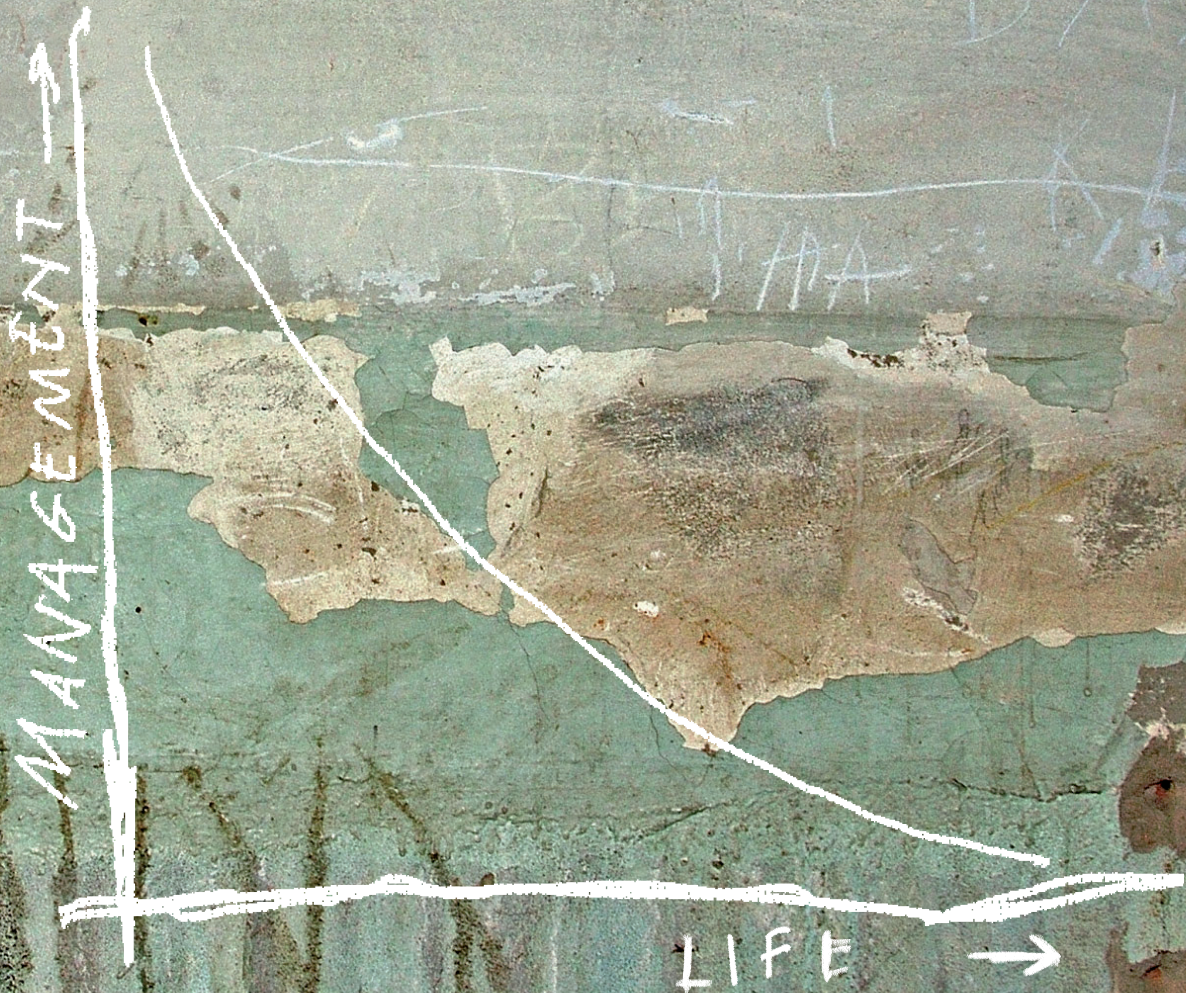


Marjolein Quené **Society**  
**under Management**

*The influence of management  
on work, democracy and freedom*





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## INTRODUCTION

# The dominance of management

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It is impossible to understand our society and our time without understanding the work of managers. Since the 1980s, the influence of management on society has increased considerably, to such an extent that it is hardly noticed anymore. Management has become common practice, and managers' mentality and behaviour are widely accepted. People in their twenties or thirties have never known anything else.

At the same time, finding answers to the challenges and issues of our time has become very difficult. Climate change, migration, poverty, loss of biodiversity and nature, and the depletion of natural resources: these are global issues for which there are no easy solutions. But also national issues concerning education, housing, healthcare, and societal and economic inequality seem unsolvable. In addition, many people nowadays feel misunderstood, unheard or excluded, rightfully so or not. They are losing faith in the future, and instead are opting out.

Many people feel that contemporary society is in a state of crisis. Individuals express their anger in many different ways, on the street and on social media. Newspapers and their opinion pages are filled with articles on globalisation, populism, social divisions and political fragmentation, which are alternately seen as either causes or effects. Opinions are tossed around regarding the question of what are facts and what is 'fake news'. Politicians are trying to keep their head above water while dealing with financial crises in the meantime. In some democratic states, it has become nearly impossible to form governments or coalitions.

How are these big, even global, political and macro-economic issues and discussions connected to the everyday lives of individuals? Is the way individuals think and act connected to these international and national developments? And if so, in what way? How do these connections arise? Do the macro-developments determine the micro-world of individuals, or do individuals collectively determine what happens on a macro-level? Is it simply a matter of cause and effect, or is something else going on?

If, in a few centuries' time, a historian looks back at this period, one specific societal development will certainly stand out: the dominance of management. This dominance is notable in both the mentality of individuals and in the public debate, in how organisations work and also in how governments rule. Especially since the 1980s, the influence of management on society has increased considerably. Managers themselves describe management as the most important social innovation of the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> Management brings people together in an organisation to accomplish a common purpose. Management makes it possible to convert the complexity of reality into collective achievements. Accordingly, management is seen as a brilliant

invention, at least by some people.<sup>2</sup> Management certainly has positive aspects to it, because it can increase labour productivity and therefore increase prosperity.

The worsening societal problems are usually not associated with management. However, management may have become so omnipresent that its problematic aspects are no longer noticed. Perhaps we even expect the management method to solve issues that are in fact partly caused by this very method.

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Management is a specific complex of practices and methods that has been applied in businesses since the beginning of the twentieth century. Much has been written about management, but the practice and theory of management cannot always be distinguished. The theory of management, the management doctrine, uses specific concepts such as 'market' or 'business model'. In practice, management can be recognised by certain characteristics such as an emphasis on efficiency.<sup>3</sup>

Today, the management method is no longer restricted to businesses only. Management plays an important role in lots of public sector and non-profit organisations as well. Management in fact has seeped into every nook and cranny of society. Managers determine what happens in organisations;<sup>4</sup> their role in society has become decisive. That is why it is also relevant for people who are not managers to understand how management works to recognise what is happening in society. Virtually everyone has to deal with management nowadays. After all, just a handful of people still live on a self-sufficient farm, where both production and consumption take place in a family setting.

Management has not only changed our perspective on the world, but also the world itself. As management permeates more and more aspects of life – the workplace, domestic life, politics, even sports clubs – people increasingly start to behave as managers themselves. And if financial results are the only thing that matters in organisations, then people will automatically focus on financial results as well. If managers are seen as important and successful, their behaviour tends to become an example for others, for example for young people who subsequently want to pursue an education in management. If even the national and local governments are managed, it becomes increasingly difficult for people to relate to politicians and civil servants as a citizen, rather than as a client or a customer.

The rise of management occurred hand in hand with the rise of industrial society and the associated development of trade and financial economy. The dominance of management since the 1980s is entwined with neoliberalism in economics and politics. Management and neoliberalism are two developments that mutually reinforce each other.

Management theory is based on the concept of consumers and clients that can and must be influenced, instead of on citizens who can think and act independently. Management has consequences for the functioning of government and democracy. Ultimately, management is at odds with personal freedom, pluriformity, a democratic society, and the democratic rule of law.

This book describes how management works and reveals its profound effects on different aspects of our lives and of society. Just to be clear: this is not a book for managers explaining how to improve their management skills. It is also not a theoretical criticism of managerialism.<sup>5</sup> It is instead an analytical approach to the history of mentalities: how did we get here? Why does a manager think and act the way he does and what are the consequences for society?

- PART 1 describes the way a manager thinks and acts. What is management? What has changed in the last 30 years? What is the appeal of the management method?
- PART 2 describes the way management works in organisations and how this impacts the people who need to deal with organisations, which is practically everyone nowadays.
- PART 3 describes the influence of management on government and on society as a whole. How does management influence the way politicians, civil servants and citizens think and act?
- PART 4 deals with the possibilities of overcoming the dominance of management in society. By choosing a different perspective from that of a manager, we can develop new ways of looking at society and can discover new directions to take.

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Although this book is critical of management, it is not my intention to be critical towards individuals who happen to be a manager. That is why I use the term ‘model manager’ as a ‘type’ or abstract example, to facilitate the elaboration of sharp and clear analyses.<sup>6</sup> It is not my intention to impute to every individual manager the mentality and behaviour of the model manager. The cases in this book are mainly based on my experiences in the Netherlands, Europe and an international MBA-training. Readers from different countries will find similar cases from their own experience.

The principal aim of this book is to show that it is possible to adopt different perspectives on society than that of the model manager. And this, in turn, will open up new ways for us to participate in and contribute to our society.

## Privatising the common good

8 In the model manager's view of the world, the state is firstly an organisation that collects taxes and provides services; so an entrepreneurial organisation like any other. Secondly, he sees it as the task of governments to ensure that there are markets and to facilitate these. In the worldview of the model manager this is the government's most important task. In the 1990s, the model managers of New Public Management identified three ways for governments to facilitate markets: by outsourcing public tasks, by turning citizens into customers, and by abolishing state monopolies.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, since then model managers have come up with lots more ways how governments can facilitate markets and market players. Model managers and neoliberals both see the market as a test for the government. Anything that can be arranged as a market transaction should be arranged as such. This is how the model manager's way of thinking influences how public bodies actually operate.

A first way in which the government can facilitate markets and private parties is by outsourcing its own tasks to the market. According to NPM, the government can do so by distinguishing between steering and rowing, as described earlier. This way, markets have been created for what used to be government tasks. Since the 1980s, governments have outsourced and tendered a growing number of tasks. Tendering government tasks has in fact become one of the main activities performed by public bodies. Both the European Union and national governments have introduced rules and laws to ensure the smooth and proper tendering of tasks by public bodies. These rules not only serve to protect the public bodies and market players against each other, but also and especially to ensure a level playing field for the various market players. In this way, the government facilitates a market for public tasks.

In the model manager's view, the outsourcing authorities should simultaneously operate as efficiently as possible. The government does so by focusing its outsourcing on the lowest price, thereby prompting the market players to compete in this respect only. Market players can also have their own ideas on how a task can be performed cheaper, in which case the government will also put them in control of the 'steering' policies. Costs are then the government's only decision-making criterion in its 'steering' activities. This approach can result in the establishment of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP), through which government projects or tasks are outsourced and tendered for the long term. As an example: a government outsources not just the construction of a road, but also the responsibility for road maintenance and traffic safety for a long (say, thirty-year) period. Or, a government body outsources the construction



of a new government building, combined with contracts for cleaning and catering services for say twenty years. In some advanced forms of outsourcing, even the financing is outsourced to market players.<sup>8</sup>

The large-scale outsourcing of public tasks to market players has several negative effects.

- A first effect is that the entrepreneurial government is primarily guided by efficiency. The Net Present Value (NPV) of the outsourced project must be positive, or as high as possible. Other interests, such as the safety of the users of the road or building, or avoiding external effects such as environmental damage, carry less weight.
- A second effect is that the market players are understandably concerned for the funders' financial return, in this case the government's financial interest. This efficiency objective prevails over other interests, also within the organisation of the market player that is carrying out the work. Furthermore, it is difficult to draw up a procurement contract that can meet multiple interests. Being the most efficient supplier but also creating employment opportunities for people at a distance to the labour market is a difficult combination for any market player to achieve – and therefore rarely occurs.<sup>9</sup>
- Tenders also go hand in hand with a certain amount of bureaucracy. The processes need to be conducted according to what are often very detailed rules. This takes up a lot of time, also on account of the legal proceedings that often ensue. The parties who didn't win the tender may feel they were treated unfairly, and it is easy to start legal proceedings to examine the public procurement procedures. In any case, everything needs to be set out contractually, which often requires the assistance of specialised lawyers.
- The resulting contracts are often so strict and tightly controlled that there is little room for adjustments along the way. The assumed flexibility, as a benefit of procurement, has likely diminished rather than increased compared to previously, when civil servants carried out the tasks. Additionally, the performance of a private party is assessed only by the tendering public entity, but there is not much it can do besides verifying whether all the contractual obligations have been met. The general public, the customers, the citizens, have no role to play in the assessment of performance. They have in fact been side-lined.

This last point also applies to politicians, who cannot or hardly intervene if the contracted party does meet its obligations, but the terms of the contract itself are deficient. It can also be quite a challenge to enforce an existing contract. The claim to greater flexibility that the model managers of NPM like to cite is often not proven in practice.

#### **HAARLEM ALSO OUTSOURCES CONTROL**

Starting from 2015, the Dutch city of Haarlem has fully outsourced the management and maintenance of public space. In addition, it has outsourced the management of these contracted market players to another market player. All in all, this outsourcing arrangement is to the tune of 140 million euros over a four-year term.<sup>10</sup>

A second way of facilitating markets and market players is by turning citizens into customers. The NPM model managers see the entrepreneurial government primarily as an organisation that collects taxes and provides services. These managers look at citizens in the same way, that is, as customers of the government's services. In their view, the citizens need to be 'empowered' to act as real customers. The underlying line of reasoning is that, if the citizen is confident and self-assured as a customer, he or she will also be able to choose which government services he or she wishes to use.

In this way, too, government services are 'marketed' and market players are facilitated. As an example: the citizen, or customer, who can obtain vouchers to exchange with market players, or is given the 'Personal Care Budget' (Persoonsgebonden Budget, PGB) with which to purchase care services.

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Clearly, in reality not every citizen is sufficiently assertive and able to make the best possible choices as a customer. A gravely ill or handicapped person lacks the energy and the strength to purchase care using the PGB. But as it turns out, this can also be left to the market: in many places in the Netherlands today, 'care consultants' are operating. Care institutions, too, are only too happy to unburden their customers and to arrange their own income using their clients' PGB.

A third approach to facilitating markets and private parties is by abolishing government monopolies. It is the NPM model managers' principle that competition is better than regulation and that government monopolies disturb the market. Government companies such as municipal utilities or waste processing companies need to be privatised, and the associated markets liberalised. In this way, too, markets have been created that were previously considered part of the public sector. The model manager also thinks that all kinds of institutes should be privatised so that they can operate on a market. In his belief this includes educational institutes, care organisations, and many other forms of public services.

The model manager's worldview easily spawns a conceptual fallacy. In case of 'market failure', the government has to step in to facilitate markets. At the same time, the model manager will claim 'government failure' if the government's solution is less efficient than that of market players. So the market is always the solution. This logic is described as 'pragmatic optimism' in the Netherlands; 'pragmatic', because market forces are seen as the default solution to any instance of problematic government performance, and 'optimistic' because of the boundless belief in this solution.<sup>11</sup>

The model manager's ambivalent relationship to regulation is notable. On the one hand, he believes that the government should enable as many markets as possible, and so should liberalise. The model manager will therefore advocate deregulation. Yet at the same time, he feels that the government should facilitate market players, and should for instance prevent unfair competition. To persuade a consumer to purchase a poor quality product or service on the basis of false claims is an example of unfair competition, in the model manager's view. In this regard he is in favour of regulation and control. In the model manager's view, the aim of control and monitoring is not in the interest of protecting citizens but of preventing unfair competition.

In any case, regulation actually means that more markets are created and that more (rather than less) private parties can operate on these markets. After all, all who play by the rules can operate on the market. Indeed, there are many more electricity suppliers and personal loan providers today than thirty years ago.

#### **THE LIBERALISATION OF THE ELECTRICITY MARKET HAS NOT BENEFITTED THE CUSTOMER**

There are now dozens of companies supplying electricity in the Netherlands. Liberalisation and privatisation have gone hand in hand with more regulation and an increasing number of market players. This development required, first, the break-up of existing utility companies. The 'natural' monopoly concerning the expensive cable and connections infrastructure has been put in the hands of grid operators, and the market for energy producers and suppliers has been liberalised. The original utility companies such as Nuon and Essent have been privatised.<sup>12</sup>

Today's utility companies often do not supply electricity or gas, but a financial product. Their job is to purchase electricity or gas from a (privatised) producer and to supply that product to the domestic consumer via the grid operator. The utility companies compete with regard to contracts, terms of delivery, price, administration and marketing, and sometimes the quality of the product if it concerns renewable ('green') electricity. To ensure that the grid operators can supply the electricity to the consumer in time, all electricity is labelled and priced and mapped out per 15 minutes. To control the whole sector requires even more control and supervision.

It is inevitable that, given this system, all customers together end up paying more for energy than is strictly necessary. After all, since the chain now consists of more parties, it involves additional transaction costs. There is also an extensive bureaucracy to pay for.

At the same time, the domestic customers complain about the stress of making choices and the fact that they end up bearing the coordination costs, such as switching to another provider. The only advantage seems to be that customers can now opt for renewable energy, and are not compelled to purchase the energy mix offered by a regional monopolist provider. This could also have been achieved by giving citizens a greater say. The liberalisation and privatisation has furthermore made it harder, in fact almost impossible, for the government to pursue an energy policy that serves the common good. The government will by now always need to rely on the cooperation of all the market players. Over the past twenty years, the share of renewable energy has only increased from 3 to 6 per cent of the total consumption in the Netherlands. Under European agreements, this ought to reach 14 per cent by 2020.<sup>13</sup>

A fourth possibility is to turn what are otherwise known as ‘commons’ or public goods into commodities. For example, a common such as clean air can be converted into ‘rights’ or permits to pollute this air (the so-called ‘emission credits’). The European Union’s emission trading system (E U E T S) even entitles businesses to receive emission rights for free, so that companies who receive these rights are in fact granted a substantial sum of money. They receive these rights for free, but can subsequently cash in these rights on the emission trade market.

#### EMISSIONS TRADING SYSTEM BARELY REDUCES THE EMISSION OF GREENHOUSE GASES

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Under the European Union’s emission trading system, the ETS, governments have granted emission rights to companies that emit greenhouse gases, so to the polluters. Not all companies have received these rights, as some are exempted from participating in the system. But those who are obliged to participate have initially received these rights to pollute for free. It is only since 2013 that a part of these rights are auctioned off.<sup>14</sup> In a way the government has divided up clean air among the polluters. The idea is to create a market for the right to pollute. By artificially reducing the number of emission rights each year, it is hoped and expected that this will lead to lower emissions and hence to less pollution of the air with CO<sub>2</sub>. This goal is barely achieved, however, because the cap is set too high, some sectors are exempted, and the rights to pollute do not cost the businesses anything, or hardly anything.

The ETS is a good example of the EU applying the model manager’s way of thinking: we need to have privatised ownership and the government needs to enable a market for these assets. Meanwhile, the emission rights are nothing less than a financial product that can be traded on a market. The system fails to truly contribute to solving the real problem: leaving fossil fuels in the ground to prevent the emission of greenhouse gases.

A fifth means of facilitating markets is to not hinder market players in using commons. In that case it is made easy for market players to use up the commons. A prospective new act in the Netherlands, the Environment and Planning Act (‘Omgevingswet’), is partly based on this principle. This act grants a significant role to the initiating parties seeking to change the life environment, as well as to the participation process of other citizens.<sup>15</sup> Essentially, what this boils down to is that the public commons are divided up among the current market players, on a ‘first come first serve’ basis. Both the act itself and the practical process of granting permits has less attention for a proper weighing of (other) interests, or for weighing the interests of present and future generations, or for safeguarding the general public interest. Interests that are not explicitly expressed on current markets are not taken account of.

Markets can furthermore be facilitated by having the government sell off public goods. This is one of the tasks of the Central Government Real Estate Agency (Rijksvastgoedbedrijf) in the Netherlands. For instance, some former military terrains could be turned into nature areas and retained as a common. Instead, they are often sold to project developers, thereby facilitating the market for housing projects or amusement parks.<sup>16</sup>

A sixth means by which the government can facilitate markets and private parties is to leave the markets alone. This is in line with the model manager's reasoning: leaving the performance of tasks in the hands of markets is preferable to having them performed by government bodies. According to this logic, it is even inappropriate for the government to intervene in the functioning of the financial markets. It is the government's task to facilitate such markets, and it should exercise great restraint in terms of prohibiting any kind of financial products or services. In practice, this is indeed how governments operate: they do not discourage or prohibit certain financial operations, or they benefit from it through taxation.

A seventh approach to facilitating markets and market players is for the government to shoulder the so-called external costs and risks of market players. In the model manager's view, the government should for instance create a labour market consisting of well-educated and motivated people.<sup>17</sup> The government can also help by insuring export risks or by stepping in to save banks if they are about to collapse.

Finally, there is an eighth way to facilitate markets and private parties. The model manager can take his reasoning one step further, namely by advocating that market players are allowed to use the state's instruments. For the model manager, it may offer his company important competitive advantages if the company has some of the state's instruments of power at its disposal. There are not many examples of this occurring in the Netherlands, but an example from abroad would be the power granted to employers to award residence permits to employees.

The state monopoly on violence, too, can be transferred to private parties. As an example, security firms in the United States are hired to run penitentiaries and play a major role in war-time operations. As a result, any reform of penal law or a decision on ending a war is no longer purely a political decision regarding the general good, but transforms into a discussion on who is granted which profits.

#### **EVEN WARS ARE PRIVATISED**

Even wars can be privatised. There are several large private military companies that operate worldwide, such as Blackwater (now Academi), or Dyncorp International. In Afghanistan, the number of employees of such companies (who are often armed) outnumbered American soldiers. The United States has become dependent on such contractors for their military operations. These companies are also hired by multinational corporations and international organisations, and their services are welcomed by countries seeking to cut back on their military expenditure.

In some respects these companies resemble the mercenary armies of the late Middle Ages. At that time, wars were not conducted by states but by landowners, popes, kingdoms and city-states. Similarly, wars now can be conducted by various groups within and between states. The private military companies have a vested interest in prolonging such conflicts, as it is their source of income.

It remains unclear how many casualties such companies suffer, however. These private companies also 'do the dying' in private; the tears are not shed in public, and play no role in the public debate. The workforce of these firms sometimes consists of people from developing countries. There are instances of politicians having financial interests in companies operating in conflict zones, such as the former US Vice President Dick Cheney.<sup>18</sup>

In all of the situations identified above, it is clear that market players can have a strong interest in the outcome of elections or a public debate. Accordingly, they can attempt to influence the outcome through lobbying or by giving financial support to political campaigns, parties or people.

All too often market players end up making criminal use of the government, through activities that go beyond supporting candidates, funding campaigns or pampering officials. Holding an actual position within the government can offer private parties even better opportunities to pursue their financial objectives. For instance, a project developer holding the position of city council member can approve his own construction projects, or a person like Donald Trump can use his position as U S president to secure his business interests in other countries.

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The model manager's reasoning that it is the role of the government to facilitate markets and market players can in reality invite abuse by those same market players. The door to the public sector is thrown open to profit-seeking people and businesses.<sup>19</sup> The government is 'for sale', or can be taken advantage of unlawfully.

Even barring such extreme instances, and if no undermining of authority or criminal activity occurs, the model manager's worldview has a significant impact on how governments operate. One important consequence is that money is extracted from the public sector to serve as profit for private market players. The model manager reasons that most tasks are better off performed by a private party than by the government, because they can do so more cheaply. This means that part of the revenue created by the cheaper performance goes toward the private party, which means in turn that this part of the money will not benefit a better performance, or the general public interest. In practice, public funds are deployed to make private profits possible. Public funds can also serve to increase a private party's profit by means of the financial leverage effect. This may occur for instance in public-private partnerships in infrastructural projects.

A further consequence of the model manager's worldview is that government entities primarily take account of and listen to market players. The interests of those who lack a powerful voice in a marketplace are considered to be less relevant, and interests that cannot be expressed in a marketplace are not or barely taken account of. The facilitating government acts on the assumption of a society consisting of market players. It is increasingly less geared towards facilitating parties other than market players, such as citizens or future citizens, nature and the environment, or people who depend on the government in other ways, such as suppliers based in other countries. Those interests play no role in the decisions taken via the market mechanism, while the government is increasingly leaving decisions to this mechanism.

It belongs to the essence of democratic rule of law, however, that decisions are arrived at in other ways than via a market mechanism. Under democratic rule of law, decisions are taken on political grounds, which implies a permanent debate regarding the 'common good' – that is, regarding the interests of the inhabitants. The political and societal debate gives substance to the 'common good' and the content will vary according to topic and situation. Serving the public interest means taking account of future generations and of interests that are not expressed on a market.<sup>20</sup>

At present in the Netherlands and other European countries, the dominance of the management method means that there is barely any democratic debate aimed at determining the general public interest.<sup>21</sup> After all, things are very clear for the many model managers in our society. For an enterprising and facilitating government, the public interest coincides with what is the cheapest for the state. In this way, the public interest is made subordinate to the private interests of commercial market players. The temptation of the management doctrine is hard to resist, also where the government is concerned. In the model manager's view, management is universally applicable, the intended results can always be planned, and the NPV-calculations are always the guideline when it comes to making decisions. Also where state matters and the democratic rule of law are concerned, the model manager yields to the intellectual simplicity of the management method.

# Notes

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- 1 Joan Magretta and Nan Stone, *What Management Is: How It Works and Why It's Everyone's Business*. The Free Press, New York 2002, p. 1.
- 2 Magretta, p. 6.
- 3 Chapters 2 and 3 examine this further.
- 4 The majority of managers are still male. Nonetheless, wherever the text mentions 'he', 'him' or 'his', 'she' or 'her' can be read as well.
- 5 See for example Willard F. Enteman, *Managerialism. The Emergence of a New Ideology*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1993.
- 6 Sociologists would, following the example of Max Weber, use the term 'ideal type' here.
- 7 David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*. Plume, Penguin USA, New York 1993.
- 8 Carola Houtekamer, 'Verbreiding A15 loopt uit op drama voor bouwers' ['Widening the A15 highway turns into a drama for the builders']. In: *NRC Handelsblad*, 24 April 2015.
- 9 In cases where this does happen, it is referred to as a 'social enterprise'. The Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands defines a social enterprise as an independent enterprise that delivers a product or service but primarily and explicitly fulfils a societal objective, that is, seeks to solve a societal problem. According to the definition of the Council, the enterprise is free to determine its profit-sharing and employee participation models. The European Commission does specify the latter aspects: the social objective must have priority over profit-making and decisions need to be made in a participative or democratic way. Source: SER, *Sociale ondernemingen. Een verkennend advies*. Advies 15/03, 2015. Social and Economic Council, The Hague 2015, p. 27.
- 10 Saskia Buitelaar, 'Haarlem besteedt echt alles uit' ('Haarlem truly outsources everything'). *Binnenlands Bestuur*, 9 april 2015.
- 11 Bart Stellinga, *Dertig jaar privatisering, verzelfstandiging en marktwerking [Thirty years of privatisation, corporatisation and market forces]*. Amsterdam University Press/WRR, Amsterdam/Den Haag 2012, p. 13.
- 12 Rather ironically, these companies were bought in turn by state-owned companies such as the Swedish Vattenfall. All the shares of this parent company are owned by the Swedish state.
- 13 Belia Heilbron, 'Aandeel groene energie nauwelijks toegenomen' ['Share of green energy has barely increased']. In: *NRC Handelsblad*, 30 May 2017. See also: *Compendium voor de leefomgeving. Verbruik van hernieuwbare energie 1990-2016* on <http://www.clo.nl/indicatoren/nlo385-verbruik-van-hernieuwbare-energie?ond=20881> (last viewed: 3 August 2018).
- 14 In the Netherlands, this is the responsibility of the Dutch Emissions Authority. <https://www.emissieautoriteit.nl/onderwerpen/toewijzing-ets/veiling-van-emissierechten> (last viewed: 30 September 2018)
- 15 Tijmen Siermann, 'De omgevingswet: sneller, efficiënter en rechtvaardiger?' [The Environment and Planning Act: faster, more efficient, more just?]. In: *Binnenlands Bestuur*, 12 February 2018. *Regels over het beschermen en benutten van de fysieke leefomgeving (Omgevingswet)*, *Memorie van Toelichting*, p. 9. [Explanatory Memorandum, Rules on the protection and utilisation of the physical environment (Environment and Planning Act). Lower House of Parliament, session year 2013-2014, 33962 no. 3.
- 16 See <https://www.rijkswastgoedbedrijf.nl/over-ons/documenten/brochure/2015/06/02/rijkswastgoedbedrijf-corporate-brochure-2015> (last viewed: 3 August 2018).
- 17 Jannetje Koelewijn, 'Het blijft lekker als mensen gewoon doen wat je zegt' ['So nice when people just do what you tell them to']. In: *NRC Handelsblad*, 24 October 2015.
- 18 Sean McFate, *The Modern Mercenary: Private Armies and What They Mean for World Order*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014. See also: Juurd Eijvoogel, 'Oorlog voeren zonder tranen' ['Warfare without tears'] In: *NRC Handelsblad*, 23 May 2015, p. 33.
- 19 Richard Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism*. Yale University Press, New Haven 2006, p. 166.
- 20 Arnold Heertje, *Echte economie. Een verhandeling over schaarste en welvaart en over het geloof in leermeesters en leren* ['A treatise on scarcity and well-being and about faith in teachers and 'lernen' (learning)']. Thijmgenootschap, Nijmegen 2006. <https://www.thijmgenootschap.nl/sites/thijmgenootschap.nl/files/artikelen/t94-4-arnold-heertje-echte-economie.pdf>
- 21 See for example: Roel Kuiper, *De terugkeer van het algemeen belang. Privatiseringsverdriet en de toekomst van Nederland* [The return of the common good. The grief of privatisation and the future of the Netherlands]. Van Gennep, Amsterdam 2014.