 26).

Furthermore, research by the OECD (1995) shows that having a central TMS (Top Management Service) can offer numerous advantages for governments. These include: providing neutral but politically sensitive advice to ministers, providing stability at the highest administrative levels of government, an easier transition into decentralization (greater centralization of central administration can lead to a common administrative culture and easier communication between decentralized units) and finally a more generalist senior civil service can reduce the total size of the top of the civil service, leading to a more competitive pay for the top of the civil service without expanding the salary budget (which would make a

career in government a more desirable alternative to the often higher paying private sector jobs) (OECD, 1995; pg 15-16).

### **2.2.2: Summary of administrative elites and Top Public Management (TPM) systems**

Authors seemingly agree on the fact when one discusses administrative elites, the context in which they operate is absolutely relevant. Though there are various ideas on the role and overall importance of the “bureaucracy”, the authors mentioned in this section of the thesis have shown that context can be integral to change, ease of change and pace of change within administrative elites. This logically results in large differences between different administrative elites and their systems. Knassmüller and Veis (2015) and Kuperus & Rode (2016) show that in European countries, institutions regarding the top of the civil service vary vastly. Kuperus and Rode (2016) further emphasize how the Dutch system uses the most centralized TPM office in Europe and has a mainly position based employment system (meaning it focusses primarily on position-based competencies when hiring top managers).

### **2.3 Hypotheses**

Based on the theoretical background discussed in the previous section, this section lays out the hypotheses/expectations to be observed in the data regarding the research question. The section lays out the respective hypotheses and then briefly explains how the theory discussed in the previous section would support it. Once again, the central research question to this thesis is:

*What does the socio-demographic background and educational- and career background of members of the highest administrative elite in the Netherlands, the Top Management Group of the Algemene Bestuursdienst, look like and which similarities or differences can be found between them?*

As mentioned with the initial introduction of the research question, the data set generated to answer this question focusses on several dimensions of the socio-demographic background of the TMG of the ABD.

The hypotheses regarding this central question are the following:

*H1: Educational background (topic of study) of the members of the TMG of the ABD is extremely varied.*

As Kuperus and Rode (2016) discuss, the Dutch TPM typology lends itself to having generalist managers who are flexible, capable of working in different contexts. Furthermore the employment system they describe the Dutch to have is a position-based one, meaning it selects on qualities important for a certain position, rather than solely on previous academic or career achievements. This all reduces the importance of type/topic of education that they have received.

Furthermore, elite studies authors like Mills (2000) might argue that once they are working in the government, their education becomes largely irrelevant compared to their position relative to their superiors. Meaning that not their education, but their (social) similarities to their superiors earlier on in their career may be a determinant of achieving a TMG ABD function.

As a result, the amount of different educations enjoyed by the members of the TMG of the ABD is expected to be large.

*H2: The ABD is a durable group; once in an ABD function, a high ranking civil servant is likely to keep working in an ABD function for a long time.*

Based on the elite studies literature, it could be concluded that elites are very sticky. This means that once they have acquired elite status, they are increasingly unlikely to give that position up. Given the generalist profile that Kuperus and Rode (2016) describe the Dutch administrative elite to have, this would lead further into the assumption that they are likely to stick around in a high-ranking civil service position once they have been in one for the first time, as their generalist profile makes them qualified for not one but several of these high ranking positions.

Another explanation could be offered by Kahn (2012), who discusses on the political resources of elites: “In short, as institutions change, so too do the practices of people within them. Institutions are made; this making allows those in dominant positions to shape their logics in ways that advantage them. And even as some new members join the elite, they do so within the context of the institutional arrangements that allowed for their ascent; thus, they often become committed to such arrangements.” This makes it plausible that in a formalized

system such as the ABD, these institutional arrangements allow for them to stay once they are in.

Furthermore, once they have initially joined the elite of the civil service that is the ABD, they become part of a formalized group of elites. This formal status then opens up social networks with other elites and elites in other branches, who can in turn increase the chances of ABD members retaining their elite status.

As a result, the total amount of time a member of the TMG of the ABD spends in an ABD level function is expected to be a large portion of their career.

*H3a: Most high ranking civil servants come from and are recruited from a civil service career background.*

Jacoby (1967) explains that the “bureaucratic machine” is one that is (intentionally) very hard to understand for outsiders. Pareto (1963) and Kahn (2012) furthermore argue that elites have skills or knowledge that non-elites do not. Knowing how the government and its systems work gives you an advantage in climbing the ladder up the chain of command within that system. Resultingly, it makes sense that people who work within the government would naturally, gradually acquire either the knowledge to become an elite member of the civil service or knowledge of the elite system, its members and how to operate under it or manipulate it to become part of the elite. Furthermore, as Mills (2000) argues, it is a benefit or even a necessity to become elite to work for that same elite. Being socialized into an elite position in government can resultingly only happen if one works closely with or for those same elites.

*H3b: High ranking civil servants who do come from “outside” could be classified as elite before taking the civil service job*

Flowing from the explanation on H3a, it is logical to assume that should TMG ABD members be recruited from outside this complex bureaucratic system that is the government, they have already acquired elite status in a different field or profession, such as the private sector or academics. Several authors on both elite studies discuss how elites form interconnected social networks (Domhoff, 1967; Pareto, 1963; Mills, 2000; Mills, 2002). High ranking government officials have connections to elite businessmen or they are likely to, due to their elite status,

have been in contact with each other before. This established connection would make it easier for elites from the outside to get an elite job inside the government.

Furthermore, as Kuperus and Rode (2016) explained, the Dutch recruitment system is a mainly position-based one. The qualifications for a specific senior civil service position may be deemed similar to the qualifications and experiences one may have accrued over the course of their career in a different environment.

As a result, TMG ABD members who spent the majority of their career outside of the civil service are expected to have meaningful, management-related experiences in sectors different than the public one.



### **3. Research Design and Methodology**

This chapter of the thesis elaborates on the research design and methodology used to test the hypotheses and find answers to the main research question.

#### 3.1. Research design

This thesis uses a deductive mixed methods approach. This means that it uses both the qualitative and quantitative data collected in the data set to derive conclusions on the research question and hypotheses. The primary method of data collection was desk research (more on this in a later section). The data set is original and is created for the purpose of this thesis using three main sources. First, the website of the Algemene Bestuursdienst was consulted. Secondly, the LinkedIn profiles of (most) TMG members were analysed. Lastly, where possible and in particular for individuals who did not have LinkedIn profiles and therefore had incomplete information, the CV's of TMG members were sought out and analysed. The data set focusses on variables that discuss the career and socio-demographic backgrounds on the top managers in the Dutch government. It includes variables on gender, growing career from in- or outside the public service, being or not being a person of colour, average tenure in and amount of different high ranking-positions in government, international experience, (level of and type of) education as well as a general notes on career progression. Using these indicators, the research will be able to create a socio-demographic profile of what the Dutch administrative elite looks like. The population for this research is the 94 (n=94) members of the Top Management Group (TMG) of the ABD. The unit of analysis are therefore individuals, as the research includes each TMG member and their respective career path. Of the 94 members of the TMG that this research focusses on, 6 did not have a LinkedIn profile (one of the main sources of data collected) and therefore were excluded from different parts of the analysis, meaning that in those categories the N=88. All this data was compiled in a data set which can be found in Appendix 1. This data set will be used to paint a picture of the socio-demographic and educational- career backgrounds of the TMG members of the ABD. The analysis of the thesis will mainly draw on the descriptive statistics that follow from the data set in order to give answers to the hypotheses and the main research question, as the sample size is too small to test statistical relations and causality through regressions.

In the remainder of this chapter, the thesis first gives an overview of the population, diving into the specifics of what the ABD and in specific the TMG of the ABD is. It then gives an overview and operationalisation of the variables used to describe the socio-demographic and

educational- career backgrounds the thesis aims to explore. Thirdly it briefly describes the method of data collection. Fourth, it discusses the reliability and validity of this research's findings.

### **3.2.1. Population: Context of the Algemene Bestuursdienst**

As mentioned by several of the authors in the theory section of this thesis, discussing context when doing any sort of discussion on administrative elites is crucial (Knassmüller and Veis, 2015). Therefore, this section of the thesis expands on what the Algemene Bestuursdienst is.

The Algemene Bestuursdienst was introduced in 1995 and is a collective name for different management functions in scale 15 or higher on the salary scale of the Dutch government (Noordegraaf et al, 2020). The ABD mentions that this cumulates to 1872 different management functions within the top of the government (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023). Being an "ABD'er" is therefore not a title given to a person, or a pool of people to choose from but rather a title obtained by being in a certain position (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023). Being in one of these management functions makes one an ABD'er (Noordegraaf et al., 2020). In 2022, this included functions 1102 managers in salary scale 15; project managers, department heads, program managers (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023). It included 668 managers salary scale 16-18, which would include functions such as directors, program directors and project directors among others (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023). On top of that it includes the Top Management Group. According to the ABD website, about 43% of the ABD'ers are women and once in an ABD function, one is expected to remain in that function for about 5-7 years (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023).

The reason the ABD was founded was three folded (Noordegraaf et al., 2020):

1. Top civil servants were in the same position for too long, leading them to accumulate a lot of power relative to their more-rapidly rotating political counterparts. This resulted in low political primacy.
2. A low degree of innovation and high degree of compartmentalization. Civil servants would often stay within their own department/policy domain for the majority of their career.
3. A low degree of quality of management.

Since its foundation in 1995, the size of the ABD has increased massively. Growing from about 350 managers in 1995 to 1872 managers in 2023 (Noordegraaf et al. 2020; Algemene Bestuursdienst, n.d. a).

The ABD is managed by the Bureau ABD, lead by the Director General ABD and Deputy Director General ABD (who are themselves ABD members), which is a part of the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (Noordegraaf et al, 2020). This bureau is in charge of recruitment for ABD level functions, both at ministries and some executive governmental organizations. The Bureau ABD provides ABD'ers with opportunities to learn and develop and also has an advisory function to organisations as well as individual managers (Noordegraaf et al., 2020).

### **3.2.2. Population: The Top Management Group (TMG)**

Within the ABD, the Top Management Group (TMG) is formed by the 102 highest positions within the Dutch civil service. This means it consists of secretaries-general, deputy secretaries-general, directors-general, inspectors-general, managers of major executive services, directors of planning offices and some equivalent functions (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023). Unlike the lower ranking ABD functions, TMG functions are not in service of their respective departments, but of the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations which the ABD falls under. Only in rare cases does someone occupy a single TMG position for more than 7 years (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023).

Part of the TMG is also the ABDTOPConsult.<sup>2</sup> This is an advisory group of experienced civil servants which is quick to deploy on complicated issues (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023). The ABDTOPConsult is part of the Bureau ABD. However, the director of ABDTOPConsult has an independent substantive final responsibility with regard to the assignments and is therefore not accountable to the director-general of ABD (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023). Furthermore, the team members of the ABDTOPConsult have no line responsibility, with the exception of interim positions. This is supposed to create an independent, critical, outsiders view on issues and situations that the ABDTOPConsult advises on or investigates.

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<sup>2</sup> TOP in ABDTOPConsult stands for Tijdelijke Opdrachten, Projecten en Programma's (Temporary Assignments, Projects and Programmes)

### **3.2.3. Population: Summary of the ABD context and justification for the population.**

The ABD is a collective name for all top managerial functions within the Dutch civil service. It includes functions from salary scale 15-19. This includes functions such as project managers, department heads, program managers, directors, program directors and project directors. The Top Management Group consists of secretaries-general, deputy secretaries-general, directors-general, inspectors-general, managers of major executive services, directors of planning offices and some equivalent functions such as members of the ABDTOPConsult.

The complete population of that this thesis collected data on and researches is the 94 active members, as mentioned on the *Who is Who* section of the ABD website (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2019), of the Top Management Group in the period June, 2023-Early August, 2023. The main justification/reason for this is feasibility and information accessibility. Profiling 94 individuals is a manageable task compared to the 1872 total functions that make up the entirety of the ABD. Given that the information on which exact functions are or are not ABD-level is lacking, it makes sense to focus on a population for which this qualification is known. The top management group has information on their appointment on the website of the government. Furthermore the government puts out a profile on the TMG members on their public website, including photos, which makes finding information on them through other sources such as LinkedIn easy. Besides these factors, this is arguably also the most interesting group to research since they are the absolute top of the civil service. In backdrop of the theoretical background on elite studies and administrative elites, these 94 individuals therefore become the most interesting ones.

### 3.3. Variables: Measurement and Operationalization of Variables

The original data set accumulated for this thesis focuses on a number of dimensions and resultingly uses a number of different variables. The variables were selected on the basis of accessibility of information as well as relevancy to the central research question and hypotheses.

In terms of *socio-demographic variables*, the thesis made two important distinctions. Firstly, *the sex of the members of the TMG* was noted. For female members of the ABD, the researcher noted down an **F** in their respective column. Secondly, the thesis looked at whether members of the ABD were *white or people of colour*. Similar to the sex distinction, the researcher noted down **POC** in the column of those members who were people of colour. These variables should provide insight into the diversity of the members of the TMG.

Secondly, the data set includes *several career-based variables*. The first one is whether the majority of an ABD member's career was spent *inside or outside of the civil service*. Members were considered to come from outside if the majority of career was spent outside the civil service before occupying an ABD position. Functions in executive organizations of the government, which are on the National Budget and where managing positions often fall under either the ABD itself or a ministry, are not considered an outside of government career. For members who spent the majority of their career outside of the civil service, an **O** was denoted in their column, similar to how sex and people of colour were counted.

Secondly, the researcher looked into whether TMG members had international experience. Members who had either studied or worked in a country other than the Netherlands were noted in this category, noting down what country they worked in. This variable gives insight in the ability of these TMG members to adapt to a different context than their own.

The third, fourth and fifth career-based variables that the thesis collected were *the amount of different ABD functions* a TMG member has occupied over their career, *the average duration within an ABD function* and, combining the two, *the total amount of time spent within ABD level functions*. What or what does not constitute an ABD function was determined using the categorization that the ABD provides on their website (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023). This means functions mentioning the following roles/job titles were included/considered as an ABD function for the data set: project managers, department heads, program managers, directors, program directors, project directors, secretaries-general, deputy secretaries-general, directors-general, inspectors-general, managers of major executive services, directors of

planning offices and some equivalent functions such as members of the ABDTOPConsult. Time spent in function was measured in years. The main source of data in order to measure the time spent in function variables was the “Experience” section of the LinkedIn profiles of the TMG members. This data was collected and after an average, individual deviations, variance and standard deviation were calculated for the population at large. This variable was chosen to gain an insight into how long an ABD member actually spends in their respective positions as well as gain information on what size of the average career of top managers is actually spent in a managing function. In measuring this variable, notably, the analysis takes into account current function as well as previous functions. Current functions can be relatively short on tenure as a TMG member may have only just been appointed. This effect is however deemed to be corrected in the average by TMG members who have already spent a long time in a given position.

The fifth career-based variable investigated was *the amount of different ministries worked for in ABD level position*. This variable was chosen to analyse the diversity of positions that an individual TMG member occupies over the course of their career. Positions in different ministries often cover very different policy fields, therefore diversity in ministries can give an insight into diversity of positions. Executive institutions such as the Dutch Food Safety Authority, which report to the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (L&V) (Rijksoverheid, n.d. a), were considered to be the same as the ministries they report to. Ambassador positions were therefore naturally also considered to be a part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, if a ministry had changed name over the years, such as the ministry for traffic and water management which has become the ministry for infrastructure and water management, this is considered to be the same ministry when adding up the different ministries a TMG member may have worked for as a name change does not inherently cause change in the policy fields that that ministry covers. Once again, for this data an average, individual deviations, variance and standard deviation were calculated for the population.

Lastly, the thesis looks at *educational variables*. Drawing from the education section of LinkedIn profiles as well as the announcement posts the ABD posts on their website, data on the *topics of study*, *the educational level of study* and *the location of study* were collected. The topics of study were collected and then, for purposes of analysis, clustered based on topic. Dutch law and Law were for example combined into an overarching Law category. A complete overview of what each individual TMG member studied can still be found in their

respective columns in Appendix 1. The educational level was focussed on three types of levels: whether someone did HBO (higher professional education), HBO and a university degree or a university degree. Lastly, the location of study was noted. This was included with the theoretical background of elite studies in mind, where authors such as Pareto (1963) and Mills (2002) explain that elites can be socialized into that elite status. A large majority of TMG'ers coming from a same city/university may tell something about the similarity of social networks/institutions that they find themselves to be a part of.

### **3.4. Data Collection**

The primary method of data collection was desk research. This means that online sources were consulted to gather information on the relevant variables relative to the target population. These findings were then systematically added to the data set. The population was identified through the Who is Who page of the ABD (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2019). The primary sources of data included the LinkedIn profiles of these TMG members and the announcement posts that the ABD puts out whenever a new TMG member is appointed. In these messages, they also often state previous functions or occupations as well as type of education enjoyed by the respective TMG member. Whenever information about tenure or functions was missing or incomplete from either of these two sources, the researcher attempted to find cv's of those TMG members and in extremely rare cases used Wikipedia pages. While Wikipedia as a sole source of information is not advisable, data on biographical elements of civil servants is generally accurate (Brown, 2011). As mentioned, this source of information was only utilized if the former channels were unavailable or incomplete. All this data was then compiled into a large Microsoft Word/Excel document.

### **3.5. Reliability and validity of findings**

Internal and external validity is important to all forms of academic research (Toschkov, 2016). External validity refers to how well the findings of the research are generalizable to a larger population of cases (Toschkov, 2016). In the case of this research that can mean two things: how well are the findings generalizable to the ABD at large, not simply the Top Management Group? And, secondly, how well are the findings in this example of the elite of the Dutch civil

service generalizable to other countries with central top public management agencies? In either of these two cases, the external validity is considered to be low. As discussed at length in the theoretical framework section of this thesis, authors from both elite studies as well as those on administrative elites specifically discuss that context is imperative for understanding the standing and power of a group of elites. Therefore, moving down a level to a lower level of ABD members could be considered a considerable context shift. When moving to compare to different systems internationally, this context difference becomes arguably even larger, as the entire system that those elites will be working under, as well as the culture in which they find themselves, is entirely different. Since the topic of this research is concerned with generating a socio-demographic and career- educational profile of members of the TMG specifically, a low external validity is not necessarily an issue.

Internal validity refers to the ability of the data collected to measure the relationship one wants to measure, as well as to how much a relationship may be influenced by variables other than the independent variables (Brewer & Crano, 2014; Toshkov, 2016). As the data set was deemed too small to conduct any regression analysis on, therefore option for an analysis using descriptive statistics only, there are not really any relationships that this thesis attempts to test. Its purpose is to describe and explore the background of TMG members, not to establish connections or determinants between those backgrounds and their TGM status. This would however be an interesting area of future research.

Reliability of the research refers to how similar the findings of the research will be if another researcher were to replicate it (Toshkov, 2016). As all the data was collected through desk research using public online sources, the replicability of the research is quite high. It should be noted that the main sources of data, ABD announcements and LinkedIn profiles, at times did not provide a complete image of a given TMG member's career. It also does not help that the government also does not have a complete overview of which specific functions are/were not a part of the ABD at a given moment in time, leaving this up to the discretion of the researcher. The researcher in this thesis therefore stuck to the fairly narrow selection of functions mentioned on the ABD website (Algemene Bestuursdienst, 2023). The benefit of using publicly accessible data is that any data and which functions were or were not deemed ABD functions can be easily inferred from the data set, which will be published with this thesis. Overall, the reliability of the research can therefore still be considered to be high.



## 4. Findings

This chapter discusses the empirical findings that can be found in the original data set. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part looks at the data generally, describing general findings and trends in the different types of variables identified in the operationalization of the variables. The second part discusses the data relevant to the hypotheses specifically, answering them where possible.

### 4.1.1 Socio-demographic variables

Regarding the socio-demographic variables, the thesis focussed on two main dimensions: gender and race. As can be observed in table 3 and figure 1 below, the ratio men-women is actually quite even, with men still being more prominent. 41% of the TMG of the ABD are female. The men-women ratio is relatively even compared to the breakdown we see in the race variable. 95% of TMG members are white, with only 5 people of the total of 94 TMG members being a person of colour.

Interestingly, of the 5 people of colour in the population of the TMG, 4 of these are women. The majority of the TMG consists of white men, those being 57,4% of the total population.

Variables:	Category	Observations	Frequency (%)
<b>Socio-Demographic Background (N= 94):</b>			
<b>Gender</b>	Male	55	58,5
	Female	39	41,5
<b>Race</b>			
	White	89	94,7
	Person of Colour	5	5,3

Table 3: Socio-demographic background variables.

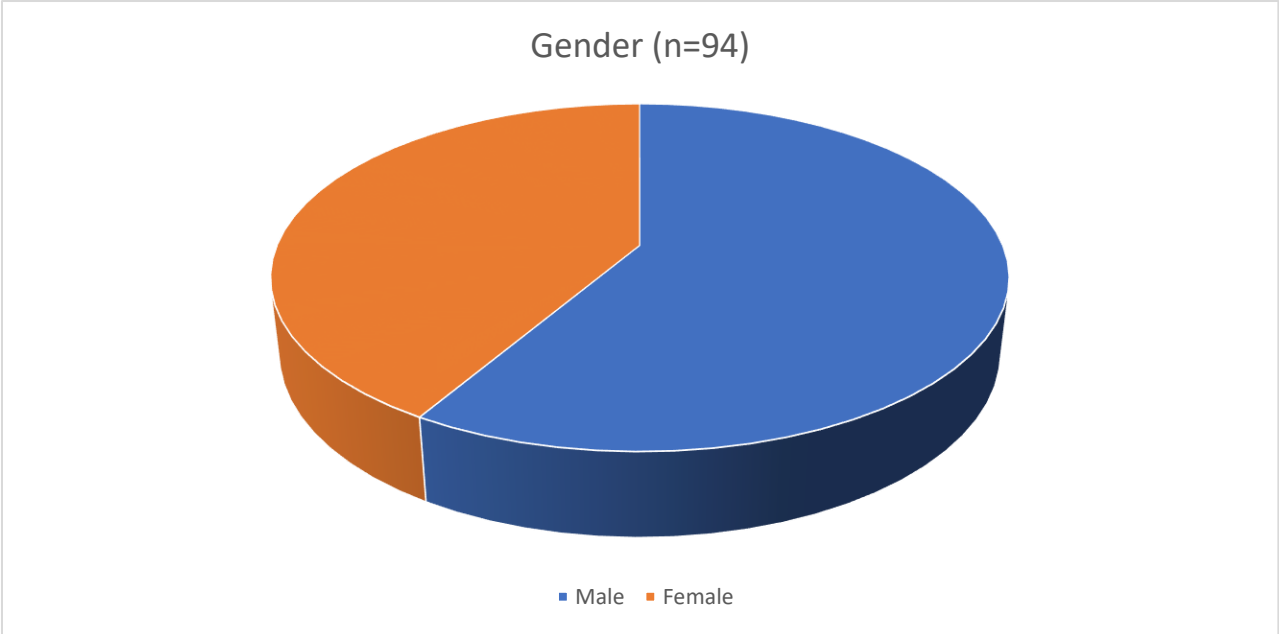


Figure 1: Gender division of the Top Management Group of the ABD.

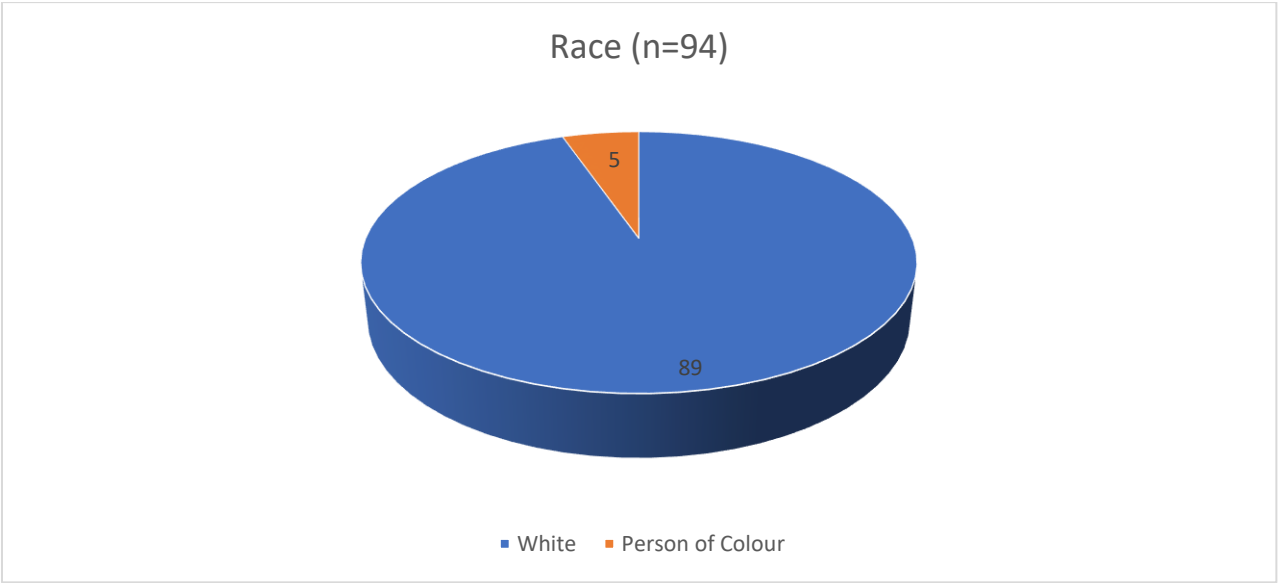


Figure 2: Race background of Top Management Group in total number of individuals

#### **4.1.2 Career-based variables**

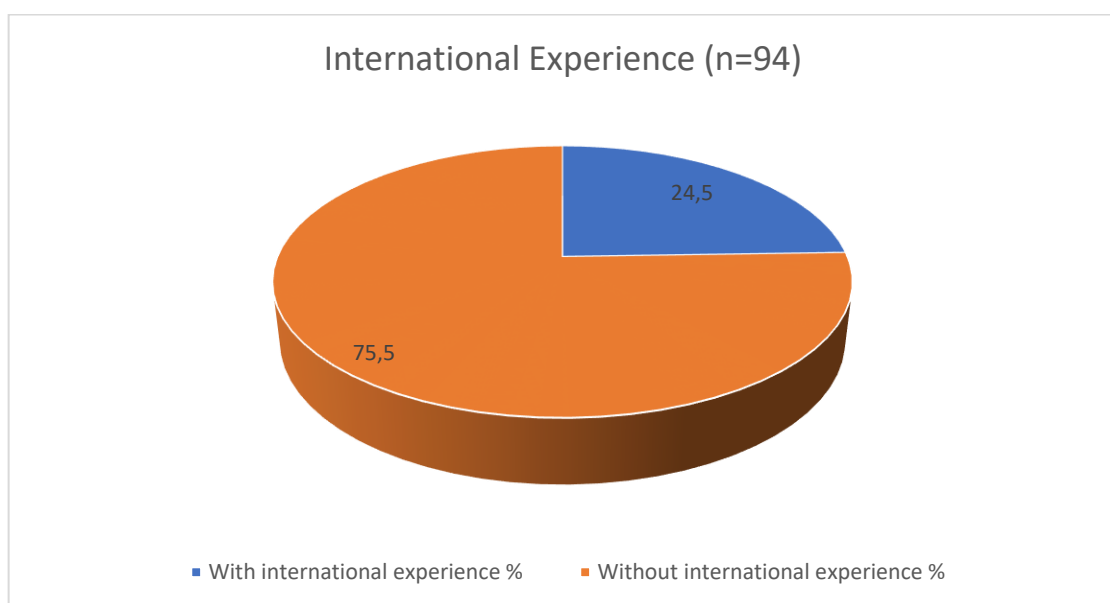
The total amount of ABD level functions ever occupied by these members of the TMG of the ABD is 444. Over those 444 functions, they have worked a cumulative amount of 1406,52 years. These 444 functions were spread over 232 different ministries. This does not mean that there was no overlap between functions, but is the sum of the different ministries each individual TMG member has worked for. The average member of the TMG has held a mean total of 4,99 top functions during their career, with a variance of 6,47 and standard deviation of 2,54. The mean time a member of the TMG spent in any one top function is 3,17 years, with a variance of 2,03 and standard deviation of 1,42. This combines in them spending a mean amount of total time in top functions of 15,98 years, with a variance of 73,44 and standard deviation of 8,57. The mean of the total different ministries worked for in a career is 2,47, meaning that on average a TMG member worked for 2,47 different ministries during their career. The variance in this variable is 2,10 and its standard deviation is 1,45.

Of 94 members of the TMG, 23 had an international work or study experience, equalling to 24,5% of the total population.

In terms of career background, 78,7% of TMG members grew their career from inside the civil service.

Descriptive statistics on career-based variables	
Total amount of top functions, total TMG	444
Total time worked in ABD function in years, total TMG	1406,52
Total different ministries worked for, total TMG	232
Mean ( $\bar{x}$ ) total amount of top functions, per member of TMG	4,99
Variance total amount of top functions	6,47
Population Standard deviation total amount of top functions	2,54
Mean ( $\bar{x}$ ) Average tenure in top function, per member of TMG	3,17
Variance Average tenure in top function	2,03
Population Standard Deviation Average tenure in top function	1,42
Mean ( $\bar{x}$ ) average total time worked in ABD function of top functions, per member of TMG	15,98
Variance total time worked in ABD function of top functions	73,44
Population standard deviation total time worked in ABD function of top functions	8,57
Mean ( $\bar{x}$ ) average different ministries worked for, per member of TMG	2,47
Variance different ministries worked for	2,10
Population Standard Deviation different ministries worked for	1,45

**Table 4: Descriptive Statistics on career-based variables**



**Figure 3: International experience vs no international experience in % of total population**

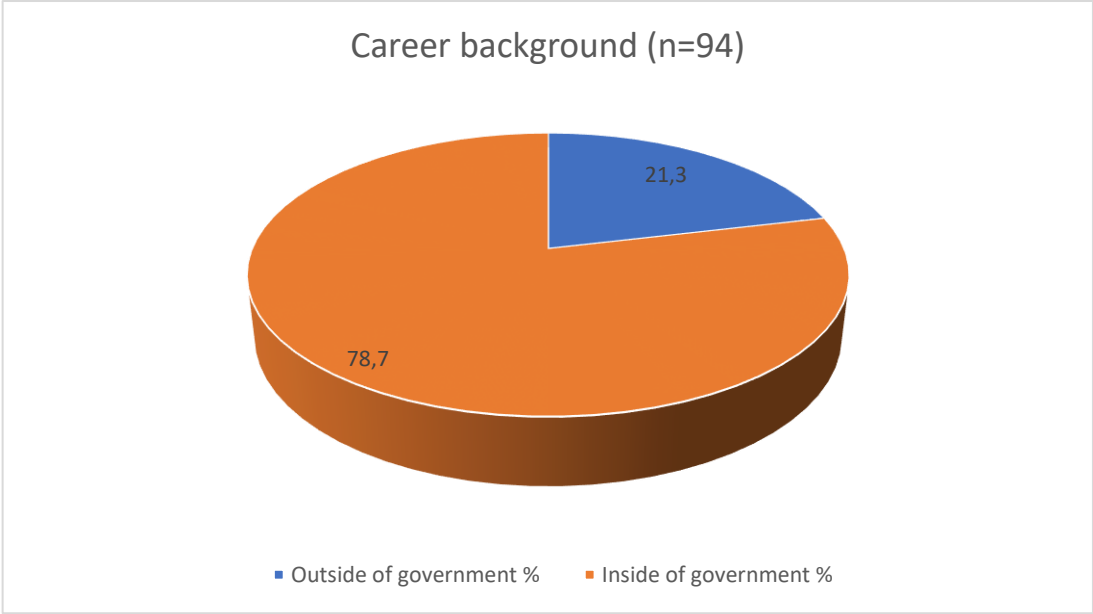


Figure 4: Career background: outside versus inside of government in percentage of total population

### 4.1.3 Education-based variables

Regarding education-based variables, the members of the TMG completed a total of 115 different studies. 5.3% of them completed solely a HBO diploma, 8,5% completed a HBO and a university degree and 81 out of 94 (86,2%) of TMG members completed solely university degrees. In total, the members of the TMG studied 63 different subjects. The ease of analysis, these have been clustered together in the figures below; fiscal economics became part of economics for instance. A complete overview of each individual's conducted studies can still be found in the data set itself in Appendix 1.

The most common topics of study found in the TMG are Public administration/political sciences (at 19,1%), Law (18,3%) and Economics (17,4%).

The most common cities to have studied in are Rotterdam, Leiden and Amsterdam. These cities are home to historically some of the biggest universities that the Netherlands has to offer. It is notable that 4 out of 5 of the top cities that TMG members have studied in lie in what is known as the “Randstad”, a region spanning parts of the provinces Zuid Holland, Noord Holland and Utrecht. Groningen is the only city in the top 5 which is not located in the Randstad.

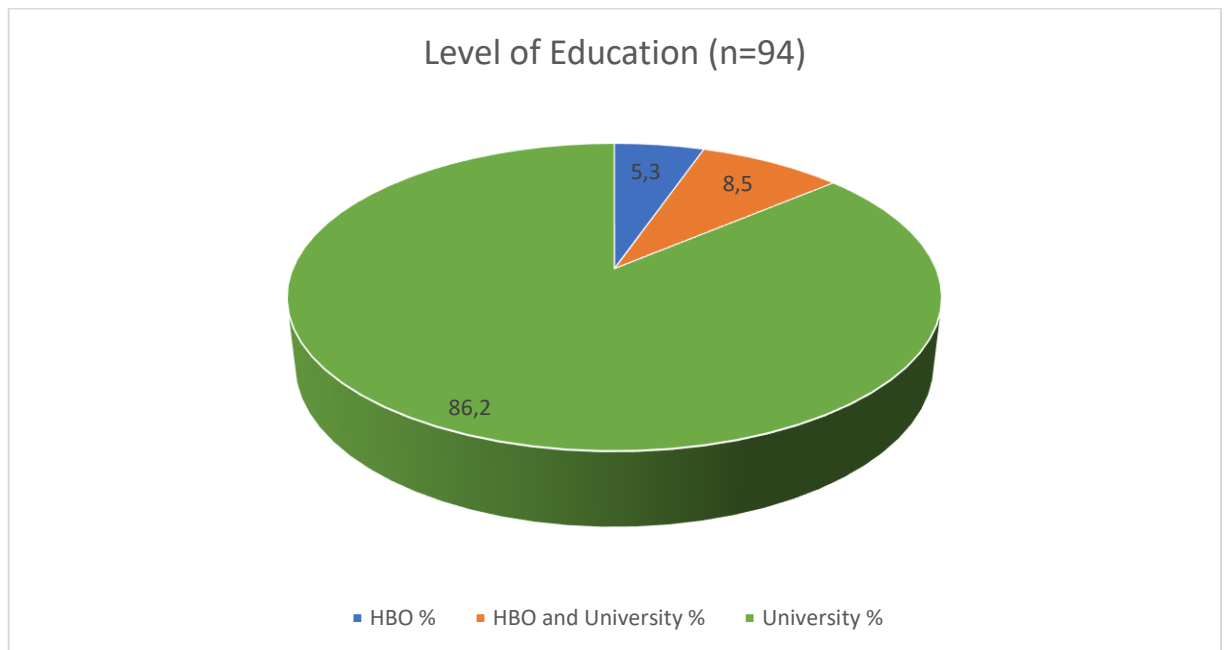


Figure 5: Level of education in %

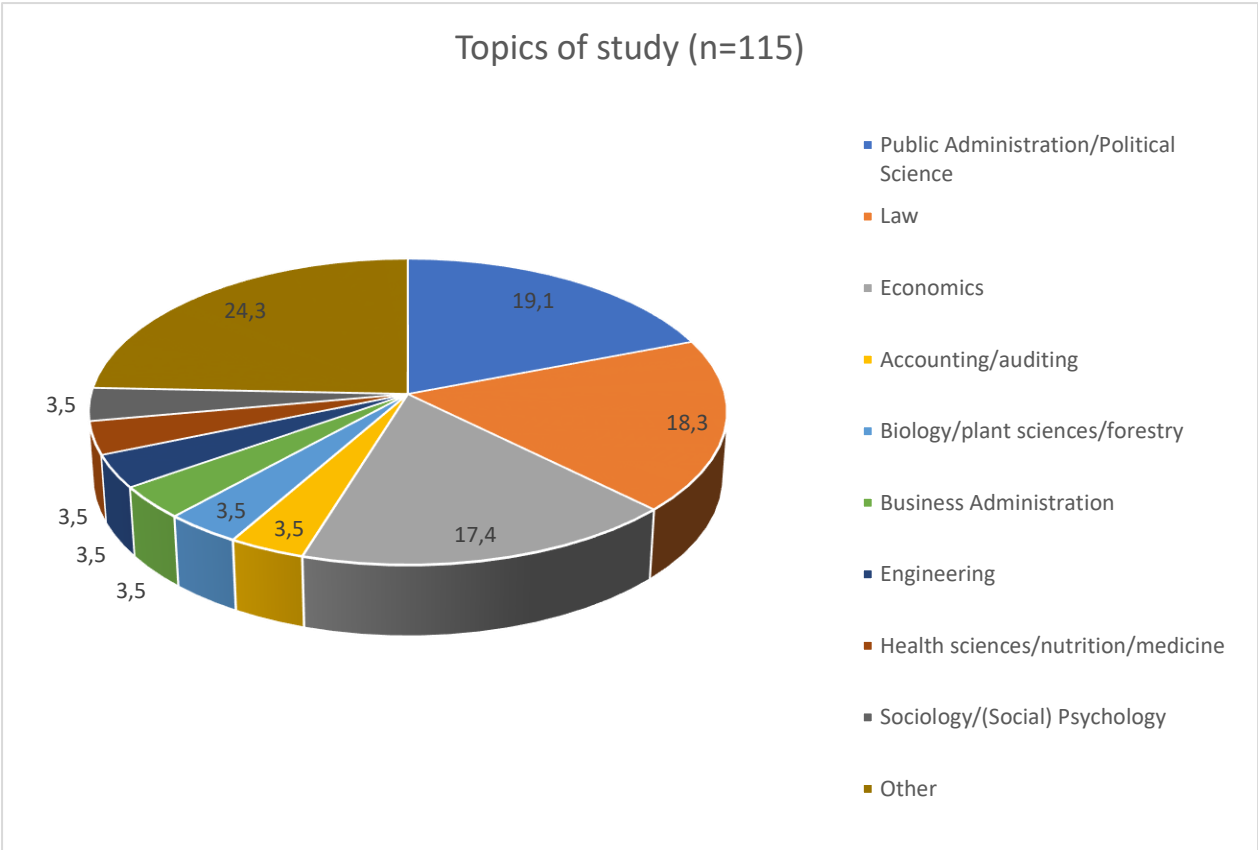


Figure 6: Topics of study as a % of total topics, clustered.

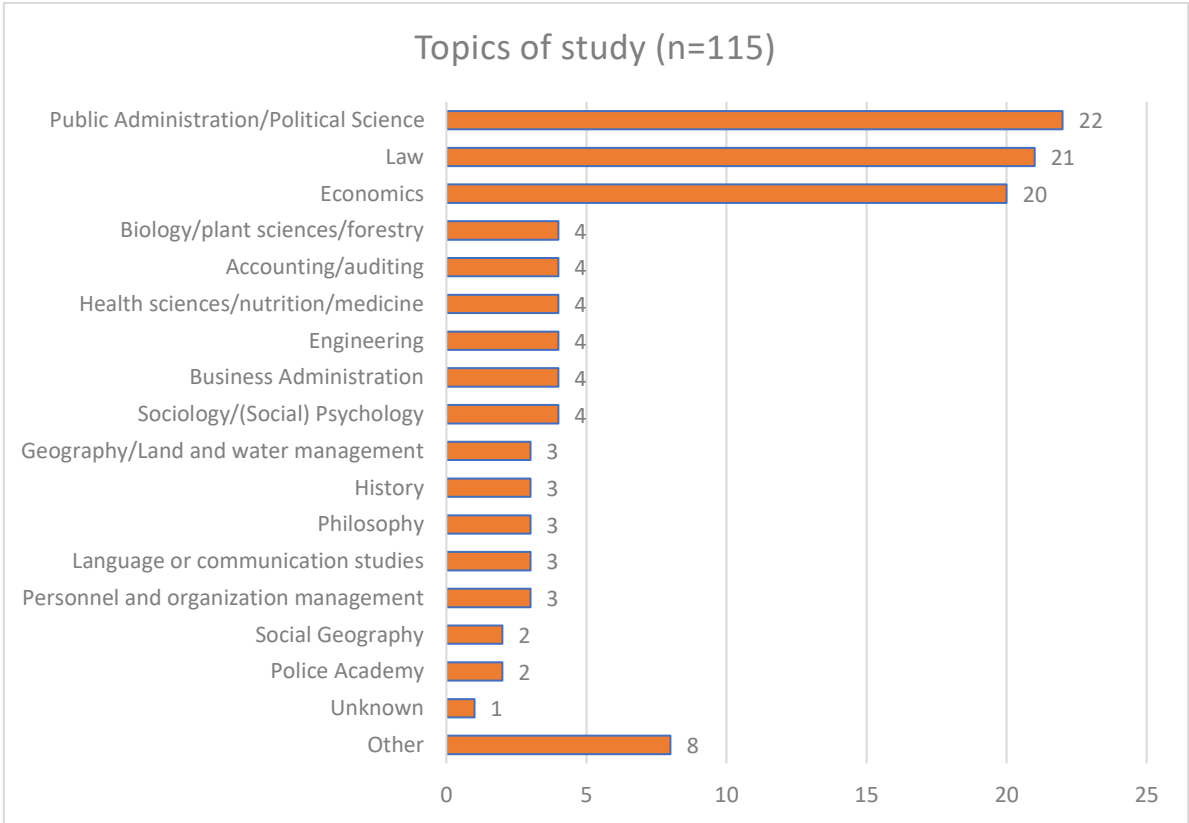


Figure 7: Topics of study, nominal. Still clustered but to a lesser extent than figure 6.

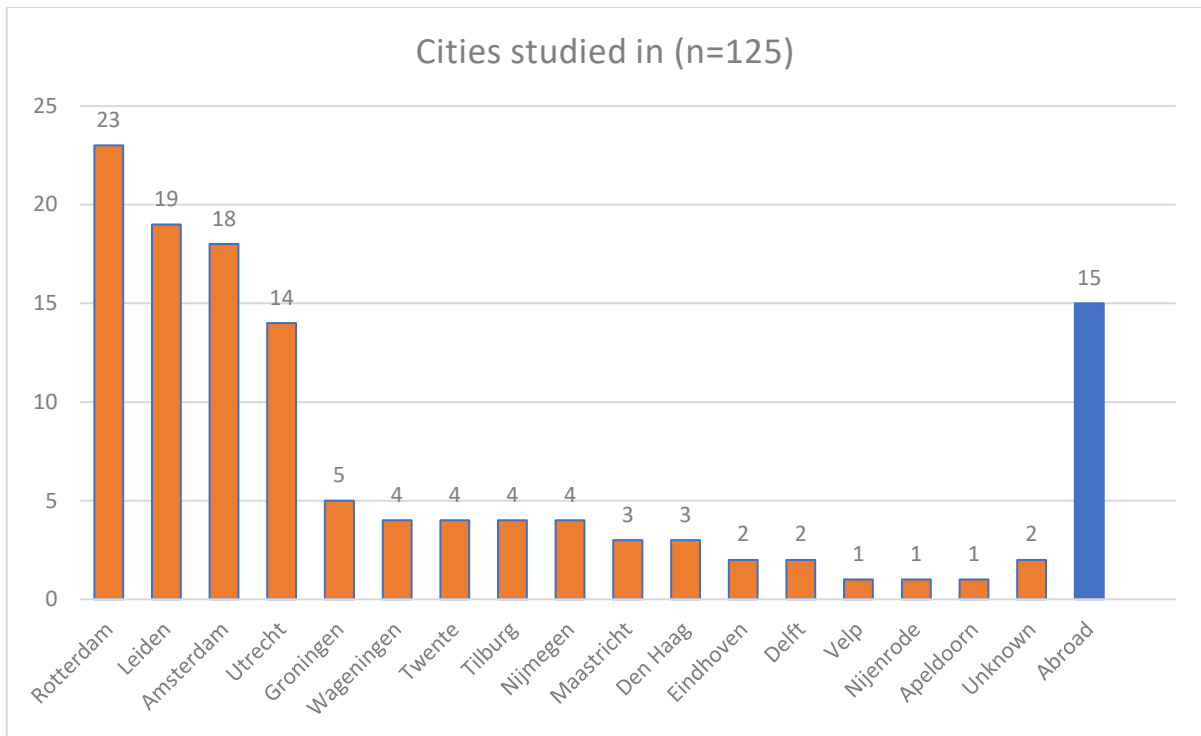


Figure 8: Cities TMG members studied in.



## 4.2 Hypotheses

In this section the thesis discusses the data in context with the hypotheses formulated earlier on in the thesis. It discusses them one by one, discussing them in context of the data as well as linking back to how the theory might support or reject the findings.

*H1: Educational background (topic of study) of the members of the TMG of the ABD is extremely varied.*

The data set seems to support this hypothesis since the total number of different topics was 63. Of these 63 different topics, only 12 had more than 1 member of the TMG who had studied that subject. That, logically, means that 51 topics were studied by just a single member of the TMG. The large differences in topics of study could, like theorized based on Kuperus and Rode (2016), be due to the focus on position-based qualities in the Dutch employment system. That does not mean that educational background is deemed completely irrelevant. This can be noticed in particular in the top ends of the executive organizations that have TMG members leading them. This can be seen in examples such as Maarten van Aalst (currently Director KNMI and Chief Science officer), who has a background in Astrophysics and Climate Research, but also Johannes 'Hans' Brug (currently Director General RIVM; tr. National Institute for Health and Environment) who has an educational background in epidemiology, human nutrition and health sciences. Members of executive organisations having a more function-oriented educational background could be explained by executive organizations perhaps requiring more substantive, policy-related knowledge, which might be less relevant in greater administrative institutions like ministries, where the position based competencies might be more on generalist competencies like the capacity to manage a large administrative body. Establishing and explaining any relationships between specific educational backgrounds and specific functions falls beyond the scope of this research.

The large amount of students of fields (grounded in) public administration, economics and law, combining for 54,8% of the total population, could also be explained by elite studies theory. As Pareto (1963) and Domhoff (1967) argue, elites can be socialized early on in their career. This sometimes starts in school, where they might join similar clubs, which in turn create similar social institutions, ideas, morals and values that they define themselves by. It is possible that these specific educational fields create/shape the social networks, ideas or

foundations that many of these TMG used to climb the ladder up to administrative elite status. Again, exploring such a relationship falls beyond the scope of this research.

Overall, the data accumulated in the research seems to support the hypothesis that educational background of TMG members is varied.

*H2: The ABD is a durable group; once in an ABD function, a high ranking civil servant is likely to keep working in an ABD function for a long time.*

The average amount of total time a TMG member spent in an ABD level function was 15,98 years. The high variance and standard deviation that accompanies this statistic however show that there are large differences between the population's total time spent in ABD functions. In fact, the variance and standard deviation of all quantitative career-based variables are high compared to their respective means, meaning that in average time spent in a given ABD function, the total amount of ABD functions an individual TMG member will have occupied and the amount of different ministries an individual has worked for, large differences are also observed. For instance, the shortest amount of time spent in an ABD function was 2 months, the longest was 11 years and 7 months. The population included people such as Afke van Rijn, who have occupied an ABD level position for over 30 years, but also people like the aforementioned Maarten van Aalst, who has only held his first ABD function for several months, and everything in-between.

Given the large deviations and variances it is hard to make the conclusion that this is a durable group. The average amount of total time spent in ABD positions seems to suggest that at least some amount of ABD TMG members spend a large amount of their career in government. It does not give enough convincing evidence to confirm this hypothesis however. A solution to finding an answer to this question might be to flip the unit of analysis from looking at individuals occupying positions to looking at the positions themselves and by whom (what background does this person have?) they are occupied over the course of a set time. This would also require information on individuals that have left those functions or the civil service altogether, but may prove to provide a more complete image of how durable the ABD members are as a group. This falls beyond the scope of this research.

The theoretical framework discussed stickiness of elites. Though the average amount of time spent in a ABD function is quite high at 15,98 as well as the average amount of different ABD

functions occupied at 4,99 at first glance imply that these individuals stick around for extended periods of time, the variations between the careers of the TMG members are too large to make this conclusion without additional research. The hypothesis is therefore not confirmed.

*H3a: Most high ranking civil servants come from and are recruited from a civil service career background.*

Of the 94 TMG members that this research focusses on, 74 (78,7%) came from a civil service career before assuming an ABD position. Of these 74, 13 (17,6%) had a career which included the municipal level of government. It is furthermore noteworthy that some top civil servants had their roots in other branches of government than solely the ministries, such as politics (such as advisors to politicians for instance) and the executive organizations that act out the policies the ministries create. This large percentage of TMG members originating from the civil service are in line with the theoretical expectations set on the foundation of the various contributions by Jacoby (1967), Kahn (2012), Pareto (1963) and Mills (2000).

As 78,7% is a large majority, this hypothesis can be confirmed.

*H3b: High ranking civil servants who do come from “outside” could be classified as elite before taking the civil service job.*

Of the 20 TMG members who did not originally build their career, none of them did not already occupy at least some form of a management function in a position outside of the government. Of these 20 people, 5 of them (25%) were university professors or had held higher positions within universities, such as being the dean or dean to a specific department. Other functions held by outside-origins TMG members include consultants, managing positions in private companies and insurance companies. There is in most cases a clear connection between the previous occupation of the TMG member coming from outside the civil service and the function they will fulfil inside the civil service. Per illustration: Marina Eckenhausen-Umans, the current Inspector General of Health and Youth, held numerous director functions in hospitals before joining the Inspection of Health and Youth. This seems to support the suggestion by Kuperus and Rode (2016) that ABD functions are primarily assigned on position-based competencies.

Another interesting finding when looking at TMG members who came from outside the civil service is that out of the 5 people of colour in the population, 4 of them (80%) came from careers outside of the civil service. This raises questions on diversity, initial entry difficulties and growth opportunities for people of colour in the Dutch government. This will be further discussed in the concluding statements on future areas of potential research.

Considering that all of the TMG members who did not spend the majority of their career in government had at least some management or other high ranking function in their career history, it is possible to accept the hypothesis that these members can be classified as elite before entering the civil service.

## 5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the thesis summarizes and reflect on the research that was conducted. It answers the research question it posed in the beginning of the thesis and reflects on the findings that resulted from the research. It furthermore explains the position of this thesis within and the contribution it provides to existing literature. Lastly, it offers several directions that can be explored in future research regarding the TMG of the ABD.

The administrative elites within a government often act from the shadows, but hold significant power. This research started with the goal to discuss the link between elite studies literature and public administration, as well as shed some light on these administrative elites living in the shadows. Given that the Dutch Top Management System, a system with a central Top Public Management office more centralized than can be found in other contexts, is unique in international context, it makes for an interesting case to study. However, in recent times, this system has received negative connotation: being deemed a ‘job carousel’ for top civil servants to endlessly stay in positions of power.

In that light, this thesis set out to discover more about the backgrounds of the people in this system, asking the research question: *What does the socio-demographic background and educational- and career background of members of the highest administrative elite in the Netherlands, the Top Management Group of the Algemene Bestuursdienst, look like and which similarities or differences can be found between them?*

Upon reviewing the existing literature on elites and specifically administrative elites, three main characteristics came up which are important to consider when studying elites. First, elites are defined as people or groups of people who hold disproportionate amounts of control (power) over (transferable) resources. Second, using these disproportionate resources, this often results in elites becoming sticky; once elite they will remain elite. Third, it is always crucial to consider the context (such as cultural differences, but also differences in administrative frameworks) within which one studies the elites they intend to study, as even the smallest difference can result in large differences.

The thesis researched the TMG of the ABD on three different sets of variables. First, it discussed socio-demographic variables. These showed that although the TMG of the ABD is well on its way towards an equal gender split (41% of members were female). Representation for people of colour was lower, as only 5 out of 94 (5%) members were people of colour. 57,8% of TMG members were white men. Secondly, the thesis discussed career-based

variables. These showed that although the average number of ABD functions, average time spent in ABD functions and total time spent in ABD functions are quite high, there is a lot of variance between individual members of the TMG regarding these career-based variables. Thirdly, education-based variables were discussed. Studying in the Randstad area was most common for the TMG members. Topics of study varied immensely; with over 60 different types of studies being recorded. The members of the TMG completed a collective amount of 115 different degrees. The overwhelming majority, 94,7% of the TMG, completed these at least one of their degrees at a university level.

Based on the academic fields earlier mentioned, the thesis set several hypotheses it expected to find in the data. It was expected that the data would show four main things: large diversity in different studies, stickiness of elites, a predominantly from civil service originating elite and existing elites being the ones who join the administrative elite. Though the data showed evidence that seems to support the occurrence of the other three, it failed to show stickiness in institutions, as variances and standard deviations for the variables used to determine stickiness were deemed to be too large. Further analysis using either regressions or a different unit of analysis may prove to do a better job at determining this than the descriptive nature that this thesis adopted.

Returning to the central research question, the following things can be concluded on the socio-demographic and career- educational background of the members of the Top Management Group of the Algemene Bestuursdienst:

- The Algemene Bestuursdienst is a collective name for different management functions in scale 15 or higher on the salary scale of the Dutch government. The Top Management Group consists of the currently 94 people occupying the highest managerial functions within the system of the Algemene Bestuursdienst.
- This group has almost achieved gender equality, the split equalling to 41% women and 59% men. Only 5% of the members of the current Top Management Group are people of colour. 57,8% of the Top Management Group are white men.
- The group consists of people with a large variety in educational backgrounds, having completed a cumulative amount of 115 studies in over 60 different fields. These studies were largely conducted in the Randstad area.
- A large majority of the current Top Management Group built and developed their career from within the civil service.

- Those Top Management Group members who did not spend most of their career in the civil service could be considered elites within the field that they did develop in before joining the civil service. In many examples it can be seen that the policy areas that these outside-TMG'ers work in lined up in some way with their previous work experience.

While data on average tenure, average amount of positions occupied, amount of different ministries worked for and total tenure in ABD level functions may not be useful over the entire population of the research, the original data set that this thesis uses does provide accurate information of these factors for most individual members of the Top Management Group. Therefore, using this data to study specific members of this elite is possible.

This thesis applied elements of elite studies to administrative elites, thereby making a theoretical contribution to public administration literature, in which administrative elites has fallen off as a popular topic. Secondly, the thesis makes an empirical contribution to both elite studies literature and public administration literature, by creating an original data set which contains data on the elites within the Dutch civil service. It is important however to once again stress that one of the main theoretical findings of this thesis was that context is crucial to the study of specific elites and that this is something to keep in mind with the empirical contribution that this thesis provides.

Lastly, based on the theoretical framework of the thesis and the findings in the data set, the researcher identifies three main areas of future research.

First, an interesting area to discuss would be the more informal social networks present in the Algemene Bestuursdienst. Marjan Hammersma, member of the TMG, was recently under scrutiny because she protected another ABD'er, who was a close friend of hers, from a whistleblower. Mills also discusses the importance of social connections to superiors and equals and it would be interesting to see if many ABD'ers have informal relationships with one another, besides their professional connection.

Second, to truly test whether the ABD system is this 'job carousel' that it is framed as, the issue of stickiness within ABD positions needs to be further examined with a different research method than this research utilized.

Lastly, it was interesting to see the high degree of overlap between people of colour and people coming growing their career outside of the government, with 4 out of 5 people of

colour not building their career from within the government. It would be interesting to have research done into why this is the case. Are people of colour less likely to work for the Dutch government in general? Are there barriers to entry that white people do not face and if so what are they? Are there systems or institutions within the government that prevent people of colour from building their career up to a Top Management Group level function? These would be interesting questions to explore.

In conclusion, the Algemene Bestuursdienst and its Top Management Group are part of a complex system and have members from very diverse educational and career backgrounds. This thesis makes an effort to lift part of the shroud that often shades these elite members from the public view, aiming to make information on who holds the power in the Dutch government more publicly well known.



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Appendix 1: Original data set on socio-demographic and career- educational backgrounds of Top Management Group civil servants within the ABD.

TMG member:	Function 1	Tenure	Function 2	Tenure	Function 3	Tenure	Function 4	Tenure	Number of other functions	Tenures	Total amount of different top functions	Average tenure in top function	Total time in ABD function in years	Different ministries worked for in ABD level position	Experience abroad	Education	Other notes/notable functions
<b>Pieter-Jaap Aalbersberg</b>	National Coordinator Anti-Terrorism and Security	4 years (2019 - current)									1	4	4	1		Police academy	Was with the police for most of career. Also part of European commissions as Dutch representative. Worked at Executive Committee of Interpol
<b>Maarten van Aalst</b>	Director KNMI and Chief Science officer	5 months (Feb 2023-current)									1	0,4	0,4	1	Yes, lecturer at University College London + OECD + IPCC  Also studied in Boston	MSc Astrophysics + PhD Climate research, Utrecht	Worked as a university lecturer and author for climate organisation IPCC. Longtime director as climate centre.
<b>Erik Akerboom</b>	Director General AIVD	3 yr 3 months (may 2020-current)	Secretary General Ministry of Defense	3 yr 5 months	National Coordinator Anti-Terrorism and Security	3 yr 8 months	Director Democratic Legal Order	5 yr 4 months			4	3,91	15,64	2		Police Academy Apeldoorn  BSc business admin., Groningen Doctorate political science, Amsterdam	Worked at the police whenever he was not in a top function. Worked at public executive organization when not at the ministry.
<b>Gerard Bakker</b>	Inspector General Food and Drug Administration	2 years (Aug 2021-	Head Director Judicial Institutions Service	3 yr 1 month	Chair board for Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum	3 yr 7 months	Competition Director Authority for Consumers &	6 yr	2	2 yr + 4 yr	6	3,44	20,64	1	Studied in Gent	Tax law, Leiden  3 postdocs, Amsterdam,	Management council were 2 functions on customs

		current)			Seekers		Markets									Rotterdam, Leiden	and tax information and investigations respectively. Never worked for ministry, always executive organization.
<b>Marije Beens</b>  <b>F</b>	Director General Agro	3 yr 4 months (Jul 2020 – current)	Director vegetable agro chains and food quality	1 yr 1 month	Director curative care	2 yr 3 months	Director nutrition, health protection and prevention	2 yr 6 months	5	3 jr 9 m + 6m + 1 yr 3 m + 2yr 10m + 1yr 6m	9	2,11	18,99	5		HBO nutrition & diet, The Hague  MSc Sociology, Amsterdam	Started career at local municipality and worked upwards.
<b>Hillie Beentjes</b>  <b>F</b>	Deputy Secretary General Infrastructure and Public Works	2 yr 4 months (Apr 2021-current)	Head Director FMC (I&W)	2 yr 9 months	Director Budget & Deputy Director General National budget	4 yr	Deputy Commander Royal Marechaussee	2 yr 3 months	3	3 yr 9 m + 3 yr + 7 yr	7	3,72	25,08	5		Business economics, Rotterdam	First civilian female general.
<b>Annet Bertram</b>  <b>F</b> <b>No LI data</b>	Director General Migration		Real Estate and Operations of the Central Government and Director-General of the Central Government Real Estate Agency		Director-General for Housing, and		Deputy Directorate-General for Housing		1		4			3		Sociology & Law, Leiden	Worked at different high ranking municipal and provincial positions in between positions at various ministries
<b>Eric Bezem</b>	Director-general of Punishment and Protection	1 yr 1 month (Jul 2022 – current)	Director of sanctions application and youth and deputy director-general of Punishment and Protection	2 yr 10 months	Director Finances and economic affairs J&V	4 yr 6 months	Deputy director Public Transport and Railways	4 yr	1	1 yr 2 months	5	2,94	14,68	2		Business economics, Rotterdam Postdoc at Nyenrode	Held managerial positions at J&V before becoming director there.
<b>Ellen Bien</b>  <b>F</b> <b>O</b>	Chief Financial Officer Ministry of Defense	4 yr 7 months (Jan 2019 – current)	Director of Financial and Economic Affairs (EZK)	1 yr 4 months	Acting Director General Civil Aviation	1 yr 9 months	Director for Civil Aviation	2 yr 10 months	1	4 yr 1 month	5	2,92	14,58	5	Studied abroad and also worked for the World bank while not in an	Economics, Amsterdam Postdoc Accounting & Control Amsterdam Air law,	Worked at a ministry before going out and coming back to an ABD function.

		nt)													ABD position	Cranfield University Master of International Public Policy, SAIS	Studied in US while working at the world bank between ABD positions. About to start a new directors job at animal protection services.
<b>Rits de Boer</b>	Inspector General Dutch Labor Inspectorate	2 yr 7 months (Jan 2021 – current)	Director of analysis, programming and strategy and Deputy Inspector General	6 yr	Director Re-integration and participation (SZW)	5 yr	Head Employee Insurance	3 yr	2	3 yr + 3 yr	6	3,76	22,58	2	Studied and worked abroad before starting a career in NL	Economics, Groningen	Started as policy officer at Ministry of Finance. Works for executive organization now
<b>Mark de Boer</b>	Deputy Secretary General Ministry of the Interior & Kingdom Affairs	1 yr 2 months	Cluster Director administrative support, people and resources	3 yr 2 months	Projectmanager	2 yr 7 months					3	2,31	6,92	2		MBO+HBO, never finished university degree he pursued while starting his career	Started as spokesman for the Minister of the Interior, then moved J&V. Held high level managing positions at 3 big municipalities (Rotterdam, Utrecht, Amsterdam) before joining the ABD
<b>Marcelis Boereboom</b>  <b>No LI data</b>	Secretary General Ministry of Health, wellbeing and sports	1 yr 10 months	Director General of Higher Education, Vocational Education, Science and Emancipation		Director General Work at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment		Deputy Secretary General Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment		4+					At least 8		Public Administration, Amsterdam	Held 8 different Director/Secretary General positions during his career
<b>Michiel Boots</b>	Director General for the Economy and Digitalization (EZK)	1 yr 4 months (apr 2022 – current)	Director General Economic Politics, Chief Economist	3 yr	Senior Advisor to the Prime Minister	4 yr 10 months	Deputy director Financial Markets Directorate, Head Financial Stability Department	3 yr	2	10 m + 3 yr 10 m	6	2,80	16,85	2	Studied Law at Oxford	Law, Leiden Law, Oxford University	Worked as an attorney before joining the ministry as a policy advisor, then

		nt)															grew into ABD functions.
<b>Johannes 'Hans' Brug</b> O	Director General RIVM	4 yr 11 mont hs (sep 2018- current)							0	4,84	4,84	1	Worked for the OECD	Epidimiology Human nutrition, Wageningen  PhD Health Sciences, Maastricht	Was a long time university professor. Did have a lot of advisory positions, such as being on the Health council. Mainly worked for the VUMC hospital and university in Amsterdam.		
<b>Yvonne van der Brugge</b> FO	Director-General Real Estate Operations for the Kingdom	4 mont hs	General Director Logius	5 yr 6 mont hs	Deputy Director General government real estate company	11 mont hs	Director Portfolio Strategy Portfolio Management, Central Government Real Estate Agency, Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations and Deputy Director General	2 yr 10 mont hs	0	n/a	4	2,40	9,59	1	Researcher at Queensland university & was president of the PuRe-net board	HBO Business administration, Rotterdam MSc Engineering, Delft	Worked in managing positions in numerous different types of organizations, practically oriented generally.
<b>Gert-Jan Buitendijk</b>	Secretary General Ministry of General Affairs	2 yr 11 mont hs (sept 2020 - current)	Director General Employment (SZW)	3 yr 5 mont hs	Direct General Management and Living	1 yr 1 mont h	Director General Management and Kingdom Relations	5 yr 11 mont hs	5	1 yr 1 m + 1 yr 1 m + 2 yr 11 m + 3 yr + 4 yr	9	2,82	25,42	4		Political Science, Rotterdam	Started as an inspector at the Ministry of Finance before becoming a deputy manager and growing from there
<b>Kees van der</b>	Director General Mobility	4 yr (Aug 2019 - current)	Director General Long-term Care	5 yr 9 mont hs	Deputy Director General Financial and Economic affairs (VWZ)	2 yr 7 mont hs	Director Social Support	5 yr 5 mont hs	2	3 yr + 3 yr	6	3,96	23,75	4		Public Administration, Rotterdam	Started career with several positions in the Ministry of Finance
<b>Abdeluheh Choho</b>	General Director of the Netherlands	2 yr 5 mont hs (							0	N/a	1	2,416	2,42	1		HBO Commercial Economics, The	Used to be CMO at softwarecom

<b>O</b> <b>POC</b>	Enterprise Agency															Hague	pany Total Specific Solutions and was chairman to the board on refugee work.
<b>Ruth Clabbers</b> <b>F</b>	Director General of Aviation and Maritime Affairs	2 yr 10 months (nov 2020-current)	Director of roads and traffic safety / deputy. Director General of Mobility	4 yr	Director Labour market fraud and investigation	4 yr 8 months	Director National Security	2 yr	1	5 yr 2 m	5	3,73	18,67	4		HBO Personnel and Organization, Eindhoven MSc Business Administration, Nijmegen	
<b>Gea van Craaikamp</b> <b>F</b>	Consultant ABD top consult	2 months (May 2023 - Current)	Secretary General Ministry of Defense	4 yr 1 month	Deputy Secretary General VWS	3 yr 1 month	Director Projects Government Buildings Service	2 yr 10 months	3	5 yr 1 m + 4 y 1 m + 4 y	7	3,33	23,33	4		State law, Leiden	Worked in a high ranking position at the provincial level inbetween ABD functions
<b>Annemieke van Dam</b> <b>F</b>	Program Director General Organized and subversive crime	2 yr 11 months (sept 2020-current)	Director Law enforcement and Crime fighting	1 yr 9 months	Deputy Director General Law Enforcement and Justice	4 months	Director Strategy and Implementation advice	1 yr 9 months	1	3 yr 1 m	5	1,97	9,83	2		Dutch Language and Communication Science, Leiden	Started career as a consultant, then worked at the provincial level before joining the central government in the Ministry of Justice
<b>Frank van Diepenbeek</b> <b>No LI data</b>	Program Director General for Recovery Policy	1 yr 8 months	Director of Environment and Services	No data	Inspector General at the Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate	No data	Director of Operations at Customs Office	No data	No data	n/a	4			3		Fiscal Law, Tilburg	Worked in numerous managing positions at the Customs and Tax offices
<b>Anneke van Dijk</b> <b>F</b>	Director General of Justice and Law Enforcement	3 yr 6 months	Director General Migration	1 yr 3 months	Director of Legislation and Legal Affairs	6 yr 5 months	Head of the Constitutional and Administrative Law sector	3 yr 1 month	0	n/a	4	3,56	14,25	3		Andragology and jurisprudence, Utrecht	
<b>Hellen van Dongen</b> <b>F</b>	Director-General for Rural Areas and Nitrogen	10 months	Programme Director General Nitrogen	3 yr	Deputy Secretary General Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment	1 yr 9 months	Director Public Transport and Rail and deputy Director General	1 yr 6 months	3	2 y 2 m + 3 y + 1 y 5 m	7	1,95	13,67	4		Law, Leiden	



							Accessibility											
<b>Jan Hendrik Dronkers</b>	Secretary General Ministry of Infrastructure and Water Management	2 yr 11 months	Director General of Aviation and Maritime Affairs, also Deputy Secretary General at the Ministry of Infrastructure and Water Management	3 yr 5 months	Director General at Ministry of Infrastructure and Watermanagement	7 yr 5 months	Director General at Ministry of Infrastructure and Watermanagement and Traffic	7 yr 5 months	0	n/a	4	5,29	21,17	1			HBO Civil engineering and Economic business engineering Dutch Law, Rotterdam	
<b>Bas van den Dungen</b> <b>O</b>	Secretary General Ministry of Finance	3 yr 6 months	Director General Curative Care	6 yr					0	n/a	2	4,75	9,5	2			Doctorate Public Administration, Twente	Started career at Ministry of Finance but spent majority of career working to help people with various different types of disabilities
<b>Eva den Dunnen-Heijblom</b> <b>F</b>	Director-General for Digitization and Government Organisation	2 months	Deputy Secretary General Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality	5 yr 1 month	Director of Customer Contacts & Operations at the CAK	4 yr 4 months			0	n/a	3	3,19	9,58	2			HBO Physiotherapy MSc Health Economic, Policy and Law, Rotterdam	Started career as a physiotherapist, then worked at an insurance organization before joining an executive body of the government
<b>Marina Eckenhausen-Umans</b> <b>F</b> <b>O</b>	Inspector General of Health and Youth	2 yr 11 months	Inspector of Health and Youth	6 yr 6 months					0	n/a	2	4,71	9,417	1			PhD Medicine, Amsterdam Medicine & Economics, Rotterdam	Held numerous director functions in hospitals before joining the Inspection of Health and Youth
<b>Anita van den Ende</b> <b>F</b>	Director General European Cooperation	3 yr 10 months	Deputy Treasurer General and Director for Financial Markets	1 yr 10 months	Dep. Director General for the Environment and International Affairs, Director Climate, Air and Noise	2 yr 6 months	Director Europe, Competition and Consumers	5 yr 8 months	2	3 yr + 3 yr 10 m	6	3,44	20,67	4			Dutch law and doctorate in Economics, Leiden	

<b>Sandor Gaastra</b>	Secretary General Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate	5 months	Director General Climate and Energy	5 yr 3 months	Director General Energy, Telecom and Competition	1 yr 5 months	Director General Police	3 yr 4 months	3	2 yr 5 m + 2 yr 8 m + 7 y 2 m	7	3,24	22,67	3		State/Administrative Law, Utrecht	
<b>Marc Gazenbeek</b>	Deputy Secretary General Ministry of Defense	8 yr 5 months	Acting Secretary General Ministry of Defense	4 months	Acting Deputy Secretary General Ministry of Defense	9 months	Project Manager Outsourcing ICT	3 yr 1 month	3	3 m + 8 y 9 m + 5 y	7	3,80	26,58	1		International and EU law, Utrecht	Besides his job he is and was chairman to several different military law associations. Held 4 advisor positions at the Ministry of Defense before assuming a managing role
<b>Jan-Kees Goet</b>	Secretary General Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality	5 yr 1 month	Director General of Immigration Affairs, Ministry of Security and Justice	3 yr 10 months					0	n/a	2	4,458	8,916	2		Educational science, Leiden	Worked as director in a number of executive public organizations, including the police and secret service, before assuming a Director General position
<b>Barbara Goezinne</b> <b>F</b>	Director General Curative Care	1 yr 6 months	Acting Director General COVID care	4 months	Director Financial and Economic affairs	5 yr 2 months	Director at the General Account	5 yr 1 month	0	n/a	4	3,02	12,08	2		Public Management, Rotterdam Educational Sciences, Leiden	Spent most of her career working for the General Account. Does this as a side job for municipalities Delft and Schiedam next to her current function.
<b>Ditte Hak</b> <b>F</b>	Director General Benefits	3 yr 1 month							0	n/a	1	3,08	3,08	1	Studied in Montreux/Sion and Missouri	Business Administration, Montreux/Missouri/The Hague	Came from insurance company Achmea

<b>O</b>																		before assuming current Director General position.
<b>Marjan Hammersma</b>	Secretary General Ministry of Education, Culture and Science	6 yr 9 months	Director General Culture and Media	11 yr 7 months	Director of Media, Literature and Libraries	7 yr			0	n/a	3	8,44	25,33	1			Communication Sciences, Amsterdam	Currently under scrutiny because of an incident with a whistleblower
<b>F</b>																		
<b>Harmen Harmsma</b>	Director General DUO (Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs)	3 yr	General Director Dutch Enterprise Agency	5 yr 7 months	Headinspector Agriculture and Nature	3 yr 4 months	Director Plant division	1 yr 8 months	6	8 m + 2 y 2 m + 2 y 9 m + 1 y 1 m + 3 y 1 m + 14 y 1 m	10	3,74	37,42	1			Forestry, Velp MSc Dutch Law, Rotterdam	Spent very little of his career at the Ministries, mainly spending it at the
<b>Pieter Hasekamp</b>	Director Central Planning Bureau	3 yr 6 months	Loco-Secretary General Ministry of Finance	1 yr 9 months	Director General Fiscal Affairs	4 yr 11 months	Director Health Insurances	3 yr 7 months	3	2 y 7 m + 2 y 6 m + 3 y	7	3,12	21,83	2	Studied in Florence		Economics, Rotterdam PhD Economics, Florence	After starting career at finance ministry and having several director's functions, moved to outside government to later come back.
<b>Peter Heij</b>	Consultant at ABDTOPCON SULT	2 yr 10 months	Director General of Water and Soil		Director-General for Spatial Planning and Water		General manager of the Rural Areas Department		2		6			3			Public Administration, Twente	
<b>No LI data</b>																		
<b>Michel Heijdra</b>	Director General for Climate & Energy	4 months	Deputy Director General for Climate and Energy and Director of Energy Markets	1 yr 4 months	Director of International Financial Affairs and Deputy Treasurer General	2 yr 5 months	Director of International Financial Affairs	2 yr 11 months	2	2 y 2 m + 2 y 1 m	6	1,87	11,25	1	Studied at Princeton and in Berlin		Physics, Leiden Philosophy, Leiden Philosophy of Science, Leiden PhD Philosophy, Biology, Linguistics, Amsterdam	Started as an academic and then consultant before working for the government.
<b>Marko Hekkert</b>	Director of the Netherlands Environmental	8 months							0	n/a	1			1			PhD Philosophy, Utrecht	Worked in high-end positions at

<b>O</b>	Assessment Agency (PBL)																	the University of Utrecht before joining the government.
<b>Peter Hennephof</b>	Director ABDTOPCONSULT	11 months	Consultant ABDTOPCONSULT	4 yr 3 months	Council Advisor ABD	No data	Chief Director of the Judicial Institutions Agency	No data	1	No data	5			3			Public Administration, Twente	Worked as a consultant at Twynstra Gudde before joining the government
<b>Carsten Herstel</b>	Director General of Social Security and Integration	4 yr 3 months	Director Sanctions and Youth and deputy Director General	3 yr 7 months	General Director Netherlands Institute of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology	4 yr 3 months	Regional Director Prison Service	1 yr 9 months	2	1 y 7 m + 4 y 4 m	6	3,29	19,75	2			Public and Private Law, Groningen	Worked his way up from policymaker to manager.
<b>Feite Hofman</b>	Director General of Higher Education, Vocational Education, Science and Emancipation	1 yr 8 months	Deputy Director General of Higher Education, Vocational Education, Science and Emancipation	1 yr 11 months	Director of Higher Education and Student Finance	5 yr 5 months	Director Financial Economic Affairs at Ministry of Education, Culture and Science	3 yr 4 months	5	4 y 9 m + 5 y + 10 m + 2 y 4 m + 5 y	9	3,36	30,25	3			Economics, Amsterdam	
<b>Arne van Hout</b> <b>O</b>	Director General of Public Administration and Democratic Rule of Law	9 months									1	0,75	0,75	1	Studied at Uppsala	Dutch Law, Utrecht PhD Environmental science	Worked at local municipalities and unions of municipalities	
<b>Paul Huijts</b>	Secretary General Ministry of Foreign Affairs	3 yr 1 month	Secretary General Prime Minister's and Cabinet Office	6 yr	Director General Public Health	5 yr	Deputy Secretary General Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports	5 yr	2	4 y + 4 y	6	4,51	27,08	4			Economics, Rotterdam	
<b>Marjolein Jansen</b> <b>F</b>	Director-General of Spatial Planning	2 months	Programme Director General for Spatial Planning and Environmental Code law	11 months	Deputy Secretary General for the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science	3 yr	Manager CenterNovem	9 yr	1	2 yr	5	3,02	15,08	2			Public Administration, Leiden	About 10 years between ADB functions, worked in different administrative boards in meantime
<b>Stan Kaatee</b>	Director General Work	2 yr 11 months							0	n/a	1	2,92	2,92	1	Studied in Stockholm	Public Administration, Leiden + Stockholm	Worked as a senior advisor to the Prime Minister	

																		before assuming managing position in municipality of Amsterdam.
<b>Gerdine Keijzer-Baldé</b> F	Deputy Secretary General Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate	3 yr 4 mont hs	General Director DICTU	3 yr 9 mont hs	Director of the National Service for Identity Data	6 yr 6 mont hs			0	n/a	3	4,53	13,58	1			History, Leiden	Worked at central government since 1988.
<b>Erik Jan van Kempen</b>	Acting Director-General for Rural Areas and Nitrogen	9 mont hs	Director General Environment Act, Spatial Planning and Housing	4 yr	Deputy Director General Administration and Housing, Director Housing Market	2 yr	Director Housing Market	5 yr	3	1 y + 5 y + 2 y	7	2,82	19,75	3			Politics and Economics, Amsterdam	
<b>Adrie Kerkvliet</b>	General Director of the National Audit Service	5 yr 7 mont hs	Director of Research Audit Service State	3 yr 2 mont hs	Program director Reorganization Governance Operations Central Government	1 yr 6 mont hs	Director of Operations	4 yr 8 mont hs	2	1 yr + 4 yr	6	3,54	21,25	3			IT Auditing, Amsterdam Accounting, Rotterdam	
<b>Bram de Klerck</b>	Director-General for the General Administrative Service (ABD)	7 yr 1 mont hs	Deputy Director general for the General Administrative Service (ABD) / Director Management Development Rijk	4 yr 3 mont hs	Director Financial-Economic Affairs	5 yr	Deputy Director Financial-Economic Affairs	2 yr 5 mont hs	1	3 yr	5	5,35	26,75	2			Public Administration, Rotterdam	Member of a number of different supervisory boards in different organizations over the course of his career.
<b>Esther de Kleuver</b> F	Inspector General Justice and Security Inspectorate	8 mont hs	Director Sustainable Living Environment and Circular Economy and Deputy Director-General Environment and International	4 yr 8 mont hs	Director Healthy and Safe Working	5 yr 2 mont hs	Deputy director/head of the Security Regions department	5 mont hs	4	8 m + 2 y + 2 y + 2 y	8	2,20	17,58	4			Social Psychology, Amsterdam	
<b>Christa Klijn</b>	Program Director General Work on	5 mont hs	chairman of the board of directors CIZ	2 yr 9 mont hs	Member of Board of Directors CIZ	1 yr 3 mont hs	COO CIZ	2 yr 7 mont hs	0	n/a	4	1,75	7,00	2			Mechanical engineering, Twente Econometrics,	Worked at Nationale Nederlanden and ING

<b>F</b> <b>O</b>	Implementation (WaU)															Amsterdam	bank. Worked herself up mostly at her functions outside of government.
<b>Theodor</b> <b>Kockelkoren</b>  <b>O</b>	Inspector General of Mines	5 yr 8 months	Board Member AFM	13 yr 7 months					0	n/a	2	9,63	19,25	2	Studied at INSEAD in France and worked for international organizations	Electrical Engineering, Eindhoven MBA, Fontainebleau	Worked mainly as a consultant before joining the board of AFM, an executive organisation. Then went back to consultancy and rejoined the government in his current position.
<b>Ernst van Koesveld</b>	Director General Long Term Care	4 y	Deputy Director General/Director Health Insurance	4 y 10 months	Director Financial and Economic Policy Directorate	3 yr 1 month	Deputy Director Inspectorate of the Budget	3 yr 1 month	2	2 y 6 m + 4 y 2 m	6	3,61	21,67	2	Worked in Lithuania and Vietnam in early career	Economics, Rotterdam	
<b>Chris Kuijpers</b>	Director General Public Housing and Building and also Acting Director General Spatial Planning	1 yr 5 months	Director-General for Space and Housing	4 yr 11 months	Director General Environment and Climate	5 yr 1 month	Director General Environment and Water	1 yr 1 month	1	4 yr 1 month	5	3,32	16,58	3		Geography/Planology, Utrecht	
<b>Krista Kuipers</b>  <b>F</b> <b>POC</b>	Deputy Secretary-General at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment	3 yr 10 months	Director Financial and Economic Affairs Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment	1 yr 11 months					0	n/a	2	2,89	5,77	1		Public Administration, Leiden	
<b>Roald Lapperre</b>	Director General of Kingdom Relations	1 yr	Director General Environment and International	5 yr 2 months	Director General Water Policy and Safety and deputy. Director-General for Spatial Planning and Water	2 yr 6 months	Director of European Agricultural Policy and Food Security and deputy. Director-General for Agriculture	3 yr 4 months	4	1 yr 2 m + 1 yr 5 m + 10 m + 3 yr 5 m	8	2,36	18,85	4	Worked as representative at the UN, worked with Dutch Antilles and for the WTO	Land and Water Management, Wageningen	

							(and Nature)											
<b>José Lazeroms</b>  <b>F</b>	ABDTOPCON SULT	4 yr 11 mont hs	Board of Directors of the UWV	7 yr	Director-General of primary and secondary education	3 yr	Director of Financial and Economic Affairs, Ministry of Education, Culture and Science	4 yr	2	3 y + 3 y	6	4,15	24,92	4			Legal Administrative Sciences, Tilburg	
<b>Rob van Lint</b>	ABDTOPCON SULT	2 yr 2 mont hs	Chairman National Coordination Structure Test Capacity	7 mont hs	Interim Chief Operating Officer CIZ	9 mont hs	Interim Chairman of the Board, Rent Tribunal	5 mont hs	7	2 y 10 m + 7 y 8 m + 1 y 8 m + 6 m + 2 y 10 m + 4 y 1 m + 1 y 1 m	11	2,24	24,62	6			Business Administration for the public sector, Rotterdam Biology, Leiden	
<b>Coen van de Louw</b>	Program Director General Chain management and Directorate General recovery allowances	1 yr 8 mont hs	Quartermaster at Ministry of Finance	1 yr 11 mont hs	Member of the Board of Directors SVB Social Insurance Bank	6 yr 7 mont hs	Director at the Inspection SZW	4 yr 11 mont hs	0	n/a	4	3,77	15,08	2			Fiscal Economy, Tilburg	Worked at municipal level and tax authorities before joining central government.
<b>Petra Lugtenburg</b>  <b>F</b>	Director- General of the National Budget	5 yr	Chief Director of Finance and Control, Ministry of Defence	5 yr	Director Financial- Economic Affairs, Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment	2 yr	Program Director Working according to Capacity, Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment opportunities	1 yr	3	1 y + 4 y + 4 y	7	3,14	22	3			Public Administration, Leiden and Rotterdam	
<b>Rhodia Maas</b>  <b>F</b>	Director- General Immigration and Naturalization Service	1 yr 7 mont hs	General Manager National Office for Identity Data (RvIG)	5 yr 4 mont hs	General Manager Repatriation and Departure Service (DT&V)	9 yr 11 mont hs			0	n/a	3	5,61	16,83	1			Law, Leiden	
<b>Erwin Nijse</b>  <b>O</b>	Director- General of Business and Innovation	4 mont hs	Director at EZK	1 yr 11 mont hs	Deputy Director at EZK	1 yr 9 mont hs			0	n/a	3	1,33	4	1	Worked in Russia		Economics, Groningen International Economy and Finance, Kiel	Spent majority of his career at Shell, all the way up to a VP Finance function.
<b>Abigail Norville</b>	Deputy Secretary General Ministry of	3 yr 11 mont hs							0	n/a	1	3,92	3,92	1			Public Administration, Rotterdam HBO Personnel	Spent almost her entire career working for

<b>F O POC</b>	Health, Welfare and Sport															& Labour, Rotterdam	the municipality of Rotterdam, primarily in management functions, and other organizations in the Rotterdam area.
<b>Alida Oppers</b>  <b>F</b>	Inspector General of Education	3 yr	Director General of Primary and Secondary Education	6 yr 1 month hs	Acting Director General Nature and the Region	9 month hs	Deputy Director General Nature and the Region	2 yr 3 month hs	6	2 y 3 m + 1 y 11 m + 3 y 7 m + 1 y 1 m + 3 y 1 m + 2 y	10	2,60	26,00	4		Dutch Law, Amsterdam	
<b>Johan Osinga</b>	Director-General Control organization Transitie Rural Area	1 yr 8 month hs	Director-General for Nature, Fisheries and Rural Areas	3 yr 6 month hs	Strategy Director at Ministry of Housing, Spatial planning and the Environment	5 yr 5 month h	Director Strategy at Ministry of Housing, Spatial planning and the Environment	5 yr	2	5 yr + 5 yr	6	4,26	25,58	3		Cultivation technique, Wageningen	Worked at municipalities for Wageningen and Zwolle for a long time.
<b>Karen Van Oudenhoven – Van Der Zee</b>  <b>F O</b>	Director of the Social and Cultural Planning Office	11 month hs							0	n/a	1	0,92	0,92	1		Psychology, Groningen	Was a longtime university professor and dean of the university of Amsterdam.
<b>Harry Paul</b>	ABDTOPCONSULT	5 yr 11 month hs	Project Deputy Secretary General	10 month hs	Inspector General of the Netherlands Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority	3 yr	Consultant, ABDTOPCONSULTANTS	2 yr	5	3y + 2 y+ 4 y+ 1 y + 2 y	9	2,64	23,77	5	Did internship in Malaysia during studies	Plant pathology, Wageningen	
<b>Esther Pijs</b>  <b>F</b>	Program Director General Groningen and Subsoil	1 yr 7 month hs	Director Heat and Subsoil	1 yr 7 month hs	Director/Quartermaster project directorate gas transition Groningen	2 yr	Director Region	3 yr 7 month h	4	2 y 7 m + 5 y 2 m + 8 m + 1 y 9 m	8	2,36	18,92	2		History and International Relations, Utrecht	Spent time working for DUO, an executive organization of the Ministry for Education.
<b>Christiaan</b>	Treasurer	5 yr 4	Director	6 yr	Deputy Director	1 yr	Deputy	5 yr	2	1 yr 8	6	4,21	25,27	2	Was	Economics,	Also works



<b>Rebergen</b>	General	mont hs	General for International Cooperation	9 mont hs	General for International Cooperation	10 mont hs	Director General Economic Development	8 mont hs		m + 4 yr					ambassado r for the MDG's at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Amsterdam	as Vice chairman of the Supervisory Board at Leiden University of Applied Sciences
<b>Afke van Rijn</b>  <b>F</b>	Director General Environment and International	7 mont hs	Deputy Director General Covid- 19	1 yr 10 mont hs	Director of Media and Creative Industry, also Director-General for Culture and Media	4 yr 4 mont hs	Director of Integration	5 yr 1 mont h	2	3 y 9 m + 15 y	6	5,10	30,60	6		Technical Informatics, Delft	
<b>Carola van Rijnsoever</b>  <b>F</b>	Deputy Secretary- General at Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2 yr 1 mont h	Director Inclusive Green Growth, Ambassador Sustainable Development, Arctic ambassador	4 yr 1 mont h	Ambassador to the EU	4 yr 1 mont h	Head of Political Affairs section Ministry of Foreign Affairs	4 yr 1 mont h	0	n/a	4	3,58	14,33	1	Has lots of international experience , including being an ambassado r and working at the embassy in Moscow and Berlin.	Economics and Social History, Amsterdam	Worked at Foreign Affairs her entire career, starting as policy advisor
<b>Ric de Roij</b>  <b>No LI data</b>	Deputy Secretary General Ministry of Justice and Security	2 yr 5 mont hs	Deputy Secretary General at the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate Policy	6 yr	Deputy Secretary General at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment	5 yr			No data	n/a	3	4,47	13,42	3		Dutch Law, Utrecht	Worked at Public Order and Safety Inspectorate and municipalities in management functions. No data on how long he worked there for.
<b>Wim Saris</b>	Director General of the Judicial Institutions Service	1 yr 4 mont hs	Deputy Director General Police	9 yr 7 mont hs	Director General Punishment and Protection	2 yr 2 mont hs	Director General Police, Punishment and Protection	1 yr 9 mont hs	No data	n/a	4	3,71	14,83	1		Law, Rotterdam	Worked as a manager at the government before assuming mentioned functions. No data on exact functions.
<b>Nanette van Schelven</b>	Director General of Customs	3 yr 4 mont hs	General Manager Dutch Customs	2 yr	Director Legal Affairs and Deputy Head	3 yr 5 mont	Deputy Head Director Immigration	9 mont hs	4	1 y 1 m + 3 y 10	7	2,87	20,10	3		Law, Leiden	

<b>F</b>					Director Immigration and Naturalization Service	hs	and Naturalization Service			m + 2 y 5 m + 3 y 3 m							
<b>Dick Schoof</b> <b>No LI data</b>	Secretary General Ministry of Justice and Security	3 yr 4 mont hs	Director-General of the General Intelligence and Security Service	2 yr	National Coordinator for Counterterrorism and Security	5 yr	Director General Police	2 yr 4 mont hs	3	3 y + 4 y + no data	7*	3,28	19,67	4		Planning, Nijmegen	
<b>Stephan Schrover</b> <b>No LI data</b>	Director-General of the Government Information Service	8 yr 7 mont hs	Deputy Director-General of the Government Information Service	2 yr	Director of the Government Information Service	5 yr	Director of Communications at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment	2 yr	0	n/a	4	4,40	17,58	2		Political science, Nijmegen	
<b>Maarten Schurink</b>	Secretary General Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations	5 yr 6 mont hs	Chairman of the Board of Directors SVB	1 yr 11 mont hs					0	n/a	2	3,71	7,42	2		Public Administration and Politics, Nijmegen	Started at Ministry of the Interior, then became a consultant and worked himself into a managing position on the municipal level before joining the SVB and subsequently becoming Secretary General
<b>Yardana Shitrit</b> <b>F O POC</b>	ABDTOPCONSULT	1 yr 5 mont hs							0	n/a	1	1,42	1,42	1	Worked in Israel	Public administration and communication sciences, Amsterdam	Worked at municipal level but built her career in various different fields and organization, including Shell and at the University of Groningen.
<b>Donné Slangen</b>	Director General of Nature and Fisheries	9 mont hs	Acting Director General for Nature and Fisheries and Rural Areas	1 yr 2 mont hs	Director of Nature and Biodiversity	4 yr 1 mont h	Director at Rijkswaterstaat	7 mont hs	6	6 y 9 m + 1 y 4 m + 3 y + 2 y + 2 y + 3 y	10	2,47	24,67	3		Geography, Utrecht	

<b>Jaap Slootmaker</b>	Director General of Water and Soil	3 yr	deputy Director General of Rijkswaterstaat	2 yr 11 months	CFO Rijkswaterstaat	4 yr 8 months	Director of organizational development	2 yr 7 months	3	6 y 6 m + 3 m + 9 y 3 m	6	4,86	29,17	3	Studied in USA	Public Administration, Leiden & Indianapolis	Started career at municipal level in Zoetermeer
<b>Peter Smink</b> <b>O</b>	Director-General of the Tax and Customs Administration	3 yr 2 months							0	n/a	1	3,17	3,17	1		Business administration, Rotterdam	Worked at Nuon, Vattenfall KPN and PwC. Had managing positions before joining the government in private organization.
<b>Bart Snels</b> <b>O</b>	Inspector General Taxes, Fees and Customs Inspection	1 yr 7 months							0	n/a	1	1,58	1,58	1		Economics, Tilburg	Was a member of the Second Chamber and worked in several high end functions within the party of Groenlinks.
<b>Marjolijn Sonnema</b> <b>F</b>	Director General of Public Health	3 yr 2 months	Director General for Agro	1 yr 11 months	Director General for Agro and Nature	2 yr 1 month	Director Nutrition, Health Protection and Prevention	4 yr	4	4 yr 7 months + 5 m + 8 m + 3 yr 11 months	8	2,59	20,75	6		Human Geography, Groningen Social Geography of developing countries, Utrecht	
<b>Michiel Sweers</b>	Director General of Foreign Economic Relations	Named, not yet starts	Director Innovation & Knowledge	5 yr 11 months	Director General Fiscal Policy	7 yr 8 months	Deputy Director Labor Market and Social-Economic Affairs (ASEA)	4 yr	1	1 yr 2 m	5*	4,69	18,75	4		Economics, Maastricht	
<b>Marcel de Vink</b>	Director General of Political Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	10 months	Deputy Director-General for Political Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2 yr 2 months	Director Western Hemisphere	7 yr	Ambassador to Pakistan	No data	0	N/a	4*	3,34	10,02	1	Was ambassador in Pakistan	History and Law, Utrecht	

<b>Monique Vogelzang</b>  <b>F</b>	Director-General of the Police and Security Regions	3 yr 5 months	Inspector General for Education	8 yr 6 months	Chief Inspector of Secondary Education, Vocational and Adult Education and Higher Education	1 yr 5 months	Director of Arts/Deputy Director-General for Culture and Media/Programme Director of Operations	4 yr 10 months	4	2 yr 5 m + 1 y 11 m + 1 y 3 m + 1 y 10 m	8	3,21	25,70	2		Art and Culture Sciences, Rotterdam	Started her career at municipality of Rotterdam
<b>Marjolein Voslamber</b>  <b>F</b>	ABDTOPCON SULT	4 months	Deputy Director General for the Senior Civil Service / Directeur MD Algemene Bestuursdienst	6 yr 8 months	Managing Director J&V	10 yr 4 months			0	n/a	3	5,78	17,33	2		European Studies, Amsterdam	Had several jobs as advisor to the prime minister/minister of justice
<b>Inge Vossenaar</b>  <b>F</b>	Director-General of Primary and Secondary Education	2 yr 10 months	Director for secondary vocational education	5 yr 7 months	Duo Director-General of Public Health	8 months	Director of Housing and Living Environment	3 yr 8 months	1	5 y 9 m	5	3,10	15,52	3		Law, Maastricht	
<b>Marieke van Wallenburg</b>  <b>F</b>	Secretary-General Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment	7 months	Director General Government Organisation	4 yr 5 months					0	n/a	2	2,50	5,00	2		Economics, Rotterdam	Worked her way up from the ministry of finance and then at the municipality of Rotterdam.
<b>Jasper Wesseling</b>	Director General Fiscal Affairs Ministry of Finance	3 yr 5 months	Deputy Director General Fiscal Affairs Ministry of Finance	2 yr 6 months	Deputy Director General Business & Innovation	6 yr 1 month	Director Spatial-Economic Policy	3 yr	1	4 y	5	3,80	19,00	2	Studied in Georgetown USA	Economics, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Georgetown USA	
<b>Barbera Wolfensberger</b>  <b>F</b> <b>O</b>	Director-General for Culture and Media	6 yr 2 months							0	n/a	1	6,17	6,17	1		HBO Communication studies, Utrecht	Worked in media for most of her career, working at organization such as the newspaper Telegraaf and also helping host the European Song Contest in Rotterdam.

<b>Emine Özyenici</b> F O POC	Chief Executive Officer of Operations, also CIO at the Ministry of Justice and Security	2 yr 4 mont hs	Chief Information Officer (CIO) SVB	2 yr 2 mont hs	Director of Information Provision and Procurement of the Ministry of JenV, deputy. CIO	4 yr 6 mont hs			0	n/a	3	3,00	9,00	2		Business Economics, Rotterdam Executive Change Management, Utrecht	Worked the majority of her career, prior to and inbetween her stints at the ministries, as a consultant at Berenschot and KPMG. Also worked for the police for a long time.
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F = female

O = outside; member who spent majority of career outside the civil service before occupying an ABD position. Functions in executive organizations of the government, which are on the National Budget, are not considered an outside of government career.

POC = Person of colour