

UPPER MIDDLE-CLASS RESOURCES OF POWER IN
THE EDUCATION ARENA

Dutch elite schools in an age of globalisation

Don Weenink

For my parents

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Preface

Given the fact that this research pertains to the Dutch situation, I think that writing in English rather than in my mother tongue reduced the size of my audience considerably. Moreover, it made the task of writing much harder. While writing, I also felt there was a threat of oversimplifying the text, as it sometimes appeared that my command of English was hardly adequate to capture the nuances, subtleties and complexities of the social world I wanted to describe. So, why is this written in English? Current Dutch social science is increasingly penetrated by the English language as a consequence of the internationalisation of Dutch social science. Publishing in international scientific journals has become the standard of ‘good’ social scientific research. Scientific careers and institutions are benchmarked by the number of citations in such journals, which at the same time provided university administrators with a quasi-objective tool to evaluate and select staff. Currently, international publications have become a necessary precondition to enter sought-after positions in the social scientific world, like that of university teachers. In addition, ‘international experience’ is regarded as an asset that is of value in the Dutch social scientific labour market: I already came across job advertisements in which an ‘international orientation’ was explicitly mentioned as a criterion for selection of the candidates. In my view, the importance of cosmopolitan assets in Dutch social science will continue to increase. So I found that writing this thesis in English might help to prepare myself for these cosmopolitan circumstances. Moreover, the idea was that after having written the thesis in English, it would take less of an effort to transform separate chapters into articles for international journals. Interestingly, my first attempt to publish an earlier version of chapter 3 in a British social scientific journal failed exactly because, according to the editor, my text was ‘marred by a very large number of infelicitious expressions, many of them cause serious problems for the reader’. I then responded by saying that rejection of the paper on linguistic grounds is not fair because non-native authors are handicapped in this respect. The editor was prepared to consider this argument and gave me a second chance to improve the paper. Unfortunately, I spoilt this second chance; I hired a non-professional editor whose efforts could not prevent the text from failing to meet the standards of proper English usage.

By revealing these personal experiences here, I have introduced you to one of the main themes of this study: the workings of cosmopolitan assets as a source of power. Cosmopolitan capital is currently gaining more importance within the total package of powers that underlay

(upper) middle-class positions. In this study I try to show how these cosmopolitan and other power resources are brought into play in the education arena.

I decided to give the text a British flavour, as far as a native Dutch is able to do so. I found there were several reasons to use British English instead of the more taken-for-granted use of American English. First, both the contemporary British sociology of education and the tradition of (middle-) class analysis in British sociology have inspired this study to a large extent. Second, I think it is important to develop a self-conscious European sociological community vis-à-vis the American domination in this area. As there is no European variant of English yet, I found that British-English was the more appropriate language to write in.

This study could not have been carried out without the help of many people. First, I would like to thank the pupils and parents who took the effort to complete the questionnaires and who have so kindly welcomed me in their homes to tell me about their children and their children's schools. I am also very grateful to the schools' cooperation in this project. Anne Maljers and Henk Oonk at the European Platform for Dutch Education introduced me to the world of the internationalised streams and informed me regularly about current developments in this area. The idea to study the internationalised streams was not mine but Jaap Dronkers', my promotor. It turned out that his idea provided me with a wonderful and inspiring opportunity to do sociological research. He gave me ample space to turn his idea into a project of my own. I am grateful for his encouragement and the way he shared his sociological reasoning and statistical expertise with me; I have learned a lot. His move to Italy gave me a splendid opportunity to visit Florence: thanks for the hospitality and the pleasant stay, Tonny. I have learned tremendously from the lasting supervision by and co-operation with Ali de Regt, who was co-promotor in this project. One of my first experiences of how inspiring sociology can be was a lecture she gave when I was a freshman. Since we started to work jointly on our research into Dutch private schools, she turned out to be a critical and intelligent reader of my papers in progress. I have also come to know her as very helpful supervisor. I am very grateful for all this and also for her personal interest. Jan Rupp gave the project a decisive turn right from the start of the project as he suggested to include gymnasiums in the research design. This has made the project richer and more interesting. He also provided me with critical and insightful comments during the course of the project. This study has benefited much from his knowledge of both the sociology of education and the sociology of elites.

The Amsterdam School for Social Science Research provided me with a grant to conduct this research. This gave me with the opportunity to meet many interesting and

stimulating colleagues. Among all of them I want to name Bowen Paulle and Christian Bröer in particular, for the pleasure of discussing sociological issues as well as matters of young fatherhood. The meetings of the Ph.D. clubs turned out to be of particular value for the development of this thesis. Quite a few chapters of this book have been discussed as papers in these clubs. The discussions appeared to be very fruitful and have broadened and enriched my social scientific knowledge. I would like to thank all participants of these Ph.D. clubs for upholding the academic spirit in a good atmosphere. Some of them gave detailed comments on one or more chapters, so I would like to mention them here: Rineke van Daalen, Ineke Huibregtse, Sjoerd Karsten, Bernard Kruithof, Bert Schijf, Heleen Terwijn, Geert de Vries, Herman van de Werfhorst, Anthon Wesseling, Jette Westerbeek and Mara Yerkes.

Finally, I would like thank my parents for their interest and support in various ways, from baby-sitting to funding. Well then, Lisa, you must be glad to see that this thesis actually did come to an end, eventually. I kept you waiting. Thank you for all the love and for being proud of me.

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1 Schools and the middle classes

What this book is about

A classical sociological question is: To what extent are positions in the system of socio-economic inequality socially ‘inherited’. The present study investigates this broad question of social reproduction. Sociological research into social reproduction—and particularly the study of the role of education systems in this process—has become a fashionable area of enquiry. As far back as twenty years ago Cookson and Persell (1985: 14) wrote that ‘demonstrating that education does little to reduce social inequalities has become something of a growth industry in academic circles’. Nowadays, it still is the dominant theme in the sociology of education, which is perhaps more appropriately referred to as the sociology of social reproduction through education. If sociology in general was called ‘a somewhat fatigued discipline’ by Norbert Elias in 1989, this is all the more true for the self-repeating research into social reproduction through education.¹ On the other hand, the sociology of education can boast a tradition that opened up new theoretical horizons and fostered ground-breaking methodological investigations. This book aims to draw from this rich tradition without recreating the same old story about the relationship between social reproduction and the education system. So, what makes my approach so different?

My focus is narrow and restricted to the relationship between the middle classes and the highest level of secondary education. The middle classes? Indeed, the basic premise of this study is that the middle classes exert their power through various resources. The composition of the total package of resources varies across the middle class and, consequently, fractions within the middle class can be identified that are formed around a certain resource of power that dominates other resources. Accordingly, these fractions might follow different strategies of social reproduction. The main aim of my study is to explore whether and how these various sources of power are reproduced in local education arenas and, more specifically, whether they are related to different school types. I will distinguish between forms of capital that belong to an established upper middle-class pathway on the one hand, and a relatively open cosmopolitan upper middle-class trajectory on the other. I will also explore how different middle-class assets—culture, organisation, and property—relate to the education arena. Before I go into the theoretical conceptualisations that must ultimately provide an answer to why a certain individual is middle class and another is not, I will provide a picture of this varied social category. In this study, as in most sociological studies, the

middle classes comprise both an upper and a lower part. The upper middle class consists of the classic professions (doctors, lawyers) and other experts (engineers, social scientists, and teachers). Large-scale entrepreneurs are also considered to be upper middle class, as well as higher managers with ten or more subordinates. For want of a better word, I refer to semi-professionals (social workers, midwives), lower managers, and small proprietors with at least two employees as ‘middle’ middle class, to make the distinction with the upper middle class while trying to avoid associations with prevailing notions of the ‘lower middle class’. Clerks, supervisors, lower technicians and owners of a one-man business, as well as all manual occupations are not part of the middle class.

But why should we engage in such an undertaking, since we know that the middle classes are very well able to educate themselves? Whereas the majority of studies in the sociology of education have focussed on the position of deprived children, and other studies have drawn attention to the education of elites, a ‘sociology of educating the middle class is missing’ (Power 2001). Perhaps the latter statement has now been taken up by some recent publications, by Power herself (2003) and others (Allatt 1993; Ball 2003; Chin 2000; Lucy and Reay 2002; Reay and Ball 1998; De Regt and Weenink 2003) but studies that focus on the relationship between education and the middle class—rather than treating it as a ‘normalized, taken for granted, frame of reference’ (Power 2001: 197)—are still marginal in the sociology of education. According to Power (2001), the absence of such studies in the past has led to an empirical gap in research, as the middle classes have continually expanded since the Second World War. This is a deficiency because educational credentials are a crucial source of power for the middle classes and have become almost a necessary precondition for obtaining such positions. More importantly however, sociological enquiry into the relationship between education and the middle classes can contribute to theories on the relationship between education and social reproduction in general (Power 2001: 198). This study intends to do just that.

I want to explore possibly diverging patterns of middle-class social reproduction with regard to three school types at the highest level of Dutch secondary education. But why focus on schools at the highest level of secondary education only if the aim is to study differentiated processes of social reproduction of the middle classes? The reason for doing so is twofold. First, pupils attending these three school types have successfully overcome the first hurdles on their way to middle-class positions; they arguably have the highest chances of obtaining middle-class positions as compared to their peers at lower levels of secondary education. If there are any ‘typical middle-class schools’ in the Netherlands, then these are the ones. The

study is thus restricted to the first successful stage of a social reproduction process. Second, the various pre-university school types under study provide room to designate possibly differentiated processes of social reproduction between middle-class fractions.

Three school types at the highest level of secondary education

The Dutch secondary education system belongs to the most (formally) segregated systems in Europe, if not the world (see also Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau 2000: 463-464). In formal terms, children are assigned to three different levels of secondary education at the age of twelve — in practice, there are four levels— based on a test [*cito*] that takes place in the final year of primary school as well as on the basis of a ‘school-recommendation’ that is given by their primary school. This recommendation attempts to evaluate the ability of the child in the broader perspective of its overall achievements at primary school. The highest level of secondary education in the Netherlands is ‘preparatory university education’ [*voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs*]. Within this level, three school types can be distinguished: regular pre-university streams, gymnasiums, and internationalised streams [*tweetalig onderwijs*]. All of them are state-funded and provide a six-year curriculum that gives equal access to university.² They thus provide the first steps on the road to middle-class positions.

While most Dutch youngsters attend a first year of secondary education that is more or less mixed in terms of their educational abilities, gymnasiums and internationalised streams provide non-mixed pre-university education from the first year. The latter school types only admit children who obtained the highest test scores and school-recommendations. Regular pre-university streams are markedly less selective with regard to the academic ability of their pupils. In 1999, only 39% of all pupils who attended the third year of regular pre-university education had actually been given a recommendation that assigned them straight to the level of pre-university education [*vwo advies*].³ Compare this to the 83% of the pupils who attended the third year of a categorial gymnasium (Agerbeek 1999; see also Bronneman-Helmerts, Herweijer and Vogels 2002: 104, Table 5.2; Inspectie van het Onderwijs 1998a).

The regular pre-university streams, that officially became part of secondary education in 1968, originated from schools that were competitors of the gymnasiums from the 19th century through the first half of the 20th century. They offered a modern alternative for the classical curriculum by teaching modern languages (notably French), mathematics, and economics. Today, the regular pre-university streams offer the most frequently followed educational trajectory that leads to university. The regular pre-university streams and the

internationalised streams are part of larger schools that offer more levels of secondary education. In this book, I will use the term ‘comprehensive’ schools to indicate such schools. At these ‘comprehensive’ schools, pupils follow the various levels of secondary education in separate streams. Unlike in France, the UK and the US, where state-funded secondary schooling offers mixed-ability teaching in the first three to four years of secondary education, the Dutch comprehensive schools only provide mixed-ability teaching in the first and/or second year of secondary schooling [*brugklas*]. Furthermore, the mixing at Dutch comprehensive schools is often restricted to pupils with either a pre-university recommendation or a recommendation at the level just below pre-university: higher general secondary education [*havo*], a five-year curriculum, comparable to the British GSCE Higher (Bronneman-Helmers, Herweijer and Vogels 2002: 96-97). After one or two years of mixed-ability teaching, pupils are separated into either the pre-university stream or the higher general secondary education stream.

The prestigious gymnasiums provide a classical curriculum and are often considered as traditional elite schools. Gymnasiums are comparable to British grammar schools and to their German namesakes. Most gymnasiums originated at the end of the 19th century, though some were founded as early as in the 14th century. Unlike regular pre-university streams and internationalised streams, the gymnasiums included in this study are not part of larger comprehensive schools. For this reason, they are commonly referred to as ‘independent gymnasiums’ [*zelfstandige gymnasia*] or ‘categorical’ gymnasiums [*categoriale gymnasia*]. The term independent here has nothing to do with its usual connotation with fee-paying in Anglo-Saxon education systems. It merely indicates that gymnasiums provide only one stream of secondary education: pre-university education that includes one or both classical languages.⁴

At the internationalised streams, half of the programme is taught in English and pupils are provided with an internationalised curriculum consisting of foreign exchanges and training in ‘European and international orientation’ (I will discuss this in more detail in chapter 3). The teachers are native English speakers and native Dutch speakers who have followed an intensive training in English. At most schools, teachers and students alike participate in exchange programmes and/or internships at English-speaking organisations abroad or in the Netherlands. The commonly used name for this type of education is ‘bilingual education’ [*tweetalig onderwijs*]. I prefer to call them ‘internationalised streams’ in order to avoid confusion; in education science, bilingual education often applies to school types in which the languages of instruction are both the official language or languages of a nation state and/or the

language of a minority group (e.g. Welsh and English in Wales, French and English in Canada, or Turkish and German in Germany). Research into the mastery of English of pupils attending internationalised streams as compared to those who follow regular pre-university education showed that the former scored significantly higher with regard to vocabulary, reading skills and oral language skills, taking the higher starting level of the pupils at the internationalised streams into account (Huibregtse 2001: 160). At many internationalised streams, pupils take the International Baccalaureate (IB) examination in English. This certificate provides them with the opportunity to study at universities all over the world. Note by the way that the internationalised streams studied here are different from international schools. The latter schools are not part of the Dutch system of secondary education, instead of the national curriculum they offer a programme that prepares for the International Baccalaureate certificate, which is granted by the International Baccalaureate Organization in Switzerland. The international schools are privately funded and are reserved for families of foreign employees living temporarily in the Netherlands and for returning Dutch expatriates whose children attended primary school abroad.

Whereas internationalised streams emphasise the practical use of their curriculum in their marketing activities, the focus on the Classics at the gymnasiums seems to lack this practical character. This difference concerns the most distinguishing features of both schools: learning English at a high level for a cosmopolitan career in a world without borders (I am using catchphrases here used by internationalised streams themselves) or being initiated into the classical antiquity. This division also appears with regard to the creative subjects the schools offer: drama in the internationalised streams is marketed as a way of learning how to present yourself in public using the English language. The school choir or school orchestra of many gymnasiums demonstrate the time and energy that are devoted to that highest of muses, but nevertheless ‘useless’, musical education. Remarkably, many schools that provide an internationalised stream used to advertise themselves as the ‘modern gymnasium’. Note that at some of the schools that offer an internationalised stream, classical languages—sometimes taught in English—are also offered as part of the internationalised curriculum. Both school types are geared to the most academically able pupils, and are sometimes competitors in local education markets.

In 2002-2003, there were nearly 23,000 gymnasium pupils, 5,000 pupils attended internationalised streams and about 220,000 pupils attended regular pre-university streams. (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2004a). The following statistics indicate the small segment of society that is concerned with gymnasiums and internationalised streams.

Gymnasium pupils comprised 2.5% of all pupils attending secondary education, while their share of all pre-university pupils was 9%. The pupils who attended internationalised streams made up 0.5% of the total number of pupils and 2% of the pupils at pre-university level. Regular pre-university streams provided education to nearly a quarter of all pupils, while they had a share of nearly 89% of the pre-university pupils (see Table 3-1, for an explication of these statistics).

In this research, the regular pre-university streams serve as a baseline for comparison, while the focus of interest lies on the other two school types. Up till now, these school types and the families who make use of them have not been the focus of sociological investigation, apart from the quantitative historical-sociological study by Mandemakers (1996) of gymnasiums and the precursors of the regular pre-university streams and De Jong's (1998; 2000) studies into the differences between former pupils of regular pre-university streams and pupils who had followed a gymnasium curriculum.

I will elaborate on this brief introduction to the school types under study in chapter 3. The following sections explain the main theoretical perspectives that have inspired the research.

Main themes of the study

This research into the school types, parents, and pupils has three main themes. The first theme is about the relationship between our school types and differentiation within the middle class. Throughout the book, I will apply two conceptualisations of the middle class. The first, called the assets approach, emphasises horizontal differentiation, which basically involves three middle-class assets: organisational assets (managers), cultural assets (professionals) and property assets (entrepreneurs). The second approach, known as the EGP scheme, regards the middle class as horizontally homogenous but allows for a vertical division into an upper service class of higher managers and professionals and a lower service class of lower managers and semi-professionals (the meaning of the term 'service' is explained below). In addition to these class approaches, I explore the existence of two possibly diverging social trajectories within the middle classes and their relationship to gymnasiums and internationalised streams: an established route and a cosmopolitan pathway. The main questions that I hope to answer are then: Is there a relationship between our school types and cosmopolitan or established middle-class trajectories? (chapter 4). Can we distinguish asset-specific patterns of reproduction that are related to our school types? (chapter 5)

The second theme provides an ‘institutional’ view and focuses on the development of the position of the school types within the education arena. Here, the main questions are: How did these school types develop as middle-class schools in the education arena over time? (chapter 3). To what extent can we consider these school types as typical upper middle-class or elite schools? (chapter 7).

Finally, the third theme is devoted to the actual process of middle-class reproduction. The very term social reproduction—as it refers to a given situation—unfortunately draws the attention away from what is actually happening in the relationships between parents, children and schools, taking the process that eventually leads to it for granted. By far the majority of studies in the sociology of education focus on outcomes rather than processes (but see Allatt 1993; Reay and Ball 1998). Hence, the educational success of the middle class is left unexplained. The calculation of statistical relationships between say, parental class position on the one hand and the level of education of children on the other, or statistical exercises whose intention is to unravel how these relationships are developing over time remain important. At least to remind society—which is, it should be noted, short of memory—about sociological facts. However, from a theoretical point of view, the time has come to study precisely how social reproduction comes about. The main questions related to this theme are: Can we distinguish particular middle-class values and identities that parents expose their children to while discussing issues of education with them? (chapters 4 and 5). What is the relationship between parents’ images of social class and school choice? (chapter 6). What is the relationship between parental features, schools, and key elements of upper middle-class socialisation practices? (chapter 7).

Despite their earlier work on the middle classes, Butler and Savage (1995) felt they had to justify themselves for studying such an ‘unproblematic’ social category in the preface of their book *Social change and the middle classes*. Their justification is however out of place, as sociological problems need not to be societal problems and vice versa. To evaluate the legitimacy of a research, sociologists—whether they study the privileged or the deprived—should invoke sociological rather than societal criteria. Certainly, *noblesse oblige*, sociologists have societal tasks and should try to contribute to the public debate by critically commenting on what takes place in society. Consequently, society as a whole, from the bottom to the top—and not forgetting the middle parts—forms the field of sociological exploration. Therefore, we need not excuse ourselves for leaving the study of either misery or omnipotence to others. The above questions and the way they are treated form the justification of this book; they determine the sociological and societal value of the undertaking. The

sociological nature of the study in turn depends on the main theoretical perspectives that have guided the research, which I will now go on to elaborate.

Cosmopolitan trajectories

The emergence of internationalised streams in the Dutch education system could be followed by similar developments in other non-English-speaking countries; as economic integration advances on a worldwide level in general and in Europe in particular, the demand for education that provides children with cosmopolitan assets might grow. Indeed, similar types of internationalised education have been on the rise in other non-English-speaking European countries as well, like Scandinavia, Germany, France, and Austria. However, nowhere has its advance been so rapid and so wide-spread as in the Netherlands. Moreover, the Dutch-English internationalised curriculum is arguably one of the most highly-developed in Europe (Fruhauf, 1996: 177-187). The emergence of the internationalised streams accompanied an overall sharp increase in the international activities of Dutch secondary schools in the past decade (Oonk 2004: 14).

Economic and political integration that goes beyond the level of nation states gives rise to transnational social arenas; think, for example, of the labour markets of civil servants at European level, or multinational companies that draw experts or managers from transnational pools of labour. From a sociological viewpoint, cosmopolitanism can be regarded as an asset that gives those who possess it a competitive edge in such arenas. Advanced mastery of English is only one element of this asset, be it a crucial one. Indeed, one consequence of the emergence of these transnational social arenas and the increasing international communication that goes with it, is that the position of English as the global language is becoming ever more important. English is also becoming the main language in European communication (Ammon, Mattheier and Nelde 1994; Hartmann 1996; De Swaan 2001: 144-175).

The emergence of internationalised streams might be a sign of a change in focus of a specific part of the upper middle class that increasingly relies on its cosmopolitan assets. Several authors (Friedman and Wolff 1982; Marceau 1989; Overbeek and Van der Pijl 1993; Sassen 1991; Sklair 2001; Wagner 1998) have argued that recent economic changes, often referred to as 'globalisation', have led to the rise of a new, international class. The literature on cosmopolitan class formation provided ways of specifying what cosmopolitan assets look like. Before I turn to the distinguishing assets of this new internationally-oriented class, I will

identify the position of Dutch society within the global economic system. My aim in doing this is to sketch the societal context in which the internationalised streams emerged.

Dutch capitalists started playing a greater role in the European economy, and later in the global economy, from the 16th century onward. The Republic of the Netherlands, like England, was able to construct a national economy thanks to its easy access to sea routes and the fact that its 'economic trading zones did not mesh with political boundaries' (Wallerstein 1974: 263). From then on, the Northern Netherlands looked overseas to assure themselves of economic and political stability (idem: 290). In 1602, a 'trading hierarchy that in many respects may claim to be the progenitor of the modern multinational enterprise' was set up, the United East India Company (Dunning 1993: 98). Nowadays, companies like Heineken, Philips, Shell, and Unilever are among the largest in the world measured in terms of revenues (idem: 47). Dutch society—much more than most other 'developed' societies—has been heavily involved in the global economic system. A comparison of the sum of exports and imports of goods as a percentage of the GNP between France, Germany, the UK, the US, Japan, and the Netherlands shows that in 1913 (60%), in 1950 (71%), in 1973 (75%), and 1994 (89%), the Netherlands had by far the highest ratio (Kleinknecht and Ter Wengel 1998: 638, Table 1). Frankel (2000: 8-9), who calculated an 'openness' ratio (a country's output sold at the domestic market divided by that country's contribution to worldwide production) found that the Netherlands had the most open economy in the western world-economy in the period from 1870 to 1992, except for the years following the Second World War. Regarding the stock of accumulated direct foreign investment, Bairoch (2000: 207) concludes that in the period after the mid-1970s, the Netherlands was among the six leading countries in the area of foreign investments, regardless of the size of these countries' economies. The same conclusion holds for the period from 1960-1988 (Dunning 1993: 117). When the size of the economy is taken into account, the Dutch ratio of foreign direct investment divided by gross domestic product is highest of all 'developed' societies in the period 1967-1988, except for 1980 (idem: 17). It is thus clear that the Dutch economy has a large stake in the worldwide economic system. So if there is a category of people whose life chances and/or social powers are closely tied to this global economic system, the chances are that representatives of this category can be found in the Netherlands.

The new international class has been given several names: the 'international business elite' (Marceau 1989), a 'World Class' with a 'global management culture' (Moss Kanter 1997), '*nouvelles élites de la mondialisation*' (Wagner 1998) 'new global elites' (Friedman 2000) or a 'transnational capitalist class' (Van der Pijl 1998; Sklair 2001). Many of these

authors use concepts like 'elites' loosely. Moreover, most of these studies lack empirical support for the claim that there is indeed (yet) a distinct category of people whose life chances and/or social powers are dependant on transnational rather than on national markets (but see Sklair 2001; Wagner 1998). True, elites always have been cosmopolitan to a certain extent, but it is questionable whether the current cosmopolitan category of people are to be found at the supreme apex of the social hierarchy only.

Hartmann (1999: 118) researched the internationalisation of the leaders of big business. He found that in 1995 only a fraction of the CEOs and Chairmen of the 100 biggest enterprises in Germany, Great Britain, France, and the USA were non-nationals, while only one-fifth of them had ever studied or worked abroad. He concluded that the educational and occupational path to a top career in business is still nationally determined. Based on network analysis of corporate directorates, Carroll & Fennema (2002 : 414-415) found that corporate governance is still for the greater part framed within national contexts. These studies indicate that today's business elite is not necessarily part of the cosmopolitan class.⁵ However, an analysis of more recent data that pertained to the twenty-five largest Dutch enterprises that were quoted on the stock exchange did reveal a process of internationalisation over the years. In 1996, a quarter of the board members and nearly one fifth of the top managers of these firms was not a Dutch national. Six years later, forty percent of the board members and half of all top managers was non-Dutch (Heemskerk 2004). These findings might be specific for the Dutch business elite given the strong international orientation of the economy of the Netherlands.

If such a cosmopolitan class exists, it may also consist of categories other than the leaders of big business. The expatriates studied by Wagner (1998) and the larger part of Sklair's (2001) transnational capitalist class, are mainly managers or experts working for multinational companies. This also applies to the professionals in 'global cities' who share a 'new work culture that is cosmopolitan' (see also Noller and Ronneberger 1996; Sassen 1991: 335). But what exactly makes people cosmopolitan? Sklair's (2001: 18-21) transnational capitalist class has, among others, 'shared similar lifestyles, particularly patterns of higher education (increasingly in business schools) and consumption of luxury goods and services'. They also 'seek to project themselves as citizens of the world as well as of their places of birth'. Hannerz (2000) defines the cosmopolitan as someone who has been involved in different local or national cultures. Expatriates are therefore the personification of cosmopolitanism. In addition, 'the cosmopolitan may also be involved with a culture that is carried by a transnational network rather than by a territory' (idem: 104). Hannerz regards

these transnational cultures as ‘extensions or transformations of the cultures of western Europe or North America’ because the contemporary expatriates are most likely to be ‘organisation men’ (idem: 107). However, there is also a long history of academic transnational networks, which shows the importance of internationalisation for university life and consequently for governmental educational policies (Rupp 1997, chapters 8 and 9 in particular). Moreover, Dutch higher education is becoming increasingly internationalised (see chapter 8).

Wagner (1998), who studied foreign families living temporarily in France, argues that this North-Atlantic business culture distinguishes *les cadres expatriés* from the old cosmopolitan dynasties of the business bourgeoisie. Current internationalisation is not organised along family lines as it once was (see Jones 1987), but rather by a system of formal institutions that are related to international, predominantly North Atlantic, business. The international schools that offer the IB curriculum are among the most important of these institutions. Wagner shows how the international schools, as meeting places for children and parents from all over the world, contribute to the transmission and the formation of a ‘transnational culture’.⁶ This culture consists of a set of competencies—acquired during a cosmopolitan life course—that help people to manoeuvre in foreign cultures and to feel comfortable and familiar in cosmopolitan enclaves, like that of the international schools. In practice, this means that cosmopolitans have been living abroad for some time, work for a multinational company or an international NGO, visit and host friends from different nationalities, maintain a globally dispersed circle of friends or relatives, possess a near-native mastery of English and at least one other language, and read books, magazines, and journals that reach a global audience. Merton (1957) argued that these cosmopolitan magazines and papers function as ‘transmission-belts’ that spread cosmopolitan culture into local communities. Merton, who was concerned with patterns of influence in a provincial town in the US in the 1950s, distinguished local ‘influentials’ from cosmopolitan ones. He found that access to cosmopolitan culture through reading cosmopolitan magazines and papers provided a source of power. Cosmopolitans acted as brokers between the local community and the wider environment. This mediating position gave them opportunities to exert influence in the local community.

Merton’s study shows how cosmopolitanism can be regarded as an asset. It provides people living in the periphery with the opportunity to come into contact with the centre. As such, cosmopolitan knowledge is scarce and in demand, and therefore a source of power. Apart from being a scarce entity that connects periphery with centre, cosmopolitanism also

provides people with specific knowledge, meanings, and actions. This set of mental and bodily predispositions is not only useful in cosmopolitan settings and foreign environments; it can also help to distinguish oneself from others. In this sense, cosmopolitanism (cosmopolitan capital) is a form of social and cultural capital. Given the importance of this latter concept in the sociology of social reproduction through education, I need to elaborate on the theory of cultural capital. In so doing, I will also try to lay bare the features of the established upper middle-class trajectory.

Cultural and social capital of the established upper middle class

Cultural capital ‘presented itself’ to Bourdieu while he was doing research on unequal achievements at school (Bourdieu 1986: 243; Bourdieu and Passeron 1970). For Bourdieu, capital is the same as power. So why did he then introduce the term capital? Capital contains references to both the economic system and to time, both of which are crucial to the understanding of the ‘accumulated history’ that makes up social life (Bourdieu 1986: 241). Time expenditures—made possible by the possession of economic capital—are necessary to be able to accumulate capital, and there is a particularly strong link between the accumulation of cultural capital and time. For Bourdieu, the fundamental state of cultural capital is in its embodied form: cultivation or *Bildung*, ways of behaving, manners, and speech. The appropriation of cultivation comprises the whole self, the habitus. This requires a process of inculcation, which costs, above all, time (idem : 244). Early acquisition yields a head start and the credit of ‘natural learning’ instead of ‘scholastic learning’ because ‘legitimate manners owe their value to the fact that they manifest the rarest conditions of acquisition, that is a social power over time which is tacitly recognised as the supreme excellence’ (Bourdieu 1984: 70-72). In particular, the work *Distinction* can be read as an effort to reveal how cultural knowledge and practices are forms of symbolic power, which means that they are commonly not regarded as forms of power but recognised as legitimate competencies instead. Cultural capital is often ‘naturalised’: it is regarded as a gift from Mother Nature, it is conferred the prestige of ‘natural talent’, or even celebrated with a ‘cult of precociousness’ thereby concealing the prolonged and intensive investments that are put into the acquisition of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). For those reasons, the transmission of cultural capital is, according to Bourdieu: ‘no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital, and it therefore receives proportionately greater weight in the system of reproduction strategies, as the direct, visible forms of transmission tend to be more strongly censored and

controlled' (Bourdieu 1986: 246). This is so, because the more concealed the transmission of a certain form of capital (power), the better the opportunities it offers for the legitimization of its appropriation. The high degree of concealment that accompanies cultural reproduction has its price, however, for it bears a higher risk of losses than the transmission of economic capital (idem : 253-254).

Embodied cultural capital gives its owners a head start in obtaining objectified and institutionalised forms of capital. The former comprises goods, whose consumption requires embodied cultural capital or, in the case of works of art, the right set of 'aesthetic dispositions' (Bourdieu 1984). Institutionalised cultural capital consists of academic credentials, which are nothing less than state-guaranteed cultural competencies.

In the past twenty years, a range of studies has emerged that fit in what has been called the 'dominant interpretation' of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of cultural capital (Lareau and Weininger 2003). These studies are more often than not oriented to establish statistical relationships between academic success, cultural capital, and 'ability'. In this dominant interpretation, which can be traced back to DiMaggio (1982), two assumptions are key. First, cultural capital is restricted to prestigious highbrow aesthetic cultural expressions, activities, and attitudes. Second, this restricted concept of cultural capital is analytically and empirically different from 'ability', often measured as test scores. Lareau and Weininger (2003) argue that these assumptions fail to do full justice to the concept of cultural capital. According to them, scholastic ability is in fact a form of cultural capital in itself, and should therefore not be treated as independent from it. Furthermore, they find that, instead of adopting the idea that cultural capital comprises highbrow cultural values and attitudes beforehand, one should first explore what types of cultural capital exactly are legitimate in a certain education system (or in any other social arena).

In this study, I will use measurements of highbrow cultural participation and the possession of cultural goods. However, I do not intend to relate these types of cultural capital to academic success. Instead, I regard them as features that belong to an established upper middle-class social trajectory. These forms of power are, according to Bourdieu (1984; 1986), part of the legitimate cultural capital of the dominant classes. Bourdieu's observation that such forms of cultural capital represent the 'mastery of time' is crucial. They refer to tradition, to classic and timeless culture. But 'time' is here also linked to seniority of stay in the upper layers of society. I quote his observations about 'legitimate manners' at length, as they reveal the logic of distinction that surrounds establishment:

'they owe their value to the fact that they manifest the rarest conditions of acquisition, that is, a social power of time which is tacitly recognised as the supreme excellence: to possess things from the past [...] is to master time, through all those things whose common feature is that they can only be acquired in the course of time, by means of time, against time, that is, by inheritance or through dispositions which, like the taste for old things, are likewise only acquired with time and applied by those who can take their time' (Bourdieu 1984: 71-72).

The early acquisition of embodied cultural capital enables the younger generations to inherit the accumulated legitimate culture of previous generations right from the beginning of their lives. Interestingly, Bourdieu (idem : 70) also relates precociousness to 'seniority': precociousness is, in Bourdieu's eyes, 'the birthright of the offspring of ancient families', for it contains the embodied cultural capital of previous generations. Bourdieu (1986) also argued that possession of economic capital is a necessary precondition for acquiring embodied cultural capital. In his view, the appropriation of such a form of cultural capital costs time, time that needs to be freed from economic necessity so as to spend it on cultivation. While I believe it is still true that possession of this type of cultural capital goes more often than not hand in hand with abundant economic capital, I also believe that the role of economic capital for the appropriation of legitimate cultural capital is less important than it once was. The general level of prosperity has increased, and in many households, all the more so in the Netherlands, where many women work part-time and devote much of their time to child-raising (Visser 2002). I find Bourdieu's observations about the relationship between cultivation and the seniority of stay in the upper layers of society more convincing in this respect.

In addition to cultural capital, there is a typical form of social capital on which the established Dutch upper middle classes base their positions on. This concerns the traditional students' associations that provide access to and ties between top positions in Dutch society. These student associations, called the Corps in Dutch, are characterised by a strong hierarchy (on the basis of seniority of membership) and customs. One of the most visible of these customs is the yearly ragging of freshers. Such ragging comprises humiliation, hardship, and sometimes alcohol abuse, which is a *rite de passage* to become a member of the club. It is often assumed that these student associations, especially the traditional ones that make up the Corps, are a playground for the future leaders of society. The Corps not only provides its members opportunities to acquire administrative and organisational skills, but also offers them access to a wider circle of older members who occupy higher positions in society, the so-called old boys' network (see Hagendijk 1980: 151-152, quoted by Dronkers and Hillege

1998: 192). Dronkers and Hillege (1998) analysed the access to elite positions in both 1960 and 1980 of board members of male student fraternities. They found that ‘the importance of board membership of the Corps did not decrease during the period studied’. Also, remarkably, they found that the number of the members of these traditional students’ associations did not increase during the years of massive growth of university students. This indicates the exclusivity of these associations. However, as the authors themselves admit, their study does not allow for estimating the effects of board membership of the Corps on the chance of entering an elite position later in life as such (because it is hard to find a category to compare them with). Nevertheless, it is clear that the Corps is a selective, traditional society that has clear links with the powerful in society.

The features that distinguish the established fractions from the cosmopolitan ones are elaborated on further in chapter 4. For now, it suffices to say that I will relate these features to (grand)parental membership of the upper middle class. This brings me to the two conceptualisations of the middle classes that I will be using in this book. One conceives of horizontal cleavages within the middle class, the other observes a hierarchically divided middle class. These two approaches will be discussed below.

Theoretical approaches to the middle classes

Whereas in the sociology of education the middle classes are only rarely taken up as an object of exploration, the tradition of class analysis has provided us with empirical research and theoretical conceptualisations of the middle classes for more than fifty years (Bernstein 2001; Brint 1984; Dahrendorf 1978; Ehrenreich 1989; Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979; Esping-Andersen 1993; Goldthorpe 1995; Goldthorpe 2000: chapter 10; De Graaf and Steijn 1997; Lamont 1992; Li 2002; Mills 1956; Perkin 1989; Savage, Barlow, Dickens and Fielding 1992; Wright 1997). The two conceptualisations of the middle classes applied in this book are each grounded in different traditions of class analysis. The horizontal conceptualisation stems from a tradition of class analysis that sees ‘classes as conflict groups’ and originates this conflict in *exploitation* (Soerensen 2000: 1525, italics in original) whereas the other tradition perceives ‘classes as different *life conditions*’ (ibidem) that arise from different market positions (e.g. at labour markets or matrimonial markets). Obviously, these two traditions refer to the divergent starting points for class analysis that Marx and Weber provide. In both traditions, class concerns material interests in the first place. Prestige or cultural interests are only of concern to the extent that they yield material rewards.

The ‘class as *life conditions*’ approach has produced one of sociology’s most widely used conceptualisations of social class, the EGP class scheme (after Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero 1979). This scheme, which is in fact a quasi-hierarchy of occupations, was originally developed to measure social mobility, and later applied to a wide array of stratification research. Its aim is ‘to differentiate positions in terms of the employment relations that they entail’ (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992: 37). In this scheme, the middle classes are named the service class. Service here does not refer to jobs in the services industries of the economy but to a specific form of employment.⁷ It concerns employees that render service to their employing organization. Their service consists of exercising delegated authority or expertise. To gain the commitment of these employees so that they make decisions and act in accordance with the aims of the organisation, employers rely on long-term contracts in which the ‘(...) prospective element is crucial. The key connection that the contract aims to establish is that between employees’ commitment to and effective pursuit of organisation goals [on the one hand] and their career success and lifetime material well-being [on the other hand]’ (Goldthorpe 2000: 220). Thus Goldthorpe (1995: 316) regards class from the perspective of ‘the nature of the rewards, both currently and in life-course perspective’ that these employees obtain. Within the service class, he distinguishes an upper part and a lower part.

The upper service class consists of professionals or higher managers and administrators. In most research that makes use of the EGP scheme, entrepreneurs with ten or more employees are coded as members of the upper service class. Goldthorpe (1995) justifies this theoretical anomaly—entrepreneurs obviously do not meet the crucial criterion of having a service type of employment regulation—by invoking the pragmatic argument that this category represents only a very small fraction of society.

The lower service class pertains to semi-professionals and lower managers. The difference between higher and lower managers concerns the number of subordinates; higher managers have ten or more subordinates. While smaller entrepreneurs (two to nine employees) have their own class position in the EGP scheme (there they appear as ‘small proprietors’), I suggest that there are sound arguments for placing them under the same heading as semi-professionals and lower managers (see chapter 2 for an explanation). Lower managers, semi-professionals, and small employers then make up the lower part of the middle classes, what I call the ‘middle’ middle class.

I will apply the EGP scheme to distinguish the upper service class plus large entrepreneurs, or upper middle class from other (lower) classes and relate this distinction to

possibly diverging social trajectories of a cosmopolitan and established fraction of the middle class. These social routes might then be related to the different school types.

I now turn to the horizontal conceptualisation of the middle class. In addition to the assets approach already mentioned, there are many other approaches that conceive of horizontal cleavages within the middle class. Sociologists have long argued that a vertical view of society as a system of social inequality is incomplete, at least when it concerns the 'new' middle class (Van Eijck 2002; Gouldner 1979; Kriesi 1989; Mills 1956). Bourdieu (1984; 1996) described a taxonomy that consists of cultural and economic poles. Others made a distinction between socio-cultural specialists who work for non-profit organisations on the one hand, and managers and other higher employees working in the profit sector on the other (Brint 1984; De Graaf and Steijn 1997; Lamont 1992; Perkin 1989). Berger (1987) and Bernstein (2001) distinguished workers in the field of material production (the 'old' middle class) from workers who engage in symbolic production (the 'new' middle class). This distinction resembles that of Esping-Andersen's (1993) Fordist (industrial) and post-Fordist (services industries) class schemes. However, none of these conceptualisations match the theoretical grounding of the assets approach. These conceptualisations' only claim is that, just as the tradition in which class is considered equal to market and employment position, 'they convey the geography of social structure' (Soerensen 2000: 1526-1527). But they do not and do not want to explicate the formation of classes, since these class mappings are not drawn up from a relational perspective.

The question of class formation requires an approach that provides an explanation of the emergence of social classes, instead of merely mapping them. Sociologists who are more or less inclined to be inspired by Marxist ideas hold that material interests of the various class locations are not just different, but antagonistic. For them, social classes originate from interdependent positions in exploitative economic relationships. The concept of exploitation is crucial: it is the driving force behind the emergence of social classes and it provides the system of socio-economic inequality with a relative durability (Savage, Barlow et al. 1992: 6; Wright 1997). For a relationship to be exploitative 'the fruits of labour of the exploited are to be appropriated by those who control the relevant productive resources' (Wright 1997: 10). This appropriation leads to a structure of socio-economic inequality in which the 'material welfare of one group of people causally depends on the material deprivations of another' and in which 'the exploited are excluded from access to certain productive resources' (Wright 1997: 10).

Nevertheless, the very notion of exploitation gives rise to conceptual problems

concerning the middle classes. Wright (1989: 271) himself once wrote that the central problem of class analysis is ‘to solve ... the location of the middle class within the class structure’. The original Marxist concept of exploitation obviously has its roots in the relationship between those who own means of production and those who sell their labour. However, it has also been applied to fractions of the middle classes that do not own means of production. The nature of their work leaves organisations no choice other than to allow employees like managers and professionals a considerable amount of autonomy. As I have described, sociologists who define classes mainly as determined by market- and employment relations agree with this observation. It is precisely the problem of monitoring these employees and the employment arrangements that aim to deal with that problem that are crucial to the service class as explicated by Goldthorpe (2000, chapter 10).

However, Goldthorpe is inclined to deploy the argument of efficiency with regard to the allocation and the employment regulations of such employees, whereas Wright turns to the concept of exploitation. To show how these employees appropriate ‘the labour efforts of the exploited’ Wright invokes the concept of ‘rents’.⁸ According to Wright, both managers and professionals ‘receive wages that are above the costs of producing and reproducing their labour power’. The social surplus that is appropriated by managers can be regarded as ‘loyalty rents’. In addition to the appropriation act of managers, Wright also invokes the idea of ‘strategic positions within organisations’. In order to acquire their loyalty rents, managers dominate other workers in the organization. As it stands, the introduction of this argument of strategic positions suggests that for managers, the exploitation logic does not work smoothly. Indeed, Wright (1997: 21) admits that managers are best seen as occupying intermediate positions between the exploiters and the exploited, namely ‘privileged appropriation locations within exploitative relations’. Wright’s argument concerning the exploitative power of professionals and other owners of skills in short supply is even more problematic. In his view, professionals, like managers, obtain rents. The restricted supply of owners of skills—a scarcity that is often constructed or enhanced by institutionalised obstacles that shield market forces (Collins 1979; Freidson 1986)—and their strategic position in organisations as controllers of knowledge, enables professionals to appropriate a part of the social surplus, their ‘skills rent’ (Wright 1997: 22). But both the concept of rents and the additional argument of strategic positions do not convincingly show how professionals satisfy the definition of exploiters: how does their ‘material welfare causally depend upon the reductions of material welfare of the exploited’ and how do they ‘appropriate the labour effort of the exploited’ (Wright 1997: 10)? It is, moreover, unclear who are then exploited by professionals: clients,

the state and/or the organisations that employ them?

Savage et al. (1992) elaborate on the exploitative powers of professionals by applying Bourdieu's notion of symbolic power. Owners of skills and knowledge in short supply have the power to legitimate specific types of behaviour or knowledge. Their legitimation also means that other knowledge and ways of acting are discredited. The power of cultural capital, its potential for domination, lies at least as much in the fact that one knows (feels) what is considered of low (or negative) value in a specific field similar to the way that one knows (feels) what is considered legitimate (Bourdieu 1986). For this reason, Savage et al. (1992: 16) propose to speak of cultural assets instead of skills or expertise, as 'skills themselves are not axes of exploitation; the axes are cultural fields that define and legitimise those skills'.

The assets approach thus conceives of three different types of exploitation: property assets, cultural assets, and organisation assets; 'each asset carrying a causal potential to give rise to stable social class collectivities' (ibidem). Property assets offer the 'most robust bases for class formation' because they are easy to store and allow exploitation of others' labour. Organisation assets allow managers to exploit subordinates but are hard to store outside the organisational context. In addition, organisation assets can only be acquired when there are sufficient cultural assets. Cultural assets themselves do not allow the professional middle class to appropriate the social surplus. To do so, they need to be translated into skills and credentials of educational knowledge. This is what Savage et al. (1992: 23) call the 'professional project'. But threatened by the potential 'routinisation' of their skills, 'organisation projects' are pursued that allow them to claim professional autonomy that secures the perpetuation of their material advantages. In terms of the assets approach, the reproduction of the middle-class fractions—or assets holders—depends on the opportunities of the exploiting class to store the gains it has won from the exploited class and how these 'stored privileges are transmitted to future generations' (Butler and Savage 1995: 348).

While I will apply both the assets approach and the EGP scheme, I do not intend to indicate which class scheme is better than the other.⁹ The justification for the use of any such scheme depends on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Here, I am interested in the relationship between education and the middle class from the perspective of social reproduction, which is a specific case of class formation. Class formation pertains to 'how groups of people who occupy a common place in the social division of labour may form a social collectivity on the basis of these positions' (Savage, Barlow et al. 1992: 226).

In chapter 5, I will try to find out whether the school types can be regarded as sites for asset-specific patterns of transmission of privileges. I also want to identify whether the

established fraction of the upper middle class on the one hand, and the cosmopolitan parts of the middle classes on the other, cluster their specific power resources around school types. This is the subject of chapter 4.

In addition to the question of whether the school types contribute to the social reproduction of middle-class assets, I also want to analyse if and how the schools under study contribute to the socialisation of children as potential members of the upper middle class or upper class. On this point, the study is guided by the sociological literature on elite schools.

Elite schools and key elements of upper middle-class socialisation

Schools that are typically geared towards preparing their students for upper middle-class or upper class positions in society are often referred to as elite schools (Bourdieu 1996; Cookson and Persell 1985; Ono 2000; Power, Edwards et al. 2003). In the sociological literature on these types of schools, the term elite refers to both their educational exclusiveness and their special relationship with the higher echelons of society. The use of selection procedures, the demanding and competitive academic climate in the school, and their ties with prestigious institutions of tertiary education are the main indicators of educational elitism of these schools. Their relationship with the upper layers of society obviously concerns the privileged social background of their pupils but also the ways in which they forge relationships that are the basis of long-lasting networks of power (Bourdieu 1996; Cookson and Persell 1985; Useem 1984). As I am interested in the social reproduction of the middle classes, I now focus on how these illustrious institutions prepare their pupils for upper middle-class positions.

Reputable French *lycées* organize cramming classes to prepare pupils for the *concours*, which is a test that selects students for the *grandes écoles*. American prep boarding schools train their students for the entrance exams of prestigious Ivy League colleges. Many British private schools and especially the so-called ‘great and famous public schools’ (Halsey, Heath and Ridge 1984) such as Eton and Harrow among them prepare for Oxbridge and the ‘other elite universities’ (Power, Edwards et al. 2003: 83-84).¹⁰ These elite schools form crucial parts of a separate, exclusive education chain that strongly contributes to the social reproduction of privileged positions (Adonis and Pollard 1997; Bourdieu 1996; Cookson and Persell 1985). The pressure to enter prestigious institutions of higher learning and to continue the expected road to success is also the driving force behind the socialisation practices at these French, British, and American elite schools. Here, the imparting of self-discipline and competitiveness are key.

For several reasons, self-discipline is of critical importance for upper middle-class positions in society. This becomes clear when we look at unsuccessful upper middle-class socialisation processes. In the margins of Dutch secondary education, about a dozen fee-paying private schools exist. However small their number of pupils, their very existence lays bare a crucial point in upper middle-class socialisation. These schools provide cramming classes to prepare pupils for the final examinations so that they, often after a difficult period in state-funded secondary education, ultimately gain access to higher education. The schools deploy a tight regimen, coupled to individual coaching of pupils. In the majority of cases, the prime reason why children end up at these schools is linked to disciplinary problems (De Regt and Weenink 2003; De Regt and Weenink in press). Dutch fee-paying schools aim to compensate for a failed middle-class socialisation process in two ways. First, they help to get a derailed educational career back on track so that entrance to higher education is within reach again. Second, they compensate for a disturbed socialisation process in which one key element of middle-class upbringing has failed: the imparting of self-discipline.

Self-discipline is both a pre-requisite for obtaining middle-class positions as well as a central feature of the habitus of the holders of middle-class positions. First of all, in order to obtain such positions—even for the children of entrepreneurs—it is nowadays a near-necessity to follow lengthy educational pathways. To maintain academic momentum at school, children must have developed a sense of the delayed gratification that educational credentials ultimately provide. As Cookson and Persell (1985: 163) heard US prep-school students saying: ‘present pain for future gain’.

Second, self-discipline is indispensable for people who occupy ‘central positions in the chains of interdependence’ (Elias 1978). This is because such positions demand punctuality, reliability, and responsibility. Holders of middle-class positions—which are in fact key positions in systems of interdependence—take decisions that have far-reaching consequences for many other people. To foresee what their actions could bring about demands a certain degree of self-restraint and the capability of not yielding to whims or giving in to spontaneous impulses.

Third, a relationship exists between people’s time horizons, their ability to defer gratification, and social class. Soerensen (2000: 1539) applies a rational choice approach to explicate this. He stresses the uncertainty of the future returns of self-disciplined behaviour for those who have to cope with uncertain living conditions: ‘those with high discount rates invest less in their health and education, and in the health and education of their children. These differences among classes in time orientation or deferred gratification patterns reflect

the level of uncertainty in living conditions or the variability of returns [...] this is a rational reaction to the expected high uncertainty of returns'. This then would mean that the overall stability and the possession of buffers and resources that accompany middle-class positions in turn stimulate future investments at the cost of current gratifications; the price of the foregone current profits are relatively lower for holders of middle-class positions than for lower-class positions. This again points to the importance of self-discipline as a distinguishing characteristic of upper middle-class socialisation.

Fourth, both Goldthorpe's conceptualisation of the service class and Wright's loyalty rents and skills rents point to the autonomy that professionals and managers have. It is precisely this absence of direct supervision that requires self-monitoring and self-regulation. A certain amount of self-discipline is indispensable in order to carry out these tasks.

Finally, as crucial as self-discipline is to the middle classes, it also functions as a legitimisation of social power. It is easy to see how members of the middle classes execute social control and power: managers and entrepreneurs dominate subordinates and employees, and we have just learned that professionals use their cultural capital in order to reject practices and ideas that threaten their position. But in order to do so, 'those in power must exercise social control over themselves and over their children... the price of privilege and power is self- and social control [...] In one sense, social dominance starts with the repression of the self' (Cookson and Persell 1985: 25, 107, 140). This sacrifice in turn serves to legitimate the power of the middle classes. Bourdieu (1996: 110) observed the same mechanism of legitimisation: the demanding curriculum of the *grandes écoles* functions as a public proof of self-control, which stands as a proof of the right to control others as well.

Having self-confidence—being somebody—is necessary if one wants to supervise, to make decisions, to claim to possess legitimate knowledge or, in short, to exercise social power that is attached to holders of property, organisation, and cultural assets. Self-confidence is therefore just as necessary for acquiring and maintaining middle-class positions as self-discipline. Hartmann (2000) compared the social reproduction of German and French business elites. While 'feelings of mutual trust and belonging to the same circles' among the French business elites are forged by the years in the *grandes écoles*, their German counterparts have, in the main, to rely on personal characteristics, as no separate elite education chain exists on the other side of the Rhine. According to the German personnel consultants and managers Hartmann (2000: 253) interviewed, 'a confident and relaxed bearing is the primary criterion' for selection into the top ranks of business. Such a bearing is expressed by 'the frank look, the firm handshake, the calm, sure stride, the clear articulation

and the attentive but relaxed manner of speaking'. Hartmann's (2000: 257) claim that the German class-specific habitus forges 'just as effective' an internal bond as the French elite education does is disputable, given the limited data upon which he based his argument. Nevertheless, his findings do show the importance of self-confidence in upper middle-class socialisation.

The training in competitiveness at elite schools is related to the ways in which these schools increase the self-esteem of their pupils. They do so in several ways. First, to have gained admission to such schools alone, boosts self-confidence and the feeling of being among the 'chosen ones' (Bourdieu 1996). Second, the social climate at these schools forces pupils to make their presence felt: 'There is no back row at prep school, as almost everyone sits around a table or in a circle. Excellence and ignorance are constantly up for public display' (Cookson and Persell 1985: 98). Bourdieu (1996: 88) observes that the intensive training students receive at *classes préparatoires* also mobilises confidence, which is, according to Bourdieu, regarded as 'among the primary leadership qualities' that is 'consecrated by all *grandes écoles*'. On the other hand, pupils without confidence would never be able to sustain the 'very, very competitive' (Cookson and Persell 1985: 151) climate at elite schools. According to Bourdieu (1996: 87, 109-111), pupils attending the *classes préparatoires*, are socialised into the game '“of every man for himself” and the “will to win” rather than for teamwork or cooperation'. At both American prep schools and in the French preparatory classes, pupils are constantly comparing each other with regard to social and academic achievements. Paradoxically however, you can only be somebody, be self-confident, when you have somebody to compare yourself with. Overt or hidden competitiveness thus contributes to becoming somebody (somebody upper middle class). For that reason, acquiring a competitive attitude is an important feature of upper middle-class socialisation. Given the role that elite schools play in instilling self-discipline and a competitive attitude in their pupils, I will aim to explore the relationship between the Dutch school types and the degree of self-discipline and competitiveness of their pupils. In addition, I will analyse the degree to which these two mental dispositions contribute to pupils' inclination to follow either the established or the cosmopolitan route to upper middle-class positions (chapter 7).

Education arenas, middle-class identities and education transitions

Although gymnasiums and internationalised streams form exclusive educational niches with regard to the selection of pupils, they are not part of separate elite education chains (see also Dronkers and Hillege 1998: 192). Dutch universities—and their German counterparts for that matter—do not differ much in terms of prestige, and even less so with regard to the opportunities they provide for entering privileged occupations.¹¹ In Britain and the US, the issue is not so much if one has attended university, but *which* university one has attended (Cookson and Persell 1985; Power, Edwards et al. 2003). In France, the division is between having attended a *université* or a *grande école* (Brint 1998: 48-50). In the Netherlands and Germany, it is crucial to secure the path that leads to whatever university anyhow (see also Brint 1998: 55).

The lack of a separate elite education trajectory in the Netherlands is partly countervailed by the formal hierarchy in state-funded education. The more comprehensive systems in France, Britain, and the US may lead middle-class families to turn to the private sector in order to fence off lower social classes (see for the UK: Adonis and Pollard 1997; Ball 2003; for Canada: Boyd 1989; for France: Broccolichi and Van Zanten 2000; for the US: Cookson and Persell 1985; Fox 1984; for Australia: Teese 1989).¹² In societies with stratified systems of secondary education, the educational strategy of the middle classes is more likely to be oriented towards positioning their children in the highest levels of state-maintained education. In this book I consider the process of school transition (which can be a matter of choice, but sometimes is a ‘non-decision’) in detail, while my prime focus remains that of middle-class social reproduction. I intend to provide a picture of the relationship between parents’ images of social class and the process of transition from primary school to secondary school.

Sociological research into class related strategies of school choice started off as a reaction to the introduction of neo-liberal policies that aimed to increase market forces in education (Adler 1997). The idea of such policies was to foster competition between schools so as to enhance educational diversity and to increase overall quality by subjecting the education system to the discipline of the market. Research into the consequence of parental freedom of school choice has shown that middle-class families have, in general, gained much more from the marketisation of education than the lower social classes have; the former were able to deploy their higher amounts of social, cultural, and economic capital in order to pursue strategies of class closure in education. In fact, Ball (1993) argues that the introduction of markets in education can be regarded as a middle-class reproduction strategy in itself since

marketisation led to the creation of more homogenous education environments within and between schools. Various studies on different education systems reported that the introduction of market forces in education led to polarisation of the education arena (see Ball 2003: chapter 3 for an overview).

As a consequence of the increasing competition between schools—especially the battle for the most able or least problematic pupils—the (perceived) quality of a school has become much more of an issue, witness the annual newspaper publications of school quality rankings (see also: Dijkstra, Karsten, Veenstra and Visscher 2001 for a discussion of how to measure schools' quality). However, especially since Bourdieu (1984), sociologists have come to understand what lies behind 'quality' in this sense. To state that gymnasiums represent high-quality education is to place them high in the education hierarchy, the same hierarchy that, in turn, derives its power from the social hierarchy upon which it is based. In that sense, the term 'quality' conceals the reproduction strategies of the privileged classes. 'Quality is class' [*Kwaliteit is klasse*], as De Swaan (1991) has put it succinctly and this certainly applies to the ways parents judge schools. In the words of Ball et al. (1995: 73): '[...] the fact that certain schools are more difficult to gain admission to is significant in itself; this serves as some sort of surrogate guarantee of quality. But also, particularly as a mechanism of social exclusion, selection provides an assurance of continuity and to some extent commonality'. Although the introduction of markets in education was not an altogether new phenomenon in the US and the UK, the policies that favoured 'parentocracy' certainly served to lend a sharper edge to the competition between schools.

Unlike the US and the UK however, freedom of choice between subsidised religious and state schools has a long history in continental Europe (Dronkers 2004). In the Netherlands, freedom of school choice has been a constitutional right since 1917. The school choice of Dutch parents is formally not limited by geographical or financial restrictions: there are no catchment areas and all schools, privately administered or state schools, are equally subsidised (Dijkstra, Dronkers and Karsten 2004: 75). There are, in addition to the state sector, three private sectors [*bijzondere scholen*] in the education arena: a Catholic, a Protestant and a smaller religiously neutral sector. While the boards of the privately run schools operate relatively autonomous, state schools have less opportunities to escape from the national educational policies, because the latter schools cannot deploy the argument of the principle of freedom of education (*idem*: 77).

In the Netherlands, the freedom of school choice had, however, led to high levels of regulation and centralization (Dijkstra, Dronkers and Karsten 2004: 75; Van Wieringen 1987).

Witziers and De Groot (1993: 4) quote a study by Jimenez and Lockheed (1989) in which it was stated that ‘the Dutch education system belongs to the most regulated education systems measured by international standards’. Such strong legislation and regulation was intended to keep the freedom of education in balance with the principle of equal treatment of privately administered denominational schools [*bijzondere scholen*] and state schools (Lodewijks 1997: 400). But, as the echo of a worldwide neo-liberal plea for marketisation and deregulation became clearly audible in the Netherlands, the constitutional freedom of school choice ultimately had greater consequences than before.

Under the influence of neo-liberal ideology and due to the recession of the early 1980s—the need to cut back spending—deregulation policies were introduced that favoured more autonomy for schools. The thinking was that consumers of education should be free to choose between competing schools, and deregulation was regarded as the best way to achieve this. It is against this background that I will explore how Dutch middle-class households engage in educational transitions (chapter 6). Furthermore, these developments have shaped the education arena in which the school types under study have to operate and in which middle-class households exercise their social powers. In chapter 3, I will relate these developments to the positions that the three school types take up in the education arena, and to the ideologies that pertain to these schools.

The research

This study is based on various sources. Here I will give an overview of the aim for which the various data were collected, and how they were collected. Methodological issues with regard to sampling and techniques of data analysis are treated in Appendix I.

In 2000, I studied the introduction of internationalised streams and the development of regular pre-university streams at eight schools. These case studies were based on material gathered during visits to the schools and 27 interviews (some of which were repeated) with headmasters, teachers, civil servants, school governors, politicians, and parents who were involved with the introduction and development of the schools’ internationalised stream. In addition, policy documents, official documents and correspondence were studied and various school meetings informing interested parents were attended. The case studies were also intended as a first introduction to the field. Later, eight interviews with headmasters of gymnasiums were added to this data. On the basis of this material, the development of the position of the school types in the education arena, as well as the ideologies that surrounded

them (and still do), will be described in chapter 3.

I collected survey data of pupils attending the gymnasiums, the internationalised streams, and the regular pre-university streams as well as their parents in 2001 and also partly in 2002. The questionnaires for the pupils were completed in class, almost always in the presence of the author. This method ensured high response rates and it also helped to improve the quality of the answers, as I could explain questions if necessary. The survey of parents was sent to them by mail via the schools, or taken home by the pupils. The schools were cooperative and helpful in allowing me access to pupils and parents.

All but one school that provided a complete six-year internationalised curriculum in 2001 participated. At these schools, both pupils who attended the first year of the internationalised stream and pupils who attended a mixed-ability first-year stream were included in the sample. In addition, pupils who attended the final class at the internationalised stream, and their counterparts in the final year of the regular pre-university stream, participated in the research. So, the regular pre-university pupils in the sample attended the same comprehensive school as the pupils who attended the internationalised streams. In ten of the 14 research sites, a gymnasium or—in the three cases where no gymnasium was present in the region—a prestigious gymnasium stream of a comprehensive school was included in the sample. The main point is that in each research site except one, the three school types were present, so that pupils and parents had been given real opportunities to choose between the three school types, within the limits of their test score.

The survey of pupils consisted of 1,539 respondents; 33.5% of them attended gymnasium, 31.3% an internationalised stream and 35.2% a regular pre-university stream. Of all the pupils, 47.1% were boys, a figure that corresponds to the national gender distribution with respect to pre-university education (source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2000: 53, Table 2.2.3). More than one-third of them (550) attended the final class (average age was 17). Nearly sixty percent (892) attended the first year of secondary education (average age 12.5) and 97 (6%) attended the third year. The latter category was asked the same questions as the pupils who attended the first year. Throughout the book I treat both third- and first formers as one junior category. This means that about two thirds (64.3%) of the sample of the pupils consists of this junior category. The distribution of the pupils across places of residence was as follows: about sixty percent (56.8%) lived in towns in the east and the south, about a quarter (24.6%) lived in one of the four biggest cities (Amsterdam, Den Haag, Rotterdam or Utrecht) and nearly one-fifth (18.6%) in one of the older affluent suburbs (Wassenaar, Oegstgeest, Hilversum)

In total, 819 parents returned the questionnaires, a response rate of 53%. About one-third (32.3%) of the parents had a child attending gymnasium, 38.4% attending an internationalised stream and 29.3% attending a regular pre-university stream. The majority of the sample consisted of parents whose child attended the first form (62.8%), the rest had a child in the final class. Nearly sixty percent (59.2%) of parents in the sample lived in towns in the south and east of the country, one-fifth (20.5%) lived in one of the four biggest cities in the Netherlands and another one-fifth (20.3%) lived in the affluent suburban areas.

The questionnaires contained questions that aimed to capture class position and amounts of cultural and cosmopolitan capital. School choice, study plans, perceived class climate and attitudes regarding school work were topics that were put to both parents and pupils. The questions were formulated partly on the basis of earlier questionnaires (Bourdieu 1984; Cookson and Persell 1985; Ross and Broth 2000; Veugelers and De Kat 1998).

In 2002 and 2003 followed a series of 35 interviews with parents. As the research is, in the first instance, oriented towards comparing gymnasiums with internationalised streams, I decided that only parents with children at one of these two school types were to be interviewed. Many households in the sample had however more than one child and not every child in each household attended the same type of school. Consequently, the interview data pertain to 35 households in which 60 children attended pre-university education; 25 attended an internationalised stream, 19 attended gymnasium, and the rest attended a regular pre-university stream. The aim of the interviews was to gain insight into processes of school choice within households, and to provide a picture of parents' notions of social class in relation to the education of their children. These interviews were structured loosely by means of an item list that contained issues like school choice and parental involvement with school, parents' ambitions with regard to school work, their images of social class, including their own position, and their view on the relationship between social class and education. Although the collection and analysis of the interview data took up a substantial part of the research—the 35 interviews each lasting for about 90 minutes resulted in about 700 pages of text—the number of interviews is smaller than was originally intended. The methodological consequences of this number of interviews will be discussed in appendix I.

Plan of the book

In the following chapter, the parents and pupils under study will be introduced. Key variables like parental social-class position, educational level, and parents' and pupils' cultural and

cosmopolitan capital will be explained, and their distribution across the three school types will be analysed. In addition, some background variables are described in order to provide a picture of the households we are studying. Chapter 3 analyses the position of gymnasiums, internationalised streams, and regular pre-university streams as institutions that operate in local education arenas. The development of these schools' positions is explained through subsequent education policies, which determine the workings of local education arenas. Furthermore, the way in which headmasters operate in these arenas, as well as the ideologies that were intended to legitimate the schools' position are analysed.

Chapter 4 aims to answer the question of to what extent gymnasiums, internationalised streams, and regular pre-university streams are each related to cosmopolitan sources of power and/or established upper middle-class assets. To what extent do these school types contribute to the reproduction of either cosmopolitan or established assets, and to what degree can we identify a separating of these assets along the lines of the schools? In the same chapter, I also analyse the ways in which parents perceive of the importance of cosmopolitan assets for the future of their children, again in relationship to the school type their children are attending.

In chapter 5, three other sources of middle-class power are analysed in relationship to the school types. This time, I consider the extent to which the different school types are related to property, organisation, and cultural assets. Furthermore, I explore to what extent this typology is also prevalent in the minds of middle-class parents. What is the meaning of middle class for them, and do they share a common middle-class identity?

Chapter 6 concentrates on the transition from primary to secondary school. To what extent can this transition be considered as a choice, as the result of a deliberate taking into consideration of alternatives? What are pupils' legitimations for choosing either a gymnasium, an internationalised stream or a regular pre-university stream? In addition, the degree to which parents' class identity and their notion of social class in general plays a role in the process of school 'choice' is analysed.

In chapter 7, the three school types are analysed from the elite-school perspective. How do they compare to French and British elite schools in terms of their pupils' origins? And to what extent do these schools play a role on the road to either established upper middle-class positions or cosmopolitan upper middle-class positions?

Finally, in chapter 8, I provide an overview of the findings. I also discuss the contribution of this study to sociology and some of its shortcomings and provide suggestions for future research. This final chapter ends with reflections on current issues with regard to the internationalisation of education and the future of pre-university education.

2 Who are we interested in?

In this chapter, I describe the parents and pupils I am studying and based on survey data, I will compare the three school types. I will describe the parents on the basis of key socio-economic indicators (e.g. wealth, cultural capital, and cosmopolitan capital) and consider the distribution of these characteristics across school types. These indicators are actually various sources of power upon which the middle classes base their position in the socio-economic system of inequality. As such, they can also be activated in the education arena. Furthermore, I will depict pupils on the basis of various features that play a role in upper middle-class socialisation practices, namely degree of self-discipline and competitiveness, and their parents' ambitions regarding academic performance. In addition, I will examine the variables of place of residence, test scores, and gender. Each of these variables has a role to play in the book and some were even measured twice. Questions about parental educational level, parental class position, parental ambitions regarding academic performance, and parental cosmopolitanism appeared in both the pupils' and parents' questionnaires. Depending on the type of analysis, I will draw on either pupils' or parents' survey data. For reasons of privacy, the two databases could not be linked. It is interesting to see to what extent the surveys of parents and pupils differ with respect to some key variables. The full results of the analyses are shown in Appendix I, but I can reveal here that the differences remained within reasonable limits and that the distribution of several key indicators in both surveys resembled each other.

Parental sources of power (1): class position and wealth

Social class is one of the key variables in this study. In chapter 1, I discussed two different approaches to the analysis of the middle classes. The assets approach emphasises horizontal cleavages within the middle class; the EGP scheme conceives of a vertical division within the service class. Class positions were coded on the basis of the following information: job title, number of subordinates, name or type of organisation, working hours, whether parents were owners of a firm, were employed or practised a profession. Class positions of both the father and the mother were coded. The higher position of the two served as the indicator for the class position of the household. In 11% of the cases this was the mother's class position, while in nearly 60% of the households the father's class position was higher. In the remaining 29% of the cases, both parents occupied the same hierarchical class position. In these cases, the

classification of the occupation was based on the parent who worked full-time (most mothers worked part-time).

I distinguished an upper middle class that consists of higher managers (with ten or more subordinates), professionals (like doctors, scientists, lawyers, and teachers in the highest levels of secondary education) and entrepreneurs with ten or more employees.¹³ This class appears as the upper service class in the EGP scheme. I prefer to call it the upper middle class.

Similarly, the EGP scheme distinguishes a lower service class, comprising semi-professionals (like social workers, primary school teachers, physiotherapists, midwives) and lower managers (less than ten subordinates). With regard to this ‘middle’ middle class, or in Goldthorpe’s terms, the lower service class, I deviate from the EGP scheme on two points and follow Wright’s definitions. First, the number of subordinates alone does not determine whether a management job is to be considered middle class. For example, supervisors, whatever their number of subordinates, do not belong to Wright’s (1997: 20-21) managerial middle class as they do not occupy strategic positions in organisations that allow for autonomy and policy-making. To distinguish lower managers from supervisors, job titles and the organisation that the respondent worked for determined the coding. For example, ‘managers’ of shops or branches of large chain stores were coded as supervisors who are not part of the middle classes. The second departure from the EGP scheme concerns the position of proprietors of small businesses (less than ten employees). In contrast to Goldthorpe et al.’s classification—who think of them as occupying a separate class position of small proprietors—Wright (1997) argues that their position in the class structure certainly belongs to one of the ‘privileged appropriation locations’. Furthermore, regarding their level of authority and their income level (they earn as much as professionals in my sample) it is legitimate to consider them as part of the middle classes. Following Wright, I consider small entrepreneurs who have two to nine employees working under them as occupying the same position as semi-professionals and lower managers. They belong to the ‘middle’ middle class.

I followed a collapsed version of the EGP scheme to differentiate between non-middle classes. I put small proprietors with one employee (petty bourgeois), routine non-manual workers (clerks), lower technicians, and supervisors together in one category, and all manual workers (whether they were skilled, unskilled or agricultural workers) in another. In the rest of the book I will combine these categories and refer to them as the non-middle class. Let us see how the sample of the parents is distributed in terms of this adapted EGP scheme. In all subsequent tables, ‘Gym.’ refers to gymnasium, ‘Inter.’ to internationalised streams and ‘Regular’ to regular pre-university streams.

Table 2-1 Parents' social class position by school type

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Total	Netherlands 1997 ^{a)} /1999 ^{b)}
Upper middle class: upper service & large employers	168 (65.6%)	150 (48.9%)	85 (37.1%)	403 (50.9%)	15.0/8.0%
'Middle' middle class: lower service & small employers	62 (24.2%)	104 (33.9%)	77 (33.6%)	243 (30.7%)	30.2/22.3%
Routine non-manual, lower technicians, supervisors, and petty bourgeois	18 (7.0%)	38 (12.4%)	48 (21.0%)	104 (13.1%)	34.0/31.7%
Manual workers	8 (3.1%)	15 (4.9%)	19 (8.3%)	42 (5.3%)	20.0/38.0%
Total	256 (100%)	307 (100%)	229 (100%)	792 (100%)	100% (approx.)

Source: survey of parents; $\chi^2=49.20$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$ (calculation pertains to the school types only); a) Source: based on a representative sample from the Dutch population collected by the panel of Centerdata, University of Tilburg, in 1997. The data shown here consists of the economically active within this sample only (N=711), analysed by Houtman (2001: 171) b) Source: Aanvullend Voorzieningen Gebruik 1999, N=7,760 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 1999). Note that whereas I defined smaller employers as 'middle' middle class, they appear under the heading of the routine non-manual etc. in the last column. However, the numbers in this category is rather small and will not influence the broader picture. More disturbing is the fact that various representative samples of the Dutch labour force yield unequal class distributions. For example, De Graaf & Steijn (1997) who relied on the Family Survey 1992-1993 (N=1,665), reported a percentage of 10.7 upper-service class, while this was 15% and 8% on the basis of the data source 'Aanvullend Voorzieningen Gebruik 1999' and Centerdata respectively.

Recall that the sample consisted of parents whose children attended the highest levels of secondary education only. The middle classes (upper middle class and 'middle' middle class together) made up more than 80% of the sample, while it comprised between 45 to 30% of the Dutch labour force, depending on the sample used. More than half of the parents in the sample occupied an upper middle-class position; this highest social echelon formed the largest category at all school types. Compare this to Dutch society, in which 15 to 8% belonged to this stratum. At gymnasiums, nearly two-thirds of the parents belonged to that social class. This was nearly half of the parents of pupils who attended internationalised streams, and close to 40% at the regular streams. Thus even at regular pre-university streams, upper middle-class families were strongly over-represented compared to both samples of the Dutch labour force. The 'middle' middle class was more evenly distributed across the school types, although clearly less present at gymnasiums. Given the large differences between the two samples of the Dutch labour force, it remains unclear whether this class was over-represented or not compared to this class's proportion within the Dutch workforce. The distribution of all non-middle-class parents across school types revealed that there were about three times more parents occupying these class positions at regular pre-university streams (29.3%) compared to

gymnasiums (10.1%). Internationalised streams took a middle position, having slightly more than 17% parents at non-middle-class positions. In summary, nearly one-fifth (18.4%) of the parents in the sample occupied a non-middle-class position, while the non-middle classes made up between 54 or close to 70% of the Dutch labour force. Only a fraction (5.3%) of the sample consisted of manual workers, while this social class made up about one-fifth to nearly forty percent of the Dutch workforce.¹⁴

The three school types thus represent different levels in the social hierarchy. Within the sample, parents of children attending a gymnasium occupied the highest class positions, while parents of pupils attending internationalised streams took up a middle position, and parents of pupils at regular pre-university streams held the lowest positions. The differences between the average class positions of each school type were highly significant (analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests, all differences significant at $p < 0.001$). To find out to what degree our parents belonged to the established upper middle class, the occupations of their grandfathers were analysed. Where one of either maternal or paternal grandfathers belonged to the upper middle class, I regarded an upper middle-class household as 'established'. In Table 2-2, the percentages indicate how many households had grandfathers in upper middle-class positions per social class.

Table 2-2 Proportion of grandfathers who occupied an upper middle-class position

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Total
Within upper middle-class parents	88/168 (52.3%)	54/150 (36.0%)	37/85 (43.5%)	179/403 (44.4%)
Within 'middle' middle-class parents	25/62 (40.3%)	22/104 (21.2%)	12/77 (15.6%)	59/243 (24.3%)
Within non middle-class parents	4/26 (15.4%)	5/53 (9.4%)	8/67 (11.9%)	17/104 (16.3%)
Total	117/256 (45.7%)	81/307 (26.4%)	57/229 (24.9%)	255/792 (32.2%)

Source: survey of parents; $\chi^2=8.15$, $df=4$, $p < 0.086$ (calculation pertains to distribution of the number of upper middle-class grandfathers in each cell)

Clearly, the highest percentage of established parents was found at gymnasiums: while 52.3% of the upper middle-class households at gymnasiums had a grandfather in the same class position, this was 36% and 43.5% at internationalised streams and regular streams, respectively. Put another way: the highest number of climbers among the upper middle-class households were found at internationalised streams. Interestingly, parents of children attending a gymnasium also experienced downward mobility more often than parents of children attending the other school types. Forty percent of the 'middle' middle-class

households at gymnasiums had a grandfather who occupied a higher class position. From this, gymnasiums might be regarded as locations where some of the children are busy ‘repairing’ the downward mobility of their parents, back to the positions their grandparents occupied: an act of contra-mobility. At both internationalised streams and regular pre-university streams, intergenerational downward mobility from upper middle-class to ‘middle’ middle-class positions appeared to be markedly less frequent. A greater drop, ending in a non-middle-class position, also occurred more often within gymnasium households: 15.4% compared to 9.4% at internationalised streams and 11.9% at regular pre-university streams. To summarise the findings: at gymnasiums there were both more established parents and parents who had experienced downward mobility, while most climbers were found at the internationalised streams. This school type had also the lowest number of parents who had experienced downward mobility.

We now turn our attention to horizontal cleavages within the middle class. Where households combined assets, the asset that belonged to the higher class position as measured by the EGP scheme was coded as the dominant one. When both parents occupied the same hierarchical class position, the classification was based on the parent who worked full-time. Remarkably—and fortunately—when both parents worked full-time they almost always based their class position on the same asset. In most cases, the coding of the occupations was rather straightforward, except for the following cases. First, a number of holders of cultural assets had transformed their cultural assets into property assets, for example an economist who ran a one-man consultancy business. Following Goldthorpe and Erikson (1992: 41), who regard them as professionals, they were coded as holders of cultural assets. One could also say that they sell their expertise on the market without mediation via an organisation. Another example concerned physiotherapists, who sometimes thought of themselves as employers (some of them checked the ‘owner of independent business’ category of the questionnaire instead of the ‘liberal profession’ category). These semi-professionals were coded as holders of cultural assets.

Table 2-3 Middle-class assets by school type¹⁵

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Total
Property	27 (10.5%)	16 (5.2%)	18 (7.9%)	61 (7.7%)
Organisation	60 (23.4%)	73 (23.8%)	46 (20.1%)	179 (22.6%)
Cultural	143 (55.9%)	165 (53.7%)	98 (42.8%)	406 (51.3%)
Non-middle class	26 (10.2%)	53 (17.3%)	67 (29.3%)	146 (18.4%)
Total	256 (100%)	307 (100%)	229 (100%)	792 (100%)

Source: survey of parents; $\chi^2=35.0$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

Gymnasiums had the largest proportion of entrepreneurs, but note the small number (61) of all holders of property assets in the sample. Furthermore, the share of managers was more or less equally distributed among school types. Holders of cultural assets were by far the largest category at all three school types. One might think that their strong presence at the two most academically selective school types (at gymnasiums 55.9% and at internationalised streams 53.7%) of Dutch secondary education is a consequence of the abundant cultural capital that underlies their class position. Indeed, there is a tradition in the sociology of education that has time and again provided evidence that possession of the legitimate cultural capital by parents—be it educational level, number of books at home, reading behaviour, visits to museums and theatres—is positively associated to achievements of children at school (see Lareau and Weininger 2003 for an overview). So, how does the representation of the holders of cultural assets compare to a representative sample of the Dutch male labour force? In 1999, professionals and semi-professionals made up 14.8%, while 15.5% comprised managers (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 1999). This suggests that holders of cultural assets are indeed strongly over-represented within the sample, while the presence of managers is only slightly higher than would be expected from the national distribution.

I will now continue by describing a class related characteristic of the households that tells us something about their relative position within society: income.

Table 2-4 Yearly net household income in Euros by school type¹⁶

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Total	Netherlands 2000 ^{a)}
< 18,000	4 (1.5%)	8 (2.6%)	13 (5.5%)	25 (3.1%)	37.9%
18,000 – 28,000	27 (10.3%)	29 (9.3%)	34 (14.3%)	91 (11.2%)	27.4%
28,000 – 35,000	30 (11.4%)	48 (15.4%)	49 (20.7%)	127 (15.6%)	14.5%
35,000 – 45,000	41 (15.6%)	71 (22.8%)	30 (12.7%)	142 (17.5%)	11.8%
45,000 – 75,000	93 (35.4%)	102 (32.7%)	79 (33.3%)	274 (33.7%)	7.6%
> 75,000	68 (25.9%)	54 (17.3%)	32 (13.5%)	154 (18.9%)	0.8%
Total	263 (100.0%)	312 (100.0%)	237 (100.0%)	812 (100.0%)	100.0%

Source: survey of parents; $\chi^2=37.28$, $df=10$, $p<0.001$ (calculation pertains to the three school types only); a) Source: my adaptation of data collected by Statistics Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2004b).

The social selectivity of the sample is perhaps best illustrated by pointing to the differences in incomes of the parents vis-à-vis the Dutch population. Whereas less than one-tenth of the Dutch households earned more than 45,000 Euros net a year, this is 52.6% in the sample. Parents whose children went to a gymnasium, and whose median income ranged between 45,000 and 75,000 Euros, belonged on average to the richest eight percent of all Dutch

household incomes. Parents of children at both regular and internationalised streams earned a median income of 35,000-45,000 Euros, which means that they belonged to the top one-fifth of the most affluent part of the Dutch income distribution. Instead of looking to the distribution across school types, we could also relate the incomes to class positions. It turned out that the median income of all middle-class parents in the sample (more than 80% of the sample) belonged to the top eight percent of the Dutch income distribution.

The survey of pupils supplied us with additional measures of parental wealth. For obvious reasons, pupils were not asked to indicate the income level of their parents. Instead, the questionnaire contained questions about house ownership, in what kind of house pupils lived, how many cars and how many luxury objects their parents possessed. Concerning housing, pupils could choose between a flat, a terraced house, a corner house, a semi-detached house, a detached house, or they could indicate that their house fitted none of those options. If pupils checked off the latter option, they were asked to describe their house in their own terms. With regard to the number of cars owned, pupils could choose between the following categories: no car available, one car, two cars, and three or more cars.¹⁷ The luxury objects that pupils were asked to check off consisted of luxury possessions of two categories: investments and consumer goods. Luxury consumer goods were a video camera, a sun bed, and a caravan. Luxury investments that pupils could check off were antique furniture, a sailboat or yacht, a second home in the Netherlands, a second home abroad. The scores on these lists were simply added up and used as scales indicating wealth. As a result of the small number of items and the dichotomous (yes or no) values of the items, the reliability of the scales was low (Cronbach's alpha for luxury investments: 0.34, for luxury consumer goods: 0.28). These low scores indicate that if parents possess one of these luxury goods, it is far from obvious that they also possess another luxury object. If they, for example, have a yacht we cannot rely they also possess a second home. However, I do not regard the low scores problematic for these specific indicators. Because they do not measure an abstract concept that cannot be captured by one of the items separately, as is the case with cosmopolitan behaviour or the frequency of cultural behaviour. Here, we are only interested in the number of possessions, whether they belong to each other statistically or not is of less importance here.

The difference between luxury investments and luxury consumer goods is not simply a matter of a difference in value. Obviously the value of luxury investments is much higher than that of luxury consumer goods. The former therefore provide stronger indicators of the economic wealth of the possessor. Far more important however is their different relation to

time. Luxury investments keep their value or even increase in value over time whereas luxury consumer goods lose value during their use. In this context, houses, boats, and antique furniture provide important opportunities for intergenerational transmission of economic capital. Therefore, these luxury investments belong to what Bourdieu (1984) has called the legitimate culture of the dominant classes (see chapter 1).

All the luxury objects—both consumer goods and investments—provide the owners opportunities to distinguish themselves. In that Bourdieuan sense, they are cultural objects. But the possession and use of the luxury objects depend much more on the possession of economic capital than on cultural competences (apart from learning how to sail a boat perhaps). But these luxury objects signal the abundance of economic capital of the possessor much more than his or her cultural competence. For these reasons, I have labelled them ‘luxury’. Certainly, books, paintings, and musical instruments are no less luxury items than antique furniture and sun beds. They are all luxury items in the sense that all show that their owner is able to escape from a world of every-day necessity to engage in activities that have no tangible use or benefit. However, to be able to appreciate and/or make use of books, paintings, and musical instruments demands intensive training and self-control, typically associated with the acquisition of cultural capital in its ‘fundamental state’ which ‘is linked to the body [and] which presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation’ (Bourdieu 1986: 244). Hence the use and possession of objects that require such an intensive process of cultivation radiate cultural distinction much more than economic distinction. Before I present the distribution of diverse forms of cultural capital, I will describe in more detail the distribution of indicators of wealth, as shown in Table 2-5.

Table 2-5 Indicators of parental wealth, by school type

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Netherl.	Δ gym. vs. inter. ^{a)}	Δ gym. vs. reg. ^{a)}	Δ inter. vs. reg. ^{a)}	N
House ownership	85.9%	86.4%	77.7%	53% ^{b)}	n.s.	p=0.002	p<0.001	1,444
Semi-detached or detached house	52.3%	49.2%	42.6%	n.a.	n.s.	p=0.006	n.s.	1,489
Cars (s.d.)	1.53 (0.70)	1.49 (0.69)	1.42 (0.68)	0.8 ^{c)}	n.s.	p=0.025	n.s.	1,539
Luxury investments (s.d.)	0.94 (0.88)	0.74 (0.79)	0.66 (0.78)	n.a.	p<0.001	p<0.001	n.s.	1,538
Luxury consumer goods (s.d.)	0.82 (0.74)	1.01 (0.84)	1.01 (0.81)	n.a.	p<0.001	p<0.001	n.s.	1,539

Source: survey of pupils; a) Analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests; b) Source: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (2003) c) Source: Onderzoek Verplaatsingsgedrag 1998, adapted by Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (2003: bijlage A2)

House ownership simply pertains to the proportion of parents who owned a house rather than renting one. Nearly 90% of the parents of children who attended gymnasiums and internationalised streams owned a house, while this was close to 80% percent of the parents of children who went to regular streams; the difference is significant. Again, there is a striking difference between the sample as a whole and Dutch society. The proportion of house-owners among all parents in the sample was more than 80%, while half of all Dutch households owned a house. Apart from owning or renting a house, the type of dwelling one lives in also reflects the social hierarchy. In the hierarchy of housing, detached houses, semi-detached houses, and obviously country houses belong to the most prestigious categories (see also De Wijs-Mulkens 1999). Therefore, I combined the scores for the latter types of houses. In summary, almost half of the respondents lived in a house of this type. It appeared that there were only small differences between the school types: about half of the pupils at either a gymnasium or internationalised streams lived in a semi-detached, detached house or country house, while this was somewhat more than 40% of the pupils attending regular pre-university streams. Bear in mind, however, that we should take place of residence into account in order to compare the types of dwellings properly. As we will learn, the gymnasium households in our sample more frequently lived in cities, where the supply of semi-detached and detached houses is of course lower than in suburban areas. As a result, Table 2-5 underestimates the privileged position of gymnasium households in the housing market.

On average, the households in the sample had one and a half cars at their disposal, which is nearly twice as many as the average Dutch household. The three school types did not differ much from each other, albeit that parents of children attending a gymnasium have slightly, but significantly, more cars than parents of pupils who attended regular pre-university streams. Concerning luxury investments, it emerged that parents of children attending a gymnasium had significantly more luxury investments at their disposal than the other parents. Remarkably, the figures were reversed with regard to luxury consumer goods: parents of children attending a gymnasium possessed a significantly lower number of such objects. This distribution fits well with Bourdieu's observations on the established upper layers' social power over time. While the greater number of luxury investments that are at the disposal of the parents of children attending a gymnasium reveal their potential for transferring economic wealth over generations—which Bourdieu (1984: 71-71) would interpret as 'mastery over time'—they are inclined to leave luxury consumer goods for what they are, resisting the aura of short-time economic wealth that these goods radiate.

Parental sources of power (2): cultural, social and cosmopolitan capital

In this book I also consider the relationships between school types and parental cultural, social and cosmopolitan capital. I will start out to explore the distribution of cultural capital in the sample first. As discussed in chapter 1, Bourdieu (1986) distinguished three forms of cultural capital: an embodied state, an objectified state, and its institutionalised form. The latter form is most often indicated by the level of education that people have attained. In Table 2-6, the distribution of the highest educational level attained (within households) is shown per school type.

Table 2-6 Highest educational level within households by school type

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Netherlands 1999 ^{a)}
University, PhD	37 (14.1%)	29 (9.3%)	13 (5.5%)	{ 9%
University, MA	134 (51.0%)	117 (37.5%)	60 (25.2%)	
Vocational college	61 (23.2%)	103 (33.0%)	83 (34.9%)	19%
Higher secondary	25 (9.5%)	50 (16.0%)	55 (23.1%)	40%
Lower secondary and lower	6 (2.3%)	13 (4.2%)	27 (11.3%)	31%
Total	263 (100%)	312 (100%)	238 (100%)	100%

Source: survey of parents; $\chi^2=72.68$, $df=8$, $p<0.001$ (calculation pertains to the three school types only); a) Source: Employed population aged 45-55, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2000: 170, Table 5.2.2).

Unsurprisingly, huge differences emerged once again between the sample and the Dutch employed population aged 45-55 (the average age among the parents in the sample is 48). Furthermore, it appeared that the school types form a hierarchy with regard to parental educational level, which was similar to the hierarchy concerning their class backgrounds: the average parental educational level of pupils who attended gymnasiums was highest, internationalised streams took up a middle position and parents of children attending regular pre-university streams had the lowest educational level in the sample (all differences significant at $p<0.001$).

In addition to educational level, I used an indicator that aimed to capture embodied cultural capital of the sort that belongs to the dominant classes, also called legitimate cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). I will use this variable as a measure of establishment later in the book because the acquisition of this type of cultural capital presupposes intensive socialisation within the family (see Bourdieu's observations quoted in chapter 1). The measurement comprised a series of questions regarding the frequency with which parents go

to the theatre, concerts (of classical music), ballet, an art cinema, a museum, read Dutch-language novels or translated novels, read Dutch poetry, and listen to classical music at home. The coherence of such a series of questions can be measured by Cronbach's alpha, which gives an indication of the extent to which separate questions measure the same underlying concept. As a rule of thumb, values of about 0.7 and higher indicate a reasonable coherence. The scale that aimed to capture high-brow cultural participation scored 0.74. This score roughly means that if parents often go to the theatre, they are also likely to engage in the other cultural activities frequently. The categories were: 1=less than once a year, 2=once a year, 3=two to three times a year, 4=four to eleven times a year, 5=once a month, 6=once a week or more often.

The survey of pupils also contained measurements of parental cultural capital in its objectified form, again that of the established upper layers. Pupils could choose from the following categories to assess the number of novels at home: 0=no novels at all; 1=one to twenty novels; 3=twenty to fifty novels; 4=fifty to hundred novels; 5=hundred to three hundred novels; 6=more than three hundred novels. Furthermore, they were asked to indicate whether they or their parents possessed a piano, violin, paintings of modern art or paintings of more classical art. The scores on this list were added and used as a scale. The reliability of this scale was low (Cronbach's alpha 0.41). I do not regard the low reliability of this indicator as a problem for the same reasons I gave above with regard to the luxury investments and luxury consumer goods.

Finally, I aimed to capture the degree to which parents were integrated in the established social network. I asked parents whether they had been a member of a students' association and if so, which one. Here, we want to know whether they were a member of one of the older and traditional associations that are part of the Corps [*corporale studentenverenigingen*] specifically.

Table 2-7 Indicators of parental established cultural and social capital by school type

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Δ gym. vs. inter. ^{a)}	Δ gym. vs. reg. ^{a)}	Δ inter. vs. reg. ^{a)}	N
Cultural behaviour (s.d.)	2.91 (0.79)	2.48 (0.74)	2.32 (0.73)	p<0.001	p<0.001	p=0.032	813
Novels (s.d.)	2.87 (1.17)	2.65 (1.27)	2.22 (1.31)	p=0.012	p<0.001	p<0.001	1,539
Cultural goods (s.d.)	1.54 (1.12)	1.24 (1.05)	0.99 (0.99)	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	1,536
Membership of the Corps	32.3%	18.3%	17.7%	p<0.001	p<0.001	n.s.	813

Source: surveys of parents and pupils; a) Analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests.

Parents of children who attended gymnasiums most often engaged in cultural behaviour, and they have the most books and cultural goods, while those of pupils who attended regular pre-university streams scored lowest on all these indicators. Parents of pupils at internationalised streams scored significantly lower compared to their gymnasium counterparts but significantly higher than parents of children at regular pre-university streams on all measures of cultural capital shown in Table 2-7. The distribution of these types of cultural capital thus corresponds to the distribution of parental educational level across school types.

Concerning the established social capital of the parents, it is also clear that parents of children who attended gymnasiums were clearly more often members of the Corps.

Another source of power I will explore in this book is cosmopolitan capital, which can easily be understood as a specific form of cultural and social capital. The sort of cosmopolitan assets I am interested in comprises resources that are profitable in transnational social arenas where the struggle is for privileged social positions.¹⁸ Similar to the measurement of embodied cultural capital, a rating scale was used that aimed to measure the frequency of various types of cosmopolitan behaviour of both parents: business trips abroad; duration of business trips abroad; speaking English at work; writing English at work; hosting foreign guests at home; visiting foreign friends; reading foreign books and foreign newspapers (Cronbach’s alpha 0.83). The time categories were the same as above. Recall that this operationalisation of cosmopolitan capital is that of the type of capital that is profitable in transnational labour markets, dominated by transnational companies. The second operationalisation of cosmopolitanism is whether parents have been living abroad for longer than one year. If one or both of the parents had been expatriates longer than one year, the score is one; if this is not the case, it is zero.

Table 2-8 Indicators of parental cosmopolitan capital by school type

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Δ gym. vs. inter. ^{a)}	Δ gym. vs. reg. ^{a)}	Δ inter. vs. reg. ^{a)}	N
Cosmopolitan behaviour (s.d.)	2.59 (1.07)	2.65 (1.16)	2.34 (1.08)	n.s.	p=0.03	p<0.001	813
Ex-expatriates	20.5%	26.3%	17.2%	n.s.	n.s.	p=0.03	812

Source: survey of parents a) Analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests.

Parents of children attending gymnasiums and internationalised streams were equally cosmopolitan with regard to their current behaviour, whereas parents of pupils attending regular pre-university streams scored significantly lower. The highest percentage of parents

who had lived abroad was found among pupils of internationalised streams; more than a quarter of them was an ex-expatriate. At gymnasiums, slightly over one fifth of the parents had lived abroad for more than one year, while this figure was 17.2% at the regular pre-university streams. However, only the difference between internationalised streams and regular pre-university streams was significant. The category of ex-expatriates comprised, in part, parents from ethnic minority groups. The larger part of this category consisted of parents born in one of the former colonies, namely Indonesian and Surinamese. This category made up 4.7% of all parents of children attending gymnasiums, 4.4% of all parents of internationalised streams, and 5.7% at regular pre-university streams.

So far, we learned about the power resources of the parents. In the following section, I will introduce the children. First their inclination to follow cosmopolitan and established trajectories will be analysed. After that we will consider to what extent they have incorporated key elements of upper-middle class socialisation. Finally, some background features of the pupils are described. These characteristics appear as intervening variables in many of the analyses presented further in the book.

Treading established and cosmopolitan pathways

One of the main themes this study explores is the existence of two diverging social trajectories within the upper middle class: a national-established and a cosmopolitan path. I will apply this notion to pupils, parents, and schools and their interrelationships. For now, I will describe the relationship between the school types and the degree to which pupils planned to tread the cosmopolitan pathway on the one hand and their intention to enter into the national-established trajectory on the other. These trajectories are operationalised by the intentions that students indicated to questions like: ‘Do you want to do a course, if so, at which institution, what kind of course do you want to undertake’; ‘Do you want to go abroad to study, and if so, where do you want to go and at which foreign institute do you want to study?’.

The cosmopolitan route was measured by pupils’ intention to study abroad or follow an internationalised study in the Netherlands after their final examinations. Internationalised studies pertain to studies taught in English with an international orientation like European law, business administration, and so forth. Only those cases in which students were able to name both the institute and the type of study they were planning to follow after their final

examinations were coded as cosmopolitan. Students who had plans to attend a short language course abroad were not coded as entering a cosmopolitan trajectory.

Entering an established trajectory was operationalised as pupils' plans to join one of the older and traditional student associations, the Corps. Pupils' intention to become part of the Corps easily equates with the intention to join a selective, traditional club that forms a potential source of established social capital. Therefore, I find it appropriate to designate the plan to join the Corps as part of treading the established pathway. I asked pupils whether they wanted to join a student association and if so, which one. Only student associations that were part of the Corps were regarded as part of the established trajectory.

In addition to exploring the cosmopolitan study plans and the wish to become part of the Corps, I tried to capture pupils' current cosmopolitan and established cultural behaviour. With regard to the latter, I asked pupils whether they played a musical instrument, what type of instrument they played, and how many hours they played per week. Only instruments that fit in the classical orchestra tradition were counted. The number of hours were later categorized into: 0=never plays a classical musical instrument; 1= less than one hour a week; 2=one to three hours a week; 3=four to six hours a week; 4=seven to nine hours a week and 5=ten or more hours a week. Pupils' cosmopolitan behaviour was operationalised as the frequency of reading magazines and papers that have a European or global audience and that are written in a non-Dutch language (see previous chapter, ref. to Merton 1957; Wagner 1998). The questions 'Do you read foreign magazines?'; 'Do you read foreign papers?' were taken together. The categories were: 1=less than once a year, 2=once a year, 3=two to three times a year, 4=four to eleven times a year, 5=once a month, 6=once a week or more often (Cronbach's alpha 0.73). The results presented in Table 2-9 pertain to pupils who attended the final class.

Table 2-9 Cosmopolitan and established behaviour of pupils by school type

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Δ gym. vs. inter. ^{a)}	Δ gym. vs. reg. ^{a)}	Δ inter. vs. reg. ^{a)}	N
% pupils who intend to go abroad or do an internationalised study	12.5%	15.1%	7.2%	n.s.	n.s.	p=0.085	550
Cosmopolitan reading (s.d.)	1.90 (1.00)	2.57 (1.28)	1.67 (0.99)	p<0.001	p=0.104	p<0.001	550
% pupils who intend to join the Corps	14.3%	7.2%	4.2%	p=0.058	p=0.002	n.s.	550
Playing a classical musical instrument (s.d.)	0.71 (1.30)	0.59 (1.24)	0.29 (0.86)	n.s.	p<0.001	n.s.	543

Source: survey of pupils attending the final year; a) Analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests

The highest proportion of pupils who planned to go cosmopolitan after secondary school was found at internationalised streams (15.1%), this difference was (narrowly) significant compared to pupils at regular pre-university streams (7.2%), while the difference between internationalised streams and gymnasiums was not significant. In summary, 11.6% of all pupils intended to go cosmopolitan after their final examinations (percentage not shown in the table). Concerning the frequency of cosmopolitan reading behaviour, it turned out that pupils of internationalised streams clearly more often read magazines and papers in a foreign language than the other pupils.

The overall percentage of pupils who wanted to join the Corps was 9.3% (not shown in the table). Gymnasium pupils clearly most often wanted to become a member of such an association (14.3%), followed by pupils of internationalised streams (7.2%), and pupils who attended regular pre-university streams (4.2%). The difference between gymnasiums and internationalised streams was close to the conventional significance level of 95%, whereas the difference between internationalised streams and regular pre-university streams was clearly non-significant. With regard to the frequency of playing a classical musical instrument it emerged that gymnasium pupils most often engaged in this activity, but the difference with pupils attending internationalised streams was not significant. The pupils who attended regular pre-university streams scored somewhat lower than the others.

Key elements of upper middle-class socialisation

In the previous chapter, three key elements of upper middle-class socialisation were identified: self-discipline, competitiveness, and parents' ambitions. Here, I will analyse how these characteristics are distributed among the pupils. Competitiveness is captured by a scale consisting of the following seven-point rating items (ranging from 1=I disagree completely to 7=I agree completely). The items were: 'I want my classmates to think that I am smart'; 'I want to be one of the best in class'; 'I want to do my school work better than my classmates'; 'I want my teacher to think that I am a bright student' and, finally, 'I want to be the first to give an answer when the teacher asks something'. (Cronbach's alpha 0.77). Self-discipline with regard to school work is measured by a scale consisting of six rating items: 'I pay attention to the lessons when I'm in class'; 'I always revise for my exams at the last moment' (the scores on this item were reversed); 'My parents never have to tell me to do my homework'; 'I never have enough time to finish my homework' (item scores were reversed); 'I have a hard time concentrating on boring subjects' (item scores were reversed); and 'I

prefer to learn a bit too much rather than too little' (Cronbach's alpha 0.68). The figures shown in Table 2-10 pertain to pupils attending the final class only. These questions were partly derived from the questionnaire used by Cookson and Persell (1985) in their study of American boarding prep schools, the work of Bourdieu (1996) on French *grandes écoles* and Ross and Broth's (2000) research into self-esteem and personal control in education settings.

Furthermore I will describe parental ambitions with regard to school work. Parental ambitions—here as reported by their children—are measured on a scale consisting of four seven-point rating items (again ranking from 1=completely disagree to 7=completely agree): 'My parents don't really mind if I fail a test' (the scores on this item were reversed); 'My parents want me to do better than other pupils at school'; 'My parents are disappointed when I get a low mark'; 'My parents want me to work hard for school' (Cronbach's alpha 0.69).

Table 2-10 Self-discipline, competitiveness and parental ambitions

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Δ gym. vs. inter. ^{a)}	Δ gym. vs. reg. ^{a)}	Δ inter. vs. reg. ^{a)}	N
Self-discipline	4.09 (1.02)	3.95 (1.03)	4.06 (0.99)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	550
Competitiveness	3.60 (1.14)	3.83 (1.19)	3.50 (1.11)	n.s.	n.s.	p=0.032	550
Ambitions of parents	3.58 (0.97)	4.04 (1.21)	3.81 (1.06)	p<0.001	n.s.	n.s.	550

Source: survey of pupils attending the final class; a) Analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests

Interestingly, the mental characteristics that are crucial for obtaining and maintaining middle-class positions were rather evenly distributed across school types, despite the clear differences we found with regard to social class, and economic and cultural wealth earlier in this chapter. There is especially low variation with regard to self-discipline. Still, pupils of internationalised streams were somewhat more competitive or, more precisely, they were somewhat less inclined to perceive themselves as non-competitive. They also reported having the most ambitious parents (a finding that corresponds to what parents themselves indicated, see Appendix I). In chapter 7 I will analyse these features of upper middle-class socialisation in more detail.

Finally, I will give an overview of some important control variables that appear in the rest of book. Although their effects are interesting in themselves, they are not part of the sociological problem I want to deal with. These variables are: gender, place of residence, test score of pupils, and whether parents had attended a gymnasium themselves.

As many studies on educational inequality have shown, there are clear gender effects with regard to various school-related phenomena. Therefore we have to take into account the effects of being a boy or a girl, or having a son or a daughter in our analyses.

The schools that participated in the surveys were located in different residential areas. I distinguished three types of regions: cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht), old and rather affluent suburbs (the towns of Hilversum, Oegstgeest, Wassenaar) and the rest of the country, consisting of towns in the south and east (there were no internationalised streams in the north of the country at the time of data collection).

Test score pertains to the score achieved in a test [*cito toets*] that almost every Dutch pupil has to take at the end of primary school. This test is designed to measure the academic capacities of pupils, and plays an important role in assigning pupils to the different levels of secondary education. In the following chapters, I will include test score mainly because it might interfere with the effects of other variables on school type. Take the following case: if a child from a family in which cultural assets are dominant did not score high enough to be allowed admission to either a gymnasium or an internationalised stream, it has no choice left other than to go to a pre-university stream. Without taking test score into account, it would seem as though possessing cultural assets is positively related to the ‘choice’ for a regular pre-university stream. Of course, in reality, test score and cultural assets are interlinked. For the sake of analysis however, we want to separate cultural assets in the sense of ‘privileged appropriation positions’ from whatever these test scores actually measure — ‘ability’, ‘genetic endowment’, ‘power of concentration’, ‘stimulating home environment’ to name but a few possibilities.

Finally, I want to take into account whether parents attended a gymnasium themselves. Being an *alumnus* of a gymnasium might have an independent effect on the school that children go to, and I want to separate this from the effects of social class and cultural capital. Former gymnasium pupils might encourage or discourage their children from going to a gymnasium, depending on how they perceive the time they had at school.

Table 2-11 Control variables pertaining to the pupils

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Δ gym. vs. inter. ^{c)}	Δ gym. vs. reg. ^{c)}	Δ inter. vs. reg. ^{c)}	N
Parents went to gymnasium ^{a)}	28.5%	16.3%	13.0%	p=0.001	p<0.001	n.s.	813
Pupil is a girl ^{b)}	53.6%	53.1%	52.0%	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	1,534
<i>Place of residence</i> ^{b)}							
- south & east	42.6%	62.0%	65.6%	p<0.001	p<0.001	n.s.	1,539
- 'big' city	43.0%	16.2%	14.4%	p<0.001	p<0.001	n.s.	1,539
- affluent sub.	14.3%	21.8%	20.0%	p<0.001	p<0.001	n.s.	1,539
Test score (s.d.) ^{b)}	547.2 (2.39)	547.3 (2.57)	544.7 (4.30)	n.s.	p<0.001	p<0.001	1,539

Source: survey of a) parents and b) pupils; c) Analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests

The finding that a large proportion—almost 30%—of the parents of gymnasium pupils had themselves (either one or both parents) gone to such a school, is not surprising. It nevertheless provides another indication of the particular relationship between gymnasiums and tradition. As I have argued before, taking part in traditions that are thought of as prestigious, and engaging in customs that are part of the legitimate culture is to possess social power over time, which is a particular feature of the established upper middle class. It is not too hard to see that continuing a family tradition of attending a gymnasium belongs to this realm of established prestige. At all three school types, girls are in the majority, which is in line with national figures: in 1999-2000 the percentage of girls attending pre-university education was 53% (source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2000: 53, Table 2.2.3). With regard to place of residence, it turned out that gymnasiums were strongly represented in the cities, whereas the main supply of internationalised streams was to be found in the rest of the country in particular. Note that the selection of the regular pre-university streams was simply a matter of including such a stream from the same school as that which provided internationalised education (see Appendix I). Although gymnasiums are in reality also overrepresented in the larger cities and the internationalised streams are more to be found in towns in the East and South of the country, the distribution across these regions in the sample is more extreme. As the place where parents and pupils live might interfere with relationships between school types and other phenomena I am interested in, the inclusion of place of residence in the analyses is therefore also one way of preventing sampling bias. Let's say we want to analyse the relationship between cultural behaviour of parents and school type. As the supply of cultural activities is much greater and much more accessible for parents who live in cities compared to those who live in the rest of the country, we should take their place of residence into account. Table 2-11 also shows that there were no significant differences regarding

pupils' test scores between gymnasium and internationalised streams, which means that they are equally academically selective. Pupils who attended regular pre-university streams obtained significantly lower test scores than pupils from the other two school types. One might think that this difference can be explained by the way in which the first year of the pre-university streams in the sample is organised: contrary to both internationalised streams and gymnasiums, the first year of the regular pre-university streams consist of restricted mixing in terms of ability [*brugklas*], which means there is more variation concerning test scores. Indeed, when I restricted the comparison to pupils attending the final year only, the difference was much smaller, yet still significant ($p < 0.001$, test scores of 547.5; 547.6, and 546.1 at gymnasiums, internationalised streams, and regular pre-university streams respectively).

Summary

In the following chapters I will examine the differences between parents and pupils of the three school types more closely. However, what the descriptive overview in this chapter already has made clear is that we are dealing with a small and selective segment of Dutch society. Marked differences appeared between school types, even by using the rather crude statistical procedures as we did in this chapter. However, we should bear in mind that the differences—real as they are for parents, pupils, and schools and as statistically significant they might turn out to be—are not differences within Dutch society but differences within the Dutch middle class, or upper middle class.

There is a clear hierarchy of economic and cultural wealth and it is the gymnasium that forms the top of this hierarchy. The second position is for internationalised streams, although this school type resembles regular pre-university streams more closely than gymnasiums. Internationalised streams break through this hierarchy only in some areas. This concerns the cosmopolitan behaviour of parents and pupils, the competitiveness of pupils, and the ambitions of parents. However, the scores of most of these variables were not significantly higher than that of gymnasiums. In the next chapter I will change the perspective and examine developments on the supply side of the education arena. These developments were partly an effect of the activation of sources of power of the middle classes.

3 Old and new schools within local education arenas

While the greater part of this book is devoted to parents and pupils, I here turn my attention to the education arenas in which the forms of power of the middle classes are activated. Since the general theme of this book is that schools are subject to the forms of capital of the middle classes as well as being able to shape them, it is worth taking a closer look at the position of our school types within the education arena. The main focus is again on gymnasiums and internationalised streams, while the regular pre-university streams are used as a reference category, as in the rest of the book. I will first describe how the current education arena was shaped some thirty years ago, and how the school types have developed in terms of market shares since then. Second, I will describe how gymnasiums and internationalised streams came into being. Third, I aim to show how (changing) ideologies that surround gymnasiums and internationalised streams are tied to the circumstances under which these school types came into existence. These ideologies form the schools' cultural power for distinction, especially vis-à-vis regular pre-university streams. Fourth, I describe how headmasters of these schools operate in the local education arena, how their mode of operation relates to the competitive position of the school, and how they deploy the ideologies to promote their school. Fifth, I will describe more recent education policies, which form the context in which ideologies emerged and/or changed. Finally, I will provide a statistical overview of current developments concerning the competitive positions of the school types.

The assumption in this chapter is that education policies are the main source of changes in the education arena in which our school types operate. As it stands, the word 'arena' may sound a bit exaggerated as it refers to tough battlegrounds. However, as I will argue in this chapter, the events that have taken place in this 'pupil market', can arguably be seen as a battle for survival among schools. In our case, the fight is about the most able (or least problematic) pupils.

The argument is based on various types of data. Findings that resulted from the case studies at eight schools provided me with information about the introduction of internationalised streams as well as about current developments with regard to pre-university streams. With regard to the development of the position of the gymnasiums, I rely on

interviews with headmasters of eight gymnasiums, memorial books and secondary literature. Finally, I will make use of aggregated statistics, gathered by the Inspectorate of Dutch Education [*Inspectie van het Onderwijs*] and Statistics Netherlands [*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*].

The story starts with what is commonly considered as one of the milestones of Dutch policy concerning secondary education, the Secondary Education Act of 1968 [*Wet op het Voortgezet Onderwijs, de ‘Mammoetwet’*]. This Act gave secondary education its current form, shaping the arena in which later developments took place. Even though I will go back further in time at a later stage, 1968 is arguably the most logical point of departure.

Shaping the education arena: the Secondary Education Act of 1968

The Secondary Education Act was accepted in 1963 by Parliament and became effective in 1968, after a political run-up of more than fifty years (Dodde 1980: 72). The ideal of the government was to establish a coherent system of secondary education in which pupils would be able to stream more freely through the various school types, in which the strict legal distinction between classical and modern school types was to be removed, and in which the age at which pupils had to make irreversible educational ‘choices’ was raised to a later age. These were old ideas, even at that time. As I will show, they had already been developed and applied in part by the so-called *lyceums* in the beginning of the 20th century (Dodde 1980: 74-76; Dodde 1987: 90).

For our story, the most important change that the Secondary Education Act brought about was that gymnasiums were put on a par with competitors like *lyceums* and the so-called *hbs*, whose history I will describe later. These school types together made up what from then on was called preparatory university education [*voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs*]. Consequently, gymnasiums lost their official monopoly, which had been eroded already in practice, on preparing pupils for university. It was decided that the curriculum of the *lyceums* and *hbs* were to be merged as a six-year preparatory university curriculum without classical languages.

This was the start of the regular pre-university streams under study here. Furthermore, the Act mentioned that schools could be established that provided more than one level of secondary education (which was a late recognition of the *lyceums*, see below). Although this opportunity was mentioned only in passing and without concrete measures for implementing such ‘comprehensives’, many schools started to merge. These comprehensive schools

provided education at two or more levels, assigning pupils after one year of mixed-ability classes to separated streams of secondary education. While gymnasiums had been able to refrain from mixing altogether, at the other forms of pre-university education the mixing was more limited than the government had had in mind. At most schools, mixed-ability classes were restricted to pupils who were considered to be capable of following either the pre-university programme or the level just below. This lower level comprised a five-year curriculum called 'higher general secondary education' [*havo*], which is comparable with the British GCSE Higher programme. *Havo* prepares pupils for vocational colleges, which are part of higher education in the Netherlands. Apart from this five-year programme, comprehensive schools also provided a four-year 'lower general secondary education' [*mavo*] programme. Consequently, the pre-university streams that were part of larger schools lost some of the exclusivity its precursors had in the form of an independent *lyceum* or *hbs*. This was not only because they were now part of comprehensive schools that provided (a limited form of) mixed-ability classes in the first year or first two years, but also because pupils from various levels of the education hierarchy were located in the same building. As we will come to see, this would prove to be a disadvantage in the long run.

The gymnasiums managed to negotiate a separate position within preparatory university education. In 1959, the Minister of Education proposed introducing an initial mixed-ability year of secondary education for all pupils [*brugklas*], including those attending gymnasiums. In practice, this would mean that the curriculum of the first form at gymnasiums would not include classical languages, so as to prevent any barriers being raised after the first year and to leave as many educational pathways open as possible for every pupil. But the Ministerial proposal was rejected by Parliament and the gymnasiums were allowed to stay outside the general format of mixed first-year classes (Karstanje 1987: 298). The fact that the Act specified gymnasiums as being a separate school type within pre-university education indicates the political power that gymnasiums were able to generate. Apparently, they managed to withstand the threat posed by modern school types and by political leaders like the then Secretary of State of Education [the Dutch *staatssecretaris*, in the UK called a junior minister] of the Protestant-reformed party [*Anti Revolutionaire Partij*] who had publicly doubted whether 'gymnasiums were still able to meet the prevailing ambitions of the development of all talents of the youth' (Greven 1997: 22).

Despite this political power, gymnasiums could not escape without harm from the Secondary Education Act. The Act forced them to reduce the hours spent on teaching classical languages. In addition, pupils following the science track at gymnasiums were allowed to

drop one of the classical languages (Greven 1997: 17). These measures were perceived as threats to the classical identity of the gymnasiums, whose history I will describe in more detail below.

First, I will give an impression of the market shares that the school types have occupied during the decades following the Secondary Education Act. The market shares pertain to the proportion of pupils of each school type as part of the total number of pupils that attended pre-university education.

Table 3-1 Number of pupils and market shares per school type 1968-2002

	1968-1969	1980-1981	1990-1991	2000-2001	2002-2003
Gymnasiums (% all pre-university pupils)	13,642 ^{a)} (8.3%)	15,799 ^{a)} (7.8%)	19,134 ^{b)} (8.5%)	21,749 ^{b)} (9.6%)	22,753 ^{b)} (9.3%)
Internationalised streams (% all pre-university pupils)	-	-	n.a. ^{c)}	2,600 ^{d)} (1.3%)	5,000 ^{e)} (2.0%)
Regular streams (% all pre-university pupils)	155,000 (91.7%)	187,000 (92.1%)	204,000 (91.5%)	204,000 (89.1%)	220,000 (88.7%)
All pre-university pupils	169,000 ^{f)} (100%)	203,000 ^{f)} (100%)	223,000 ^{f)} (100%)	229,000 ^{f)} (100%)	248,000 ^{f)} (100%)
All pupils in secondary education	860,000	1,226,400	916,000	868,000	914,000

Sources: a) Poll (1981: 26, Table 5, based on data from Ministry of Education and Statistics Netherlands); b) Yearly Survey of Gymnasiums, Association of Headmasters of Independent Gymnasiums [*Jaarlijkse enquête van de Vereniging Rectoren van Zelfstandige Gymnasia*]; c) No data available; probably a dozen in 1990-1991 and between one hundred and two hundred pupils in 1995-1996 d) Inspectorate of Dutch Education (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 1998b) e) Maljers and Van Vuuren (2002), quoted in Oonk (2004: 52) f) My estimation, based on data collected by Statistics Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2004a).¹⁹

Internationalised streams are still only a marginal phenomenon. Nevertheless, the figures suggest that both regular pre-university streams and the gymnasiums lost some pupils to the internationalised streams. Many of the internationalised streams are still in the development stage. In 1998-1999 only five of the then twenty internationalised streams provided a full six-year cohort, and in 2000-2001, at the time of the survey data collection, only 12 of the 25 internationalised streams covered the full six-year programme. The growth of the number of schools shows the advance of the internationalised streams more clearly. In 1993-1994, five schools provided an internationalised stream. This number almost tripled to 14 in 1996-1997. Three years later, in 1999-2000, there were 22. In 2002-2003, there were 45 (including one Dutch-German internationalised stream).

The number of gymnasium pupils has been increasing since 1968, its share of all pupils attending pre-university education rose slightly, apart from a dip in the early 1980s. This fall is due to the strong overall expansion of secondary education in the 1970s and early

1980s (Van der Ploeg 1993). The number of pupils who attended gymnasiums grew at a rate of 1.67 between 1968 and 2002, compared with 1.42 at the regular pre-university streams. All in all, it can be concluded that the gymnasiums remained an exclusive niche within pre-university education. Note, by the way, that this development stands in sharp contrast to the decline of pupils in gymnasium streams at comprehensive schools.²⁰

But what happened with the number of gymnasiums after the introduction of the Secondary Education Act? During the period from 1968 to 1974, 17 gymnasiums disappeared (Dennert 1987; Poll 1981: 26, Table 5). Where did these gymnasiums go? The answer is that they, like so many categorial schools [*categoriale scholen*, schools that provide one level of secondary education only] at the time, merged into comprehensive schools that provided two or more educational levels. Whether a gymnasium dissolved or merged into a larger comprehensive school depended on the political flavour of local governments, on the financial situation of local government, and on the political power that the local gymnasium was able to mobilise. For example, the gymnasiums in the towns of Groningen (Greven, Kramer and Wiersma 1997), Nijmegen (Eillebrecht and Gobbels 1994), and Zwolle (Coster 2003) were supported by a majority in the town council that opposed the attempts of social-democratic aldermen to dissolve the gymnasium as a separate type of school.²¹ Although quite a number of gymnasiums disappeared, the overall decline of categorial schools at the time should be taken into account: in the period from 1975 to 1996 the number of schools that provided one level of general education (as opposed to vocational training) declined from 944 to 123 (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau 1998: 576, Table 14.5). Currently, there are 40 schools that provide education at pre-university level only, 38 of which are gymnasiums (source: Oonk 2004: 49, Table 10a). After 1974, the number of gymnasiums remained stable at 38. No new gymnasiums were founded from the 1970s onward, because there was a governmental ban on the founding of schools that provided only one level of secondary education. In 2003 this ban was lifted, so it is very likely that the number of gymnasiums will start rising in the years to come. Founding a new gymnasium is indeed the aim of one of the pressure groups that try to promote the gymnasiums, the National Parental Board of Independent Gymnasiums (Landelijke Ouderraad Zelfstandige Gymnasia 2003: 10, 15).

In my view, the current flowering of gymnasiums is a consequence of the structure that was implemented in secondary education in 1968. The Act provided them with an almost impregnable position that would prove to be of value during the battles to attract able pupils that were to take place later. In fact, and this is quite another interpretation of history than gymnasiums are used to proclaiming, the position of the gymnasiums after the Secondary

Education Act of 1968 was never to be as precarious as it had been before that time. Let us go back further in time, to learn about the history of gymnasiums and the changing ideologies—the legitimations of the gymnasiums’ separate position—that have surrounded it. The reason for doing so is to show how gymnasiums have been able to distinguish themselves from regular pre-university streams, and how this power of distinction has proved to be an important instrument in the battle to attract pupils.

From Latin Schools to gymnasiums: struggles in the 19th century education arena

The history of gymnasiums starts with the so-called Latin Schools that emerged in the Low Countries in the 14th century. These Latin Schools prepared pupils for university studies. As such, they were regarded as a form of higher education. Latin was then the language of the academic community, and mastery of Latin was a precondition for entering one of the learned professions: doctors, lawyers, and clergymen (Boekholt and De Booij 1987). At that time, the ideal of classical *Bildung* as it was pursued by the Latin Schools formed the hallmark of the intellectual elites. As I will argue later, the historical relationship between intellectual elitism and classical *Bildung* still forms a crucial element in the ideology of current pleas for the type of education that gymnasiums are said to provide. Unlike today however, the idea that classical *Bildung*—and especially mastery of classical languages—was inextricably bound up with scholarship in general and the learned professions in particular was relatively uncontested. What is more, entrance to university was only open for pupils who had successfully taken an entrance examination in Latin at the local Latin School or at university (Mandemakers 1996: 59). Latin Schools thus had a monopoly on preparing pupils for university and, consequently, also on preparing them for the learned professions.

But the position of the Latin Schools began to deteriorate in the 19th century. Within the category of schools that aimed to provide general education rather than vocational training, they had to compete with the so-called French Schools, which prepared pupils for occupations in trade and industry. They owed their name to the main subject that they taught: French, the dominant language of international communication at the time (Boekholt and De Booij 1987: 49). These schools provided a ‘modern’ curriculum that, in addition to French, also included mathematics, physics, and accountancy. Both the Latin Schools and the French schools were fee-paying and mainly populated by children from the higher echelons of society (ibidem). As a consequence of the pressure from the French Schools and the eroding societal value of Latin, many Latin Schools renewed their curriculum by adding modern subjects like

mathematics, physics, and foreign languages. These modernised Latin Schools were renamed gymnasiums (Mandemakers 1996: 36).

In 1863, the Secondary Education Act [*Wet Middelbaar Onderwijs*] became effective. Prime Minister Thorbecke had been able to exclude the gymnasiums and the Latin Schools from the Act, which meant that he had prevented them from losing their status as institutions of higher education. Thorbecke defended the status of gymnasiums and Latin Schools by invoking the argument that ‘learned education’ [*geleerde vorming*] could not be achieved by schools that lacked a classical curriculum (Mandemakers 1996: 76). The Secondary Education Act of 1863 aimed to restructure Dutch secondary education. A new school type was introduced, inspired by the modern curriculum of the better part of the French Schools. The curriculum of this new school type, the *hbs*, comprised modern languages, economics, and exact sciences. *Hbs* [*hogere burger school*] could be translated as ‘higher bourgeois’ school’. These schools were, according to the government, ‘meant to educate all who, without having the desire for learning [*geleerdheid*], wish to prepare themselves to be part of cultured society’ [*de beschaafde maatschappij*] (Mandemakers 1996: 68). The government saw a clear division of roles between gymnasiums and the *hbs*: whereas the former prepared pupils for learning and the learned professions, the goal of the latter was to train youngsters for occupations in industry and trade.

But the same argument that saw mastery of classical languages as a precondition for learning [*geleerdheid*] was to be abandoned a decade later. In 1876, in the Act of Higher Education [*Wet op Hoger Onderwijs*], it was decided that Latin should no longer be the language of instruction at universities. Nevertheless, in that Higher Education Act of 1876, the modernised six-year curriculum of the gymnasiums was granted a formal monopoly on university preparation. As such, the Act favoured the position of the modernised curriculum of the gymnasiums at the cost of both the Latin Schools and newer school types that provided a modern curriculum (Mandemakers 1996: 61).

However, the *hbs* soon started to attack the gymnasiums’ monopoly on preparing pupils for university admission (Greven 1997: 6). Already in 1865, graduates from the *hbs* were allowed to study medicine, albeit on condition that they did an additional examination in Latin. This condition was abolished in 1878. Later, in 1917, graduates from the *hbs* were allowed to study mathematics and physics at university (Mandemakers 1996: 70). At the beginning of the 20th century, another competitor of the gymnasiums entered the education arena. The *lyceums*, as they were called, combined both the modern and the classical curriculum in one school. An important feature that contributed to their success was that they

provided the opportunity to delay the choice for either a classical curriculum, a science-oriented curriculum or a modern language-oriented curriculum (Greven 1997: 12-17; Mandemakers 1996: 76-81). Like today, Dutch pupils at the time had to decide whether they went to a gymnasium or *hbs*, or to lower types of education after leaving primary school at age twelve. Interestingly, all attempts to give the *lyceums* a legal status failed until 1968. The prolonged illegal status of the *lyceums* can be regarded as a symbol for the powerlessness of the government to restructure secondary education. In the decades before the Second World War, several bills concerning the structure of secondary education were introduced in Parliament, but all these attempts were ‘torpedoed’ (Karstanje 1987: 292). These proposals met strong political opposition, not least because they often aimed at downgrading the gymnasiums to a form of secondary education (Karstanje 1987: 290).

While the monopoly position of the gymnasiums was increasingly being undermined, its competitors were also attracting more and more pupils. The number of pupils at gymnasiums versus *hbs* was 1 to 1.92 in 1900, and 1 to 2.39 in 1960 (my calculations, based on Dodde 1980: 118-119). Furthermore, the number of *lyceums* and *hbs* outgrew that of the gymnasiums. While there was only one *lyceum* in 1910, there were 162 in 1960, leaving the growth rates of both *hbs* and gymnasiums far behind. The number of *hbs* increased from 41 in 1900 to 147 in 1960, a growth rate of 3.6. The number of gymnasiums increased from 29 in 1900 to 56 in 1960, resulting in a rate of 1.9 (Poll 1981: 26, Table 5, based on data from Statistics Netherlands and Ministry of Education and Sciences).²²

The weakening position of the gymnasiums enabled the government to reduce the hours spent on teaching classical languages in favour of time spent on modern science subjects at gymnasiums in 1919. Greven (1997: 7) regards this moment as a turning point. If the classical languages had long been the most prestigious subjects, they were now dethroned by science subjects. At the same time, it was suggested that the science stream within gymnasiums could suffice with one rather than two classical languages. In practice, this would have meant Greek being removed from the science track within the gymnasiums’ curriculum. But this proposal came up against a wall of resistance from the gymnasiums. It would take another fifty years (again with the 1968 Secondary Education Act) before pupils at gymnasiums were formally allowed to drop one of the classical languages. Recently, in 1997, two-thirds of all graduated gymnasium pupils (including those who attended the gymnasium streams at comprehensive schools) followed only Latin during their six years of secondary education, 22% followed only Greek, and 12% studied both Greek and Latin (De Jong 2000: 11).

Gymnasiums were saved from the increasing pressure of their modern competitors because the government provided them with a sheltered position by the 1968 Secondary Education Act. Actually, Table 3-1 shows that the position of the gymnasiums improved after the introduction of that Act. In other words, the shelter that was provided by the Secondary Education Act turned into a niche: an educational position, perfectly suited for a small segment of the pupil market. The features of gymnasiums provided room for upper middle-class strategies of class closure. These features soon contrasted markedly with the overall developments in the education arena. While mixed-ability first-year classes and the presence of pupils from lower educational levels at large comprehensive schools were now becoming dominant, the gymnasiums continued to offer a homogenous education environment. At the same time, demographical developments increased the importance of these distinguishing features of the gymnasiums. After the Second World War, the number of pupils who attended secondary education started to increase (Van der Ploeg 1993). As a result, the demand for exclusive education grew. Gymnasiums exactly met the need of the upper middleclasses for educational distinction at the time. I suggest that the combination of demographic developments and the distinguishing features of gymnasiums that contrasted with the overall developments in the education arena laid the foundations for the increasing market share of this school type.

But the history of the gymnasiums is also one of organisational power. From the second part of the 19th century onwards, proponents of gymnasiums had been able to mobilise their influence in the political-administrative arena to ward off competitors in the education arena. However, the political skirmishes that occurred in the decades before the introduction of the Secondary Education Act indicated that the protective stance of the government began to turn into an attitude more directed towards tackling the sheltered position of gymnasiums.

The cordon that retained the niche

As early as in 1830, a national organisation had been founded that devoted itself to the interests of gymnasiums: the Society of Teachers at Dutch Gymnasiums [*Genootschap van Leeraren aan Nederlandsche Gymnasiën*]. The Society was formally involved in policy-making at national level before the Second World War (Greven 1997: 8). Just after the Second World War, this Society formed a coalition with governors of gymnasiums and the Dutch Classical Union [*Nederlands Klassiek Verbond*]. Representatives of this coalition visited the then Minister of Education on a regular basis (Greven 1997: 11). These

organisations formed the basis of a cordon of institutionalised social capital. During the long political run-up that ultimately led to the Secondary Education Act of 1968 and also in the decades following it, this cordon provided protection and an early warning system against political initiatives that were potentially harmful to gymnasiums.

In the memorial books on gymnasiums that describe the period from the 1950s onward, quite some space is devoted to the struggle for survival against the common enemy: the government. Greven (1997: 5), a historian, noticed that ‘struggle, attack, defensive, trenches, and fronts’ are words that kept cropping up when she studied archival data about gymnasiums. In the history of this school type as it has been portrayed in memorial books, the early 1970s formed a crucial period: there was a ‘threat of being dissolved’ (Eillebrecht and Gobbels 1994: 38), parents organised themselves ‘to protest against the disappearance of gymnasiums [...]. Watchfulness was required’ (Kloek, Polak and Schmidt 2002: 46). In 1985, Kohnhorst (1985: 97) concluded that after ‘so many years of threats’, gymnasiums were alive and kicking. But then he continues: ‘The gymnasiums will not die a natural death, but a violent one is certainly not ruled out. Short-sightedness on the part of the government is the only enemy to fear. We have to keep fighting at that point’. The construction of collective memory in which the gymnasiums had to battle with their foe the government also appears on the internet (website *Forum Amicorum*: <http://www.xs4all.nl/~jpv/vrienden/forum/>) and in magazines, notably the Newsletter of the Association of Friends of Gymnasiums [*Vereniging Vrienden van het Gymnasium*], since 2003 entitled *Amphora*. Gymnasiums are pictured as a school type that narrowly escaped extinction through educational policies. Memorial books and other publications of organisations that devote themselves to promoting the interests of gymnasiums identify the beginning of the struggle from the moment the Secondary Education Act was implemented in 1968.

But one of the consequences of the implementation of the Secondary Education Act for gymnasiums was that the cordon of institutionalised social capital surrounding them that had emerged before the Second World War started to expand. An Association of Classicists in the Netherlands [*Vereniging Classici Nederland*] was formed in 1968. The Society of Teachers at Dutch Gymnasiums merged with other teachers’ associations, but in order to look after the interests of gymnasiums in particular, a new organisation was founded: The Lobby for Classical Education [*Belangengroepering Gymnasiale Vorming*]. In addition, the headmasters of gymnasiums, fearing for the competitive position of their schools, forged an alliance in 1968: the Working Group of Headmasters of Independent Gymnasiums [*Werkgroep Schoolleiders Zelfstandige Gymnasia*] which now operates under the title of

Association of Headmasters of Independent Gymnasiums [*Vereniging van Rectoren van Zelfstandige Gymnasia*](Greven 1997: 21). The Secondary Education Act also directly contributed to the accumulation and institutionalisation of social capital of gymnasiums, as it was required that each school should establish a parents' committee. At gymnasiums, the filling of such committees was not much of a problem and in 1970 a national committee of parents of pupils at gymnasiums was formed: the National Parental Board of Independent Gymnasiums [*Landelijke Ouderraad Zelfstandige Gymnasia*]. Many of these organisations still exist and have played a role in the national political decision-making in which the existence of gymnasiums was at stake. Each time new plans that touched upon the position of the gymnasiums were launched by politicians, the 'institutional framework' (Greven 1997: 32) comprising the associations mentioned above went into full action. 'When a conspiracy against gymnasiums was suspected, the lobby immediately stood at the Minister's door' (ibidem; see also: Kloek, Polak and Schmidt 2002: 48). An indication of the political power of the gymnasiums was brought forward by Karstanje (1987: 355), who studied the discussion of educational policies in Dutch Parliament in the period after the Second World War until the early 1980s. He found that three types of issues dominated the debates: about financial matters, about general characteristics of the education system and... about consequences of educational changes for the position of the gymnasiums.

During the period between the early 1970s and late 1990s, several political initiatives ('attacks') were undertaken that threatened the position of the gymnasiums (Poll 1981: 11) None of them were, however, implemented on a large scale, so that their potentially damaging (in the eyes of the gymnasium lobby) effects were mitigated. These initiatives turned out to be politically unfeasible, and rebounded against the cordon of the gymnasiums' institutionalised social capital. I will not discuss these political struggles that occurred during the past thirty years, preferring to describe the arguments that were invoked by the proponents of gymnasiums, and try to relate them to the historical background I have just sketched. Why was it worth it the struggle?

What inspired the struggle?

As I have described already, the proponents of the Latin Schools and the gymnasiums invoked the argument that mastery of the classical languages was the only way to prepare pupils for learning, implying that only a classical curriculum could prepare youngsters for university studies. In 1876, the then Minister of Education defended this argument in

Parliament. He not only said that the classical languages were excellently suited for academic thinking, but also that each nuance of thought could be ascribed to the formative character of learning the classics (Greven 1997: 6). At that time, the value of classical education was regarded as a superior mental training, mainly through the teaching of Greek and Latin. But in the period after the Second World War and before the Secondary Education Act became effective in 1968, the competitive state of the market compelled the gymnasiums to reinvent their identity. The classical languages were no longer a sufficient argument for the existence of gymnasiums as a separate school type for two reasons.

First, the formal advantages of learning these languages started to weaken, as the command of Latin was not obligatory for university studies. Second, the actual time spent teaching classical languages at gymnasiums had been reduced due to governmental educational policies. Consequently, the gymnasiums had to look for new ways to distinguish themselves from the modern school types (Greven 1997: 13). The process started to accelerate after the Secondary Education Act became effective. Gradually, the focus of the argument that was to save the gymnasiums shifted from learning ancient languages to cultural education, a process that was accompanied by fierce debates within the classicist community. The aim of such cultural education was to teach pupils to put their own western culture into a broader perspective, and to confront them with its historical roots. It was argued that reading—much more than translating classical texts—was a fruitful way to achieve such a goal (Greven 1997: 23-24). Today, the dominant argument supporting the existence of the gymnasium is framed within the broad cultural education context.

Nevertheless, the propagation of pure classical education still has its supporters today. Interestingly, the advocates of classical education state that learning classical languages contributes to logical thinking, makes it easier to learn other languages, and also fosters character building. An example of the latter is provided by Poll (1981) a publicist who advocated the gymnasium case in a national daily paper [*NRC Handelsblad*] when the government announced that it wanted to raise the minimum number of pupils above which a school could receive state-funding, accompanied by the reintroduction of the old idea of implementing a system of two-year mixed-ability classes for all pupils, without any prior selection. In Poll's (idem: 11) words: 'learning Latin and Greek means to be obliged to decipher sentences that reveal their meaning only very slowly. A daily torment at school'. Twenty years later, the following appeared in the Newsletter of the Association of Friends of Gymnasiums: 'the intrinsic value of going deeply into a text that is not directly accessible and not superficial...the discipline [it requires]... forms the preciousness of activities that lack

practical use, for those who have opened their eyes and ears for it...’ (Kleijwegt 2002: 7). Of course, it is no coincidence that this author also writes that learning matters that lack economic benefit might perhaps be appreciated in later life only, and even then not by everyone: ‘there are after all a lot of people who do not care about literature or classical music either’ (idem: 8). The act of engaging in a demanding, and probably not exactly exciting, activity—at least for many pupils—that moreover lacks tangible use, can be regarded as training in self-discipline *par excellence*. In the words of Bourdieu (1986: 244), cultivation ‘is an effort that presupposes a personal cost, an investment above all of time, but also of that socially constituted form of libido, *libido scienti*, with all the privation, renunciation, and sacrifice that it may entail’. As I will describe in chapter 7, the cultivation of self-control and the sacrifice and renunciation that go with it, are particular features of upper middle-class socialisation practices.

The cultural identity became the core of contemporary gymnasiums. This is made explicit in the memorial books, in which the history of many gymnasiums is recorded (Van der Blom 1978; Coebergh van den Braak 1988; Coster 2003; Eillebrecht and Gobbels 1994; Greven, Kramer and Wiersma 1997; Kist and Reinshagen 1985; Kloek, Polak and Schmidt 2002; Molenaar 1995; Visser 1954). Such books establish and carry forward the shared culture of each gymnasium and of the school type as a whole. The storytelling and the construction of collective memories are full of references to the cultural life at gymnasiums: short histories of theatre clubs, memorable performances of plays and music, essay and poetry contests, and trips to Rome. Furthermore, the portraits of prominent figures at gymnasiums like illustrious headmasters, inspiring teachers, and ex-pupils who became public figures, almost always contain references to their abundant cultural capital. The forms of cultural capital that are valued in the memorial books almost always belong to the canonised cultural inheritance: the classics in music and literature, and of course knowledge of the cultural inheritance of classical antiquity.²³

While the memorial books express unrestrained cultural elitism, they also tend to veil the social exclusiveness of gymnasiums. Thus the pupils at Barlaeus gymnasium in Amsterdam were described as a ‘melting pot, boys and girls came from all layers of society and they were judged on the basis of achievements alone’ (Kohnhorst 1985: 77). More often however, it is said that ‘access to a gymnasium is open to children with exceptional learning capacities, irrespective of their social background’ (Poll 1981: 20). While stressing that access to gymnasiums is determined by academic criteria, the issue of the resulting socio-economic exclusivity is passed over. A similar way of reasoning is that it is acknowledged that

gymnasium pupils belong to an elite. But then it follows that this elitism concerns the intellectual elite rather than the upper layers in general, as if the two can be separated. See how the headmaster of the gymnasium in Nijmegen explained the title of that gymnasium's memorial book 'The Flower of the Young' [*Het Puik der Jonkheid*]:

Does such a title refer to elitism?' [...] In the first place, it simply used to be a matter of fact, in former days. Gymnasiums were elite schools. We cannot deny that. Today, gymnasiums are still a school type for the elites. At least, when it concerns the elite of the intellect' (Eillebrecht and Gobbels 1994: 7).

I have already explicated (in chapter 2) that embodied cultural capital, which is so much the object of praise in the circles surrounding gymnasiums, is inextricably tied up with membership of the upper layers. What's more, it is their possession of embodied cultural capital that helps children to feel at home in the gymnasium environment, that gives them a sense of place.

The idea that intellectual elitism can be distinguished from social elitism frequently appears in gymnasium ideology. Take for example the following quote, a statement about the situation of the gymnasiums during the past decades, recently written by the editorial board of the Newsletter of the Association of Friends of Gymnasiums : 'the demands were high and aimed at an intellectual elite, without respect of persons' (Redactie Amphora 2003: 3). In fact, some advocates of gymnasiums argue that social elitism and intellectual elitism are mutually exclusive: '...[as if gymnasiums were] "elite schools"; an intermediary for privileged parents to transfer their privileged position to their children. [as if] 'it is not the intellectual and cultural level that are first priority, but certain outward appearances and access to the desired network' (Traas 2004). Apparently, it is legitimate to be a school for the intellectual elite, while being a school for the social upper layers is evidently reprehensible. I will discuss this dual morality in more detail in chapter 5.

The relationship between educating an intellectual elite whose role is to maintain and guard the cultural heritage is another recurring theme in the writings of proponents of gymnasiums. Thus, '...for the intellectually gifted... gymnasiums impart a heavy intellectual education directly after primary school, that bridges our cultural heritage to the achievements of our contemporary society' (Redactie Mededelingen van de Vereniging Vrienden van het Gymnasium 1984: 2). In this respect, the gymnasium was and is often said to provide the best possible preparation for university (Poll 1981: 15-16).

During the 1980s, the gymnasiums and their advocates introduced a new argument. This argument was based on the separate position as a categorial school and hence a relatively

small school. At such a school, it was said, the headmaster and the teachers know every pupil by name, better opportunities exist for individual coaching of pupils and for co-operation between staff, and between parents and teachers. The new argument fitted well with the idea that only ‘categorical gymnasiums were the best guardians of classical education’ (Van Bentum 1983). The argument of school size also combined neatly with the goal of educating the intellectual elite. Proponents of gymnasiums observed that many more pupils left the gymnasium streams at comprehensive schools than did pupils at categorical gymnasiums. It was argued that at the homogenous and smaller gymnasiums, intelligent pupils—or the ‘highly gifted’ as they are recently referred to—were much more stimulated to use their brains rather than taking it easy by following the regular pre-university curriculum or a lower level of secondary education (idem).

Educating the intellectual elite has been the mission of the gymnasiums since the 19th century. But the arguments the gymnasiums used to convince their opponents to leave their privileged position untouched changed over time: from providing a classical curriculum to offering the advantages of cultural education, to a small-sized and homogenous school. The prevailing argument in a certain period depended on the position of the gymnasium within the education arena at the time. However, it should be noted that the ideological arguments described above were deployed in political struggles by advocates of gymnasiums. These are not necessarily the same people who actually engage in the battle for pupils: headmasters of gymnasiums. Do they also adhere to these ideological arguments? Or does the battle on the ground require other ammunition?

Gymnasium headmasters engaging in the education arena

In this section, I will analyse headmasters’ current value-orientations and attitudes towards the education arena in which their school is operating. I have applied Woods’ (2000: 227-235) conceptualisation of the various ways in which principals deal with and react to what he calls ‘the educational public market’. Woods distinguishes between a market orientation and a public orientation. In the market orientation, headmasters are first and foremost concerned with the position of their school. Their actions are directed to the survival of their school or to the improvement of their school’s competitive position. That position is taken as the point of departure when they consider future policy options. A considerable amount of time is spent scanning the education arena and undertaking marketing activities. The way these headmasters engage in the education markets is described by Woods as a ‘competitive mode

of engagement’.

In the public orientation (Woods 2000: 227-229), the headmasters’ actions are guided by value orientations that exist beyond the school as an individual institution. This presents itself as a cultural and/or a professional mode of engagement. The latter pertains to headmasters who are guided by an educational philosophy. They are, for example, directed to improving teaching methods. The cultural mode is inspired by philosophies or ideologies that are not directly tied to education practices. For example, the idea that one cannot develop deeply scientific thoughts without thorough mastery of the classical languages.

From the interviews I conducted, it turned out that all eight gymnasium headmasters were aware that their school engaged in a market and claimed to be aware of the strong points of their school in the eyes of parents. According to the principals, parents were attracted by the ‘small scale’ of the school, its ‘homogenous climate’ or ‘the atmosphere: our teachers are more intellectually oriented, that leads to a kind of recognition in the minds of parents’. These characteristics enable gymnasiums to create that ‘unique academic, intellectual climate’ in which children ‘read books and play musical instruments, like their parents do’. Engaging in cultural activities is said to be normal at gymnasiums but exceptional at other schools. All but one headmaster acknowledged that the classical languages are not that important for parents: ‘it’s not classical *Bildung* they are interested in’.

While all eight headmasters were well aware of the privileged position of their gymnasium, four of them displayed a truly competitive engagement as they said that they tried to ‘develop and influence the market’. For these four competitive headmasters, public relations and marketing were important activities. They looked for ways to enlarge their market share; either to convince the town council that the desired new building was needed (two headmasters), or to regain the (marginal) losses they had suffered over the past years (two headmasters). The neighbouring internationalised streams were explicitly mentioned as direct competitors by these two headmasters.

The other four lacked a competitive engagement, as they indicated that the maximum number of pupils had already been reached, and that further growth was not desirable for educational reasons. These gymnasiums had introduced a *numerus clausus*. They acknowledged they could do so because of their safe position: ‘we don’t need to attract pupils actively, we can rely on them to come to us’. All interviewed headmasters also reflected on the consequences of their relatively ‘privileged position’. One of them bluntly remarked that it had made gymnasiums ‘lazy’. Although this opinion might not be shared by all eight principals, the common idea was indeed that gymnasiums are ‘currently not being pushed to

innovate' and that 'urgency is lacking'.

Apart from tendencies towards a competitive mode, the dominant mode of engagement among the gymnasium headmasters clearly pertains to what Woods calls the 'cultural' mode. But the cultural ideology that inspired the headmasters differed. For six of them, the cultural context pertained to the ideal of cultural *Bildung* [*culturele vorming*]. Interestingly, the classical languages, classical education or the aim to initiate pupils in ancient antiquity, were of secondary concern for these headmasters. Their source of inspiration was to give pupils a strong cultural orientation, to confront them with 'our cultural canon'. Another said that the aim of gymnasiums is to provide 'a very broad, general cultural education'. This broad cultural-academic education was regarded as 'the best preparation for university'.

Two headmasters were opposed to this tendency to regard general cultural education as the first aim of gymnasiums. They found that the growth of the numbers of gymnasium pupils had taken place for the wrong reasons. In their eyes, the emphasis on general cultural education was not the core of the matter. For them, gymnasiums should be trying to reinvent classical education and to innovate the teaching of classical languages. One said in this respect: 'gymnasiums are not gymnasiums any longer'. Both the lack of teachers in classical languages and the current trend of gymnasiums of turning their back on their classical roots worried them. But they also admitted that the relatively safe position of the gymnasium did not encourage them to reflect on the classical identity of their school.

Finally, the gymnasium headmasters also demonstrated a professional mode of engagement. The professional context stems from educational psychology research on high-giftedness. On one point, the headmasters were unanimous: gymnasiums are particularly suited for educating 'highly gifted' and precocious children. Giftedness was often rephrased as a problem of 'underachievement' by children who are not being challenged enough. Three of the eight gymnasiums had set up a 'care' system, consisting of teachers specifically trained to coach very able pupils and to provide them with extracurricular challenges. These gymnasiums also tested every pupil in the first year, to pick out the 'highly gifted' early on in their school career. Interestingly, five headmasters combined this professional mode of engagement with a competitive one. According to them, parents of 'highly gifted' children often look for schools that can provide specific coaching to their children so that they will be actively challenged instead of ending up underachieving or getting bored. Consequently, these five headmasters thought gymnasiums should promote themselves much more as 'pre-university-plus schools'. Here, their professional interest is also thought of as a way to

strengthen their position in the education arena, and a new way to sell their school to parents.

Eventually, the specific position of the gymnasiums as a separate school type would prove to be a considerable advantage at the time when new education policies aimed at coping with economic crisis and budgetary restraint came into effect in the late 1980s. The economic crisis also sowed the seeds of the internationalised streams, whose history I will now describe.

The inspiration for international education: the start of the internationalised streams

To cope with the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, one of the directions that the Dutch looked to was beyond their national borders. To stimulate the Dutch economy, efforts were made to strengthen the position of the Netherlands as a place of business for foreign multinationals. Policy-makers argued that if the Dutch had appropriate schools for the children of expatriate families, it would be easier for the executives of multinationals to make the Netherlands their home. This resulted in experiments with ‘internationally oriented education’, funded in part by the state and in part by the company or family. Internationally oriented education often took the form of a department that prepared students for the International Baccalaureate (IB) examination within a state-funded comprehensive school. These IB departments are not part of the official regular Dutch school system. The International Baccalaureate certificate is granted by the International Baccalaureate Organization in Switzerland. The IB departments are reserved for ‘internationally mobile’ families, mainly the families of non-Dutch employees who are living temporarily in the Netherlands, and returning Dutch expatriates whose children attended schools abroad. But as it turned out, internationally mobile families were not the only ones interested in international education. Soon after the introduction of the international streams, Dutch parents whose children did not officially meet the entrance requirements were attracted to this kind of school and expressed an interest in international education. One of them was the Netherlands’ own Queen Beatrix, who, on the advice of the principal of the first school to offer an internationalised curriculum, chose an IB school in Wales for the crown prince. According to four principals at schools that provided both an internationalised stream and an IB department, the pupils’ fathers usually had high positions at multinationals and were attracted by the opportunity to master English at a ‘near-native’ level. The prestige of the IB curriculum in the international business community probably also appealed to these families.

Some schools started looking for ways to introduce elements of the IB programme into

the regular pre-university curriculum. Our internationalised streams, coined by the schools as ‘bilingual education’ [*tweetalig onderwijs*], were the result. In 1989, after repeated requests from parents, a school in Hilversum (a town about 20 kilometres from Amsterdam) was the first to start a six-year internationalised curriculum. Other schools with an IB department received similar requests and followed the Hilversum example. After 1992, and especially after the mid-1990s, schools without an IB department also founded internationalised streams.

Consequently, the internationalised streams came within the jurisdiction of the Inspectorate. Most Inspectors were positive towards them; they were especially enthusiastic about the way pupils learned English and found that the method of learning content in a foreign language had huge didactical advantages. The first school explored the boundaries of the law, supported by the positive attitude and the tacit consent of the Secretary of State of Education.²⁴ In 1991 the Ministry of Education (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1991: 29-30) published the policy document ‘Exceeding Boundaries’ [*Grenzen Verleggen*] in which internationalised streams—‘bilingual education’—were explicitly mentioned: ‘Bilingual education plays a useful role in our education system. It meets a specific need [...] The current legislation and regulation offers room for bilingual education, provided that it is open to everyone, that it corresponds to the final examinations, which, after all, remain Dutch, and that no additional costs are involved’. This passage, which is in fact the recognition of the internationalised streams by the government, further stimulated the growth of internationalised streams. Moreover, the government made a small subsidy available to schools that introduced an internationalised stream.

Two attempts were undertaken to give the curriculum of the internationalised streams a formal status. Former Secretary of State of Education Ginjaar-Maas, now a Member of Parliament, asked for a regulation of the internationalised streams in 1992. She also wondered whether pupils could do the IB exams instead of the national exams (Proceedings of the Parliament, Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal 1992). Both propositions were rejected by government. In 1993, another attempt to provide governmental protection of the curriculum of the internationalised streams failed. While the government refrained from granting formal regulation of this type of education, it regarded the internationalised streams as a positive contribution to their internationalisation policy of education.

Interestingly, the lack of formal status of the internationalised stream resulted in the schools regulating themselves. A ‘standard’ comprising criteria for a good internationalised curriculum was first formulated in 1997 and updated several times. The process was inspired by the rapidly increasing number of schools that wanted to start an internationalised stream

(Oonk 2004: 52, 61-63). The standard was intended to safeguard the quality of the internationalised streams so as to maintain their distinctive value in the education arena. Compliance with the standard is enforced by a committee of experts that visits the schools and assesses the quality of its internationalised stream. The main points in the evaluation concern the quality of English teaching and the degree of European and international orientation that the school teaches. Oonk (2004: 63-64), as director of the European Platform responsible for the distribution of the internationalisation funds in education, participated in the formulation of this standard. He notes that schools were not interested in including international orientation in general, nor European orientation in particular in the standard. The schools' prime concern was about the quality of teaching in English. Nevertheless, as a result of the insistence of the European Platform, and supported only by a minority of the participating schools, the degree to which schools contribute to the European and international orientation of the pupils became part of the evaluation of the curriculum of the internationalised streams. Schools are required to make a plan that indicates how European and international orientation are incorporated in the curriculum. In addition, the school must provide special international projects and programmes, there must be at least two native English speakers teaching at the schools, pupils must participate in foreign exchanges or do teaching practice at companies where the official language is English. Furthermore, the schools are required to provide a varied programme of extracurricular activities with an international outlook, e.g. participation in Model United Nations, Public Speaking Contests, visits to theatre performances in English (Oonk 2004: 65).

‘Ambitious’ and ‘threatened’ schools

The question arises of why the schools actually introduced internationalised streams. At all eight of the schools that were part of the case studies, improving the competitive position of the school played a role in the decision to introduce an internationalised stream. In the sample of these eight schools, ‘ambitious’ schools could be distinguished from ‘threatened’ schools. Ambitious schools were aiming for a larger market share, even if it was not necessary for their survival. They already had a healthy position and were confident that pupil enrolment was stable and the staff felt secure. Threatened schools were doing their best to survive. They felt that they were under attack and that their future was being threatened, and introduced internationalised streams as a defensive measure. According to Adnett and Davies (2000) the market incentives within state education in England are ‘not symmetrical for “successful” and

“unsuccessful” schools’. They conclude that there will be ‘little incentive for successful schools to undertake the risks and costs of innovation’ if the pupil enrolment is secure and the education market consists of a stable hierarchy of schools (idem 2000: 165). In the case of internationalised streams, however, both ‘successful’ (‘ambitious’) and ‘unsuccessful’ (‘threatened’) schools practised innovation.

To begin with: the four ambitious schools in the sample all had an IB department. Since they already had native English speakers and other facilities, the risks and costs involved were low. This explains why these schools introduced internationalised streams without an urgent market incentive to do so. They could improve their existing healthy competitive position without any additional high costs or risks. Costs and risks of innovations differ from one school to the next in the sense that “successful” schools, in this case ambitious schools, generally have more resources and material buffers available. Furthermore, the extent to which the returns on the investment are secure can also vary among schools. As the four ambitious schools were literally asked by parents to set up an internationalised programme, they knew they could rely on the innovation paying off. The staff and board members at three of the four ambitious schools indicated that the school wanted to increase its market share or compete directly with a nearby gymnasium. The fourth ambitious school had a small internationalised stream and was not eager to enrol more pupils.

The four threatened schools, none of whom had an IB department, had to contend with sharply decreasing pupil enrolment in their regular pre-university streams. They were desperate, and close to losing the pre-university stream altogether due to a shortage of pupils. This kind of situation was demotivating teachers and causing them to leave, especially the ones who were highly educated and trained to prepare pupils for university. Moreover, the loss of a pre-university stream would harm the image of the school and could lead to a further decrease in pupil enrolment at the lower level: the five-year curriculum, ‘higher general secondary education’ [*havo*]. Thus, it was possible that the negative effects would trickle down to lower levels, to the point where the school would cater only to the lowest educational levels and the least capable and least motivated pupils. Especially in the large cities, this exodus of able pupils and capable teachers from schools was the result of ethnic segregation, and the development of so-called ‘black schools’ [*zwarte scholen*] (De Jong and Arambura 1999). When the Dutch bluntly refer to ‘black schools’, this literally means that a large proportion of the pupils has a darker skin colour than native Dutch children have; they are thus referring to pupils from immigrant families.

The fate of the Catholic state-funded *Niels Stensen College*, a comprehensive school

located in the inner city of Utrecht (approximately 230,000 inhabitants) demonstrates that such a development is not only something that occurs in the imaginations of headmasters and educational researchers. This particular school had first suffered from a declining inflow of native Dutch pupils, who were starting to travel to suburban schools for their education. The school then became a 'black school' that provided education for immigrant children only. Subsequently, pupils from immigrant families also turned their back on this school, as they were looking for schools that provided a mix of immigrant and Dutch children. There were plans to merge with another school, which was facing similar problems, but it finally emerged that there was no future for the new school altogether and the two schools had to close down.

The threatened schools were fighting to avoid this fate. As was noted in the plan of one school to set up an internationalised stream: 'The pre-university stream lags far behind in the town. The competitive position of our stream is under great pressure.' A school manager at another threatened school added, 'We certainly would lose the pre-university stream and probably even more if we didn't do anything.' A deputy principal explained why his school needed to strengthen and promote the pre-university stream, 'Bilingual education is viewed as something elitist, but everyone is well aware that nowadays a school can not survive in the market by claiming to have good system of pupil coaching. You need to have something special, a unique selling point.'

A school in decline

During the course of the research project, it sometimes occurred that interested journalists, teachers or academics I told about the emergence of the internationalised streams, were quick to judge the motives of schools that introduced internationalised streams. In their eyes, 'attracting able pupils' was as unworthy a motive as it was objectionable. As such, their judgement overlooks the seriousness of the struggle that schools are engaging in. I include the following story just to show how serious the consequences of a decline in pupils can be. The anecdote is based on informal meetings with an ex-pupil I knew socially and a teacher who happened to know staff members at this school. It is about a school that was locally known as a 'posh school' in the second half of the eighties. At the time, it offered pre-university education and senior general secondary education only (comparable to the English five-year GSCE Higher programme). It was a typical middle-class school, drawing a large proportion of its pupils from the affluent suburban areas on the fringes of the town. Consequently, it was commonly considered as a 'quality' school by middle-class parents. In its heyday, over 1,000 pupils attended the school. It was known for its extracurricular activities: it hosted a biology club, a photography club and a chess club. It organised school cabaret and musical evenings. Its school newspaper was once awarded the price for the best Dutch school paper.

Twenty years later, the school had undergone a series of mergers. As a result, a junior general secondary education stream [*mavo*] was added. From that time on, things started to go seriously wrong. The number of pupils fell dramatically to 600. Only a marginal proportion of the pupils followed the pre-university stream, which was clearly about to be discontinued, if it weren't for the internationalised stream. There was fierce competition with the local gymnasium, which had swallowed a very large proportion of the pre-university pupils in that town over the previous decades. In fact, the growth of this particular gymnasium had surpassed the national growth rate of the gymnasiums. The inflow of pupils had not only decreased, its character had changed as well. It was

now much less oriented towards the affluent middle-class suburban fringes of town. Instead, the school was populated by a larger contingent of pupils from the neighbourhood in the direct vicinity of the school. This neighbourhood had been a working-class area and now included a large proportion of immigrant families. As a pupil said to me when I visited the school: ‘it’s a Turkish neighbourhood here!’ [*turkenbuurt*]. While it used to be called a posh school, now the saying goes that its pupils are easily recognisable when they cycle to school: they are the ones not carrying a school satchel. Quite a number of teachers, the younger ones in particular, were forced to leave the school, which had in turn led to an ageing staff. When I went to visit the school to collect survey data I was struck by the bareness of the school and the cheerless mood that I found in the staff room. The staff room itself was a particularly desolate place. With its almost bare carpet and worn-out furniture it was only half filled with silent, resigned teachers. When we came to speak about my research, they expressed their frustration at how things had turned out with their school. Some had put their hopes on the newly-introduced internationalised stream, others were sceptical about it and were eagerly looking forward to their retirement. When I pointed to a series of blown-up photographs of graduates, the caretaker sighed: ‘we used to have so much happening around here... and now it’s all past glory’.

To deal with these dangers, the threatened schools introduced an internationalised stream. At all but one school in the sample, the introduction of an internationalised stream was successful from the perspective of an increase in pre-university pupils right from the start. In a number of cases, the internationalised stream has led to a change in—and sometimes even a reversal of—the competitive positions.²⁵ Pre-university streams that had been small—and in the case of the threatened schools, shrinking—developed into the strongest in the region. Some were even strong enough to lure pupils away from gymnasiums.

One threatened school experienced a lack of interest in its internationalised stream. This school is located in a large city and is a ‘black school’. According to the deputy principal, this impeded the intake of pre-university pupils: ‘When interested parents enter the school grounds, they get the fright of their lives’, as there are only a few native white Dutch youngsters. But the lack of interest is also related to the strong position of the gymnasiums in this large city. The school management complained that primary schools were not willing to recommend schools than other gymnasiums to the most capable pupils. For this school, it was hard to break open the relation between gymnasiums and supplying primary schools. This finding is in contrast with the ‘success-story’ of the ambitious school that is located in another large city and that is also considered a ‘black school’. Both failure and success show the specific features of education arenas in large cities. As the principal of the successful school said, his school went through a ‘fundamental demographical change’ that changed it into a ‘black school’. But before the school experienced a large inflow of ethnic minority pupils, the internationalised stream already had ‘sufficient critical mass’ to attract white Dutch parents. Moreover, a coalition of local civil servants and a manager of a multinational company were in favour of internationalised education. They provided the school with sufficient financial

and marketing opportunities to launch the internationalised stream. The town council of this large city favoured internationalised education as a way to promote the city internationally. In addition, local education policy was directed towards increasing the autonomy of schools (especially with regard to marketing) and to stimulate educational innovation (Teelken 1998). In stark contrast, the town council of the city in which the struggling school is located found that internationalised streams were an elitist type of education that should not be supported in principle, as priority should be given to stimulate the educationally deprived to overcome their situation.

Following on from the analysis of the modes of engagement of the gymnasium headmasters above, I now go on to analyse the modes of engagement of the headmasters of the schools that offered an internationalised stream, again using Woods' (2000: 227-235) conceptualisation of the various ways in which principals deal with and react to the public education market. The main question is to what extent headmasters of the internationalised streams have incorporated a competitive mode of engagement, given the fierceness of the market forces they have to cope with. Do they differ from the gymnasium headmasters in this respect? And does it make a difference to be the headmaster of a threatened school or an ambitious school in this respect?

Headmasters of threatened and ambitious schools engaging in the education arena

At all eight schools that offered an internationalised stream, the management engages in a market orientation, or a 'competitive engagement' (Woods 2000: 227-235). The main focus of their interest is either the strengthening of their institution or aiding its survival. A lot of energy is put into marketing and promoting the school, especially the internationalised stream. The headmasters felt that they were operating in a market where the struggle for pupils is a zero-sum game: one school's meat is another school's poison. The commoditisation of education was plainly expressed with regard to the tuition fee. As a governor said, 'We charge € 700 a year. I think this is good because you should never market things too cheaply, otherwise people will think the product is not worth having.' The committee in charge of introducing the internationalised curriculum at another school wrote that 'A high tuition fee can contribute to the prestige.' In particular, the principals at the threatened schools became active marketeers, oriented towards what they call 'creating a strong image', 'taking the wishes of the consumers into account' and 'offering a unique selling point'. The jargon used

is remarkably similar to that of British head teachers studied by Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe (1995: 96).

The strong image to be created corresponds to the wish of middle-class ‘consumers of education’ in particular. The interviewed headmasters of the eight schools that provided internationalised streams felt it was now time to devote more attention to talented pupils and establish an exclusive image for their internationalised streams. ‘You cannot deny this is an exclusive group of pupils. We expect more of them: exchanges, an international attitude, and Shakespeare’. A principal of another school stated: ‘It is an elite group because they have other capacities.’ In particular, the headmasters did not regard ‘elitist’ as a problematic term but as a sign of ‘quality.’ The following statement is characteristic of this way of thinking: ‘Quality—to place great demands on pupils—well, it’s OK with me if you call it elitist. For us, it’s an indication of quality.’ School managers found that not every pupil needed to be clothed in the ‘egalitarian blanket.’ Their school, they argued, devotes more attention and gives more opportunities to pupils who want to excel. All of them thought the egalitarian ideal was outmoded.

The headmasters indicated that the introduction of these market-oriented values had led to conflicts between them and members of their staff. The headmasters referred to their staff as leftist idealists, ‘granola-wearing Birkenstocks’, and ‘people who never made it out of the seventies’ (comparable examples of ‘micro-political’ struggles in British schools can be found in Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995: 99, 110). At every school featured in the case studies, a substantial number of the teachers objected to the introduction of an internationalised stream because they felt it was elitist. They refused to teach ‘pompous bastards’ or only the ‘children of top executives.’ This fear of elitism was most strongly reflected in ideological objections to the tuition fee. Some teachers were also afraid that the gifted pupils in the internationalised stream would be given too much attention at the expense of academically weaker pupils. However, it should also be noted that some teachers were enthusiastic about the prospects. They had had rewarding experiences in the IB departments and were inspired by how a foreign language was learned ‘by doing’ and were astonished by the results. In addition, there were teachers who admired the didactic philosophy of the IB programme because they found it ‘pupil-centred’ and felt it offered ‘more opportunities to do cross-disciplinary and extra-curricular work’. Whether the staff protested against it or embraced it, at all the schools in the study, the introduction of internationalised streams can be described as a top-down process in which principals played a dominant role.

The school management at the ambitious schools combined the market orientation

with what Woods calls a 'cultural' and 'professional' mode, which both belong to a 'public orientation'. The cultural context these principals referred to is one that celebrates globalisation and multiculturalism. They said that the aim of the internationalised curriculum is to turn pupils into citizens of the world. As professionals, they were interested in the didactic advantages of teaching content in a foreign language. It is no coincidence that the internationalised curriculum at these schools is the most elaborate, since they all have an IB department with appropriate material facilities and globalised cultural orientations among the non-Dutch staff. These were the same principals and governors who strove for the legal regulation and protection of the internationalised curriculum to keep it 'pure.' This also applies to setting the official standard, mentioned previously, with quality requirements for the internationalised curriculum (see also Oonk 2004: 62, footnote 25).

But their quality concerns were not only a matter of professional ethics: they were also seen as marketing instruments. This can be illustrated by a principal's concern that other schools cannot meet his standards of quality. 'If there is one English native speaker among the parents who discovers that his/her children are learning bad English, that school and all the schools that provide internationalised streams will lose many families. Then we have a big marketing problem because a bad image is very hard to overcome. Bad images last longer than good ones.' These principals' fear of the dilution of the concept of internationalised streams and the loss of quality stems from market-oriented interests as well as professional interests. Similar to the gymnasium headmasters, who saw their programmes for highly gifted children as a way of promoting their school, the professional mode of engagement is here brought in line with the competitive one. This is in contrast to Woods' finding (2000: 234-235) that cultural modes of engagement can mitigate competitive responses.

Another three principals combined the competitive approach with a 'public-professional' mode of engagement directed at 'ethics and service' (Woods 2000: 229). They worked at the threatened schools and were looking for ways to provide lower-level pupils with the advantages of 'teaching content in a foreign language.' The principal of a 'black school' was looking to offering the numerous children of ethnic minorities opportunities to meet and talk to white Dutch pupils. In his view, the arrival of white Dutch pupils at the internationalised stream gave immigrant children a chance to get to know their Dutch peers.

Neo-liberalism-inspired intensification of market forces

As this account of threatened and ambitious schools reveals, there are strong market forces at play in the Dutch secondary school system. As the echo of a worldwide neo-liberal plea for marketisation and deregulation reached the Netherlands loud and clear, the constitutional freedom of school choice of Dutch parents came to have more powerful consequences. Under the influence of this ideology, and due to the recession itself, as well as due to the need to cut back spending, deregulation policies were introduced that favoured more autonomy for schools.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the three leading Dutch political parties published policy documents with telling names: ‘The School to the Parents’ [*De school aan de ouders*] by the Christian Democratic Party; ‘Enlargement of Autonomy at Primary and Secondary Schools’ [*Autonomievergroting in het primair en voortgezet onderwijs*] by the Social Democratic Party and ‘Choosing Autonomy’ [*Kiezen voor autonomie*] by the ‘Liberal’ Party. According to Leune (1994: 28) these documents were met with approval in the political administrative arena. The authors were critical of the prevailing trend towards regulation and centralization. In their opinion, the introduction of markets would improve the quality and diversity of education. Consumers of education should be free to choose between competing schools, and deregulation was regarded as the best way to achieve this.

The neo-liberal plea resulted in policies with demonstrable consequences. Schools have since then had more opportunities to establish their own policies, especially on administrative, financial, promotional, and staff matters (Buist 1995; Leune 1999: 33; Onderwijsraad 2000: 51, 124-125; Teelken 1998: 66, 73). This freedom to differentiate led, amongst other things, to the introduction of internationalised streams. As a principal said, ‘We now had the space to develop independent school policies and work independently.’ A second principal argued that the introduction of an internationalised stream at his school was in keeping with the spirit of the times: ‘When we started there was a very strong movement towards autonomy of schools as a matter of principle. In the beginning, this tendency was exaggerated, as often happens in new movements.’

Schools were now confronted much more with the consequences of the constitutional freedom of school choice. More than before, schools had to compete with each other. The OECD (1994: 97) noted that the increased competition between Dutch secondary schools ‘creates pressures on schools to emphasise the needs of the most capable pupils in responding to their parents’ desire to create a separate education’ (see also Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau 2000: 454).²⁶ As is noted by the Social and Cultural Planning Bureau (Sociaal en

Cultureel Planbureau 2000: 461), 'While for decades competition between schools has mainly been triggered by a scarcity of pupils, the fight is now more about attracting or retaining capable pupils.' This is why schools try to cultivate an exclusive image either by means of their internationalised stream or as a gymnasium.

At the same time, the government tried to cut the education budget to cope with the recession. One of the cost-reducing measures entailed forced mergers, especially with regard to public schools (Onderwijsraad 2000: 125; Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau 2000: 445; Teelken 1998: 67). Since the early 1990s, many small schools have merged into larger ones that include all the various types of secondary education. In 1990 there were 1,768 secondary schools, six years later there were only 743 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 1998: 118, Table 4.1). There was only one exception: the gymnasiums were able to resist incorporation into larger schools and maintained their separate status within the educational structure (Bronneman-Helmers, Herweijer and Vogels 2002: 73). This time, no gymnasium had to be sacrificed. History repeats itself. Just like after the implementation of the Secondary Education Act in 1968, the enrolment at gymnasiums increased after the introduction of the new education policies. During the 1990s, it rose by more than 10% (see also Bronneman-Helmers, Herweijer and Vogels 2002: 79; Landelijke Ouderraad Zelfstandige Gymnasia 2003).

The principals and teachers of threatened schools blame the dramatic decrease in pre-university pupil enrolment on these mergers. Policy-makers argued that large schools with all the educational streams offer pupils more of a choice. This, in turn, should increase the appeal of large schools. But this did not prove to be the case. By merging into large comprehensive schools, these schools were becoming less attractive for specific social categories. Especially families opting for a pre-university level curriculum often were not happy with the large comprehensive schools (Bronneman-Helmers, Herweijer and Vogels 2002: 78; Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau 2000: 448, 454). Some of these large comprehensive schools introduced separate locations for their pre-university and higher general secondary education streams on the one hand and their lower level streams on the other. However, by far the larger part of the pre-university streams are located in the same building as the streams at the lower levels (Bronneman-Helmers, Herweijer and Vogels 2002: 78). If large public schools want to retain their pre-university stream, they need to devote specific attention to the most capable pupils, for example by offering an internationalised stream, otherwise they will lose them to competing smaller schools, especially gymnasiums.

In general, the religious schools were better able to cope with the increasing

competition than the public schools (Dijkstra, Dronkers and Karsten 2004: 79). The former were quicker to adjust to developments in local education arenas because of their private governance and administration. Moreover, the religious schools had a reputation for educational quality, which image gave them a competitive edge. Considering the denomination of the 25 schools that provided an internationalised stream in 2000, it turned out that 12 of them were public, eight were Catholic, three were Protestant and the rest were religiously neutral private schools [*algemeen bijzonder*]. While nearly half (48%) of the schools that offered an internationalised stream was public, 26% of all Dutch secondary schools were public schools in 1990-2000 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2000: 52, Table 2.2.2). This provides another indication that the introduction of an internationalised stream was a way to cope with a declining competition position in local education arenas. We will analyse the schools' competitive position in more detail in the following section.

A measurement of schools' competitive positions

From the overview of the market shares shown in Table 3-1, it had already become clear that gymnasiums improved their position since 1968. Another way of assessing these developments is by analysing the competitive positions of our school types. In this section I will try to analyse the degree to which the competitive positions of the school types have developed over time. The question I hope to answer here is how strong or weak the school types are, compared with one another. The competitive position of a school is understood here as the degree to which a school is capable of attracting the most academically able or least problematic pupils, compared to competing schools in the local education arena. The analysis is based on national data of secondary schools collected by the Dutch Inspectorate of Secondary Education and adapted by Agerbeek (1999; 2002). I have analysed data collected in 1997-1998 and in 2001-2002. Three indicators were used to measure the schools' competitive position. These indicators are: 1) the proportion of very able pre-university pupils at the school as measured by the advice they received from their primary school ; 2) the extent to which pupils had to 're-do' a year, in other words, the average number of years that pupils needed to complete the six-year curriculum per school and 3) the average mark that pupils obtained in their final examinations.²⁷ Admittedly, the scores on indicators two and three are dependent on the inflow of able pupils, which means that if a school is able to attract a high proportion of very able pupils, the chances are rather high that the scores on the other two indicators will be high as well. So what I am measuring here is in fact an accumulation of

advantages. However, accumulation of advantages is a fact of life in education arenas (and elsewhere in the social world). Let me be very clear on this issue: these scores are NOT intended to measure the quality of a school. Quality of education and competitive position are two different entities (but not so in the eyes of many parents!: see chapter 6). If I were interested in what schools add to their ‘material’, then I should of course control for the ability of pupils before they entered the school (see Dijkstra, Karsten et al. 2001 for a detailed discussion of indicators to measure the quality of schools and league tables).

In each arena in which a gymnasium and/or an internationalised stream operated, I compared the average score of all competing pre-university streams within their local education arena, comprising all schools within cycling distance or within a half an hour radius by public transport. This average was then compared to each individual school type in the local arena. For each indicator that a school scored higher than the local average, it obtained one point, hence the highest possible score was three points. The scores for each school were summated for all gymnasiums and for all regular pre-university streams. The data does not provide the opportunity to distinguish pupils attending internationalised streams from regular pre-university streams. Up till now, the internationalised streams have not been registered separately in official statistics but are brought under the heading of pre-university education. In Table 3-2, a distinction is made between the scores of all gymnasiums, the scores of all pre-university pupils at schools that offer internationalised streams (the scores for these schools thus apply to both pupils attending the regular pre-university stream as well as those attending the internationalised streams at that school), and the scores of pre-university pupils at schools that do not provide internationalised streams. To estimate optimally the effects of providing an internationalised stream on the schools’ competitive position, only schools that provided a full cohort of the internationalised stream pupils were included in the overview. In 1997-1998, there were five, in 2001-2002 fourteen.

Table 3-2 Competitive positions of the three school types in 1997 and 2001

	Gymnasiums	Pre-univ. educ. at schools that provided a full inter. stream cohort ^{a)}	Regular	Δ gym. vs. inter. ^{b)}	Δ gym. vs. reg. ^{b)}
Compet. pos. '97-'98 (s.d.)	2.73 (0.57)	2.20 (0.84)	1.13 (0.93)	n.s.	p<0.001
Compet. pos. '01-'02 (s.d.)	2.59 (0.71)	1.64 (0.93)	1.36 (0.95)	p=0.004	n.s.
N 1997/N 2001	33/33	5/14	218/209		

Source: adaptation of figures published by Agerbeek (1999) and collected by the Inspectorate of Dutch Education (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 1998a); a) Five schools provided a full cohort of internationalised stream pupils in 1997-1998 in 2001-2002 there were 14; b) Analyses of variances, Bonferroni post-hoc tests.

Regular pre-university streams held the lowest position in both years. However, their position improved slightly and significantly between 1997 and 2002 (t-value=2.86, df=211, p=0.005) at the cost of the positions of gymnasiums and schools that provided internationalised streams. Unsurprisingly, gymnasiums occupied the strongest competitive position in both years. The slight decrease over time (from 2.73 to 2.59) was non-significant (t-value 1.07, df=31, p=0.29). The development of the schools that provided a full internationalised programme is remarkable. The five pioneering schools that started internationalised streams in the early 1990s occupied a position close to that of the gymnasiums in 1997-1998; the difference with gymnasiums is non-significant that year. But in 2001-2002, the average competitive position of the then 14 schools was significantly lower than that of the gymnasiums.

What happened? Separate analyses showed that the decrease in the competitive position was mainly due to the low competitive position of the newer schools; the nine newcomers scored 1.44 while the five older pioneer schools scored 2.0 in 2001-2002. To see whether there was a relationship between a low position and the year in which the internationalised stream was introduced, the competitive position of 24 schools that had started an internationalised stream only recently (from 1997 onward), or were planning to do so in 2002, were compared with the position that regular pre-university streams hold. To avoid the picture being clouded by a possibly successful introduction of internationalised streams at these schools—in terms of the increased inflow of able pupils—I used only data pertaining to 1997-1998. It turned out that the competitive position of the schools that had started an internationalised stream recently was slightly lower than that of the regular pre-university streams. The latter scored 1.13 (s.d.=0.92), while the 24 schools that had introduced an internationalised stream only recently, or wanted to do so in the near future,

scored 1.0 (s.d.=0.88). This difference was however non-significant ($t=0.63$, $df=206$, $p=0.52$).

These statistics suggest that the recently started internationalised streams were introduced at schools that had to cope with a weak position within the local education arena, which is in line with the findings of the case studies. All the ambitious schools started before 1995, but most of the threatened schools did not introduce internationalised education until later. Another indicator of the relationship between the distinction of ambitious and threatened schools on the one hand and the year of introduction of the internationalised stream on the other hand is provided by the strong negative correlation between the year of introduction and the competitive position in 1997-1998 ($r=-0.39$, $p=0.014$): the later the introduction, the worse the competitive position

In addition, I have calculated the average competitive position of all the six schools with an IB department and compared it to the other 33 schools without an IB department. It turned out that schools with an IB department scored significantly higher than those without an IB department ($t=2.52$, $df=37$, $p=0.016$). The scores were 2.17 (s.d.=0.98) and 1.12 (s.d.=1.12) of the schools with an IB department and without an IB department respectively. These calculations indicate a division of roles between the ambitious schools and the threatened schools. The pioneering ambitious schools, often helped by the existence of an IB department, developed the internationalised curriculum in the early 1990s. They were the trailblazers who could prepare the blueprint for an internationalised curriculum from rather comfortable competitive positions. After 1994, the threatened schools contributed to the numerical expansion. Internationalised education as an exclusive product aimed at enabling these schools to survive on the educational market and in most cases, it helped.

Conclusion

What internationalised streams and gymnasiums have in common is that they owe their right of existence directly to the desires of upper middle-class parents. Therefore, both represent niches in secondary education. With the help of their cordon of institutionalised social capital, the gymnasiums were able to remain outside the general format of mixed-ability first-year classes and comprehensive schools that was unfolding in the late 1960s. This cordon also protected them from attacks from education policies that were less willing to maintain the gymnasium as a separate school type. Their exclusivity turned out to be a niche at the time that the participation rates of secondary education expanded in the 1970s, and at the time the government forced schools to merge into larger comprehensive schools in the 1990s. In both

periods, (upper) middle-class parents were looking for more homogenous education environments, which they found at gymnasiums. As for the internationalised streams: they were 'invented' following requests from cosmopolitan parents. But it emerged that in the education arena of the 1990s, more and more families were looking to escape from the large comprehensive schools. The demand for more exclusive forms of secondary education was growing. While the pioneering schools that started the internationalised curriculum were not suffering from an unhealthy competitive position, many schools that had introduced an internationalised stream after 1994 took the opportunity to improve their position in the market. The latter 'threatened schools' provided the impulse for the rapid advance of the internationalised streams.

Apparently, the demand for exclusive education could no longer be met by the gymnasiums alone. When we look at the growth rate of the gymnasiums during the period 1990-2000 we can even conclude that this school type actually did not grow as rapidly as we might have expected. But then, a strong increase in the number of gymnasium pupils would undermine the very rationale of the niche they occupy. Yet the question remains of why the internationalised streams were able to conquer part of that niche. There were other competitors around, apart from the gymnasiums. These other schools also offered non-mixed-ability teaching, and cultural or sport oriented programmes were developed. However, these initiatives were less successful in terms of the inflow of pupils.

Although both gymnasiums and internationalised streams are equally selective, they also seem to provide contrasting images: a modern approach versus the ancient tradition, the practical use of learning English versus the cultural, classical education that seems to be devoid of economic benefits. It is precisely this image of being the contrasting alternative to the gymnasiums that might have led to the popularity of the internationalised streams. Thence the question rises of who exactly wanted to go to either of these school types. What sources of upper middle-class power are related to, and activated, in these school types?

4 Appropriating cosmopolitan capital

Schools, social class, and the cosmopolitanisation of children

The main question this chapter addresses is: what parents encourage the acquisition of cosmopolitan assets by their children. Here, I regard the ‘choice’ for an internationalised stream as an attempt to cosmopolitanise children. One might object that it is not only the lure of cosmopolitanism that drives children to the internationalised streams; other motives might be of equal importance. Dronkers (1993a: 289) offers two reasons why children and their parents might choose internationalised bilingual education. First, the choice for such education could be regarded as a way of becoming a member of a cosmopolitan culture and, at the same time, as a symbol that ‘someone already regards himself as belonging to this cosmopolitan culture’. Second, the aim of English-language education might be ‘to preserve the “educational distance” between the upper and lower classes that could stem from a fear of the levelling effect of primary education’. The application procedures, the special attention for gifted children, and the modern, innovative, and exclusive image of this type of education could indeed function as a marker of distinction, in addition to the distinction that its cosmopolitan curriculum provides. Possibly, internationalised streams attract students who seek ‘modern’ prestige rather than the ‘old’ prestige of the gymnasium. I will consider this alternative motive for choosing an internationalised stream in chapter 6.

Whatever the motives for choosing an internationalised stream, the fact is that internationalised streams provide children with cosmopolitan assets: they learn English at a very high level and they obtain an international orientation. This international orientation is provided by foreign exchanges, the international perspective that is included in the curriculum and the presence of foreign teachers. Who are the parents whose children are being cosmopolitanised at internationalised streams? The ‘who’ question here pertains to their position in the system of socio-economic inequality: the volume and the types of power resources they are able to draw from. How do these parents compare to those of gymnasium pupils and regular pupils in this respect? Can we identify a cosmopolitan fraction within the upper middle class whose children go to internationalised streams as opposed to an established fraction that prefers gymnasiums? I will first analyse the relationships between

parental cosmopolitanism and measures of parental 'establishment' on the one hand, with the school types their children go to on the other. Then, I go on to explore how parents perceive of cosmopolitan assets and how this relates to the school types their children are attending. Finally, I will analyse the relationship between the importance that parents attach to the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets for the future of their children on the one hand, and parental indicators of cosmopolitanism and establishment on the other hand.

Cosmopolitans and established

From the analyses in chapter 2, it emerged that parents of pupils who attended internationalised streams engaged slightly more often in cosmopolitan behaviour than parents of children attending a gymnasium did, albeit that this difference was not significant. The same pattern was found concerning the percentage of ex-expatriate families among parents of children attending the internationalised streams. Parents of pupils who attended regular pre-university streams scored significantly lower on both indicators of cosmopolitanism than the others. My overview of sociological research on cosmopolitanism (chapter 1) indicated that the archetypal cosmopolitan is an upper middle-class ex-expatriate who possesses the transnational (business) culture. This is not to say that there is a category of people that holds the exclusive rights to cosmopolitan assets. To a certain extent, cosmopolitan behaviour might well be a feature of a large part of today's Dutch upper middle class, at least according to the way I measured it: the frequency of speaking, reading, and writing in English, visiting and hosting foreign friends, and the frequency and length of business trips abroad. If this were true, the degree of cosmopolitanism of parents of children attending a gymnasium simply reflects their upper middle-class background.

Recall that two-thirds of the parents of children attending a gymnasium belonged to this social class. As for the internationalised streams, nearly half of the parents were upper middle class. The finding that parents of children attending the internationalised streams were slightly more cosmopolitan than the others might either imply that all parents of the latter school type are cosmopolitan, including those who occupy non-upper middle-class positions, or it might be that it is the upper middle-class parents within the category of parents of children attending the internationalised stream that are highly cosmopolitan. A straightforward way to find this out is to compare the degree of cosmopolitanism of all upper middle-class parents with that of all the other parents per school type. The results are shown in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1 Parental cosmopolitan capital by class position and by school type

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Δ gym. vs. inter. ^{a)}	Δ gym. vs. regular. ^{a)}	Δ inter. vs. regular. ^{a)}	N
Upper middle class:							
Current cosmopolitan. (s.d.)	2.75 (1.06)	3.12 (1.14)	2.68 (1.15)	p=0.011	n.s.	p=0.012	403
Ex-expatriates	23%	37%	24%	p=0.016	n.s.	p=0.071	403
Other classes:							
Current cosmopolitan. (s.d.)	2.31 (1.05)	2.19 (0.99)	2.12 (0.97)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	389
Ex-expatriates	16%	16%	13%	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	389

Source: surveys of parents a) Analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests.

It turned out that at the internationalised streams, upper middle-class parents were markedly more cosmopolitan than their counterparts at the other two school types. While 37% of the upper middle-class parents of internationalised streams had lived abroad, this was nearly a quarter for those of the other two school types. The former also engaged more often in current cosmopolitan behaviour. Recall that this behaviour was captured by a six-point scale. A score of two at this scale indicates that all these forms of cosmopolitan behaviour were performed once a year on average. A score of three means that the respondents engaged two to three times a year in all these types of cosmopolitan behaviour on average (see chapter 2).

In contrast to the members of the upper middle class, parents of all other social classes did not differ significantly across school types. Their cosmopolitanism was also lower than upper middle-class parents, whatever school type their children went to. Interestingly, the difference in cosmopolitanism between the upper middle class on the one hand and the other classes on the other is largest within internationalised streams. These figures indicate that going to an internationalised stream might be regarded as a way to strengthen the intergenerational transfer of cosmopolitan assets within the cosmopolitan fraction of the upper middle class. But there is more to it than this. What about the other classes, how might they appreciate the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets by their children?

The type of cosmopolitanism I am interested in here is the one that provides advantages in transnational social arenas where the struggle is for privileged social positions, like the labour market for managers in international business. This does not necessarily mean that it is the cosmopolitan fraction of the upper middle class only who would favour the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets by their offspring. Actually, based on Ultee's (1989: 15, 18-26) theoretical explorations of the consequences of European economic integration, I

derived the hypothesis that parents from lower—lower than upper middle class that is—classes might also be inclined to provide their children with cosmopolitan assets. Ultee's focus is on the consequences of European economic integration for cultural differences between upper and lower layers within European countries. He reasoned that for a cosmopolitan culture to develop, two preconditions should be realised. The first is the emergence of a transnational opportunity structure. The second is an increase in relative mobility (idem: 21). The opportunity structure consists of new social hierarchies created by European supranational institutions and companies that operate on a European or world-wide scale. Think of the following hierarchy of bureaucrats that is emerging: from local to national to European civil servants. Furthermore, European institutions increase the opportunities for mobility by creating European markets. The processes directed towards the standardisation of educational credentials and the 'freeing' of traffic of capital and labour could result in more equal outcomes in the struggle for privileged positions to people with identical starting positions (see also Brown 2000: 642). But a higher degree of 'openness' also means higher risks of downward mobility among members of the supranational upper layers. To counteract the increased mobility and to cope with the corresponding threat of falling back, Ultee (21-24) predicted that cosmopolitans at the top would erect a cosmopolitan cultural barrier that at the same time distinguishes them as a new social group. Ultee's hypothesis ultimately reads that European economic integration causes increasing cultural differences within European countries. However, my data does not allow me to test this hypothesis. Instead, I propose to explore the following.

The openness of the transnational opportunity structure and the fact that the cosmopolitan culture is relatively new—even if it is supposed to act as a barrier—might mean that ambitious parents from lower class backgrounds are more inclined to encourage those of their offspring who have the potential to climb to take the transnational pathway. They might rather provide them with cosmopolitan assets than to stimulate them to aim for established positions that presuppose the acquisition of the types of cultural and social capital that are traditionally tied to the upper layers. Brown's (2000: 637) distinction between the use of power resources for 'competition ranking' on the one hand and 'competition rigging' on the other is useful to describe the interests of the climbing cosmopolitans in this respect. Competition ranking concerns the use of social powers to position members of a certain social class in social arenas. But social powers are also used to change the rules of the ranking process in these social arenas: competition rigging. So the difference is between the command over the resources in the market and the power to influence the rules of the market. Following

Brown (idem: 638), I assume that economic globalisation opens up new social arenas. These new transnational arenas are less liable to rigging, i.e. more open, than the national-established arenas in which the rules of competition ranking are more fixed. According to Brown (idem: 646), studying for the International Baccalaureate might be regarded as a strategy for social elites to opt out of the national education systems. Brown assumes that these social elites perceive national education systems incapable of preparing their children for global competition ranking. As the Dutch internationalised streams are best suited to provide access to transnational arenas, they might offer an attractive alternative for both upper middle-class and non-upper middle-class households who feel they lack sufficient power to rig the domestic social arenas.

From this, I expect that the appropriation of cosmopolitan capital, here indicated as attending an internationalised stream, is neither related to membership of the upper layers nor to the other indicators of establishment that I will discuss below. So my interpretation of the finding that over half of the parents whose children attended internationalised streams were non-upper middle class and had lower cosmopolitan capital than all upper-middle class parents, is that they (and their children) seek connections to the cosmopolitan fraction of the upper middle class rather than the established parts of the upper middle class.

The traditional, established route is represented here by going to a gymnasium. I expect that the specific combination of prestigious features of gymnasiums attract established households in particular. Given their tradition of being illustrious schools for the upper layers, their classical curriculum, their cultural orientation and their academic and social homogeneity, gymnasiums are probably unrivalled as schools for the established. I have distinguished the following indicators of establishment: membership of the upper middle class of both parents and grandparents, parental membership of one of the traditional students associations (the Corps), and possession of high levels of legitimate embodied cultural capital. For reasons already discussed in chapter 2, this concerns participation in highbrow 'classical', 'canonised' cultural activities.²⁸ I have tried to gain a picture of these types of activities by asking for the frequency with which parents visit the theatre, concerts of classical music, ballet, museum, how often they read Dutch novels and poems and listen to classical music at home. For the members of the established upper layers, especially those who possess relatively little cosmopolitan capital, it is most logical to encourage their children to invest in assets that are valued in established social arenas so that their offspring can defend their positions on familiar ground.

Table 4-2 shows an overview of the expected relationships between parental

characteristics and school types. As far as the regular streams are concerned, I expect that they do not relate to any of these parental characteristics whatsoever. They represent neither the established nor the cosmopolitan trajectory and form the reference category in the analyses.

Table 4-2 Predicted relationships between parental characteristics and school types

	Inter vs. regular	Gym. vs. regular	Gym. vs. inter
Parental cosmopolitanism	+	0	-
Parental 'establishment'	0	+	+

I expect that the chances that children go to an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream depend on parental cosmopolitanism, while established sources of power do not play a role in the odds of going to one of these two school types. With regard to the relative chances that children go to a gymnasium rather than a regular pre-university stream, one would expect that the chances of children going to a gymnasium increases, the more established sources of power a household possesses: if one or both grandparents and parents are upper middle class, if they are a member of the Corps, and if they engage more often in highbrow cultural participation. We could also say that the more established assets a household possesses, the less likely their children are to attend a regular pre-university stream. I also expect that the possession of cosmopolitan assets does not make a difference regarding whether children attend either a gymnasium or regular pre-university education. Finally, the odds that a child will attend a gymnasium rather than an internationalised stream negatively relates to the amounts of cosmopolitan capital a household possesses. The more cosmopolitan assets, the less likely the child will attend a gymnasium rather than an internationalised stream, or, to put it differently: the more likely children will attend an internationalised stream rather than a gymnasium. By contrast, the more established forms of power there are in the household, the higher the chance the child attends a gymnasium rather than an internationalised stream.

Different school types: diverging trajectories?

I used path analyses (Lisrel 8.5) to estimate the degree to which the expected relationships were actually present in the data. The data consists of the survey of parents. Such path analyses show direct and indirect effects on the outcome variable (school type) that can be particularly illuminating when the interest is in social trajectories. However, an important drawback of this type of analysis is that it does not allow the use of so-called dummy

variables (e.g. two dummies for school types that are each compared to a third that forms the reference category). Consequently, I needed to split the sample and estimated three models: one in which gymnasiums were compared to regular pre-university streams, another one that compared internationalised streams to regular pre-university streams and a third in which gymnasiums were compared with internationalised streams. As a result, the sample size in each model is reduced. However, this disadvantage does not offset the alternative: multinomial logistic regression modelling. Such a logistic analysis reveals only direct effects. As such, it does not do justice to the idea of trajectories, nor does it show the interrelationships between variables (e.g. an indirect path from grand parents' upper middle-class position to school type via parental educational level and test score of the child). Consequently, I rely on the results of the path analyses.

The indicators of establishment are GP-UPPER, which indicates whether one of the grandfathers of either the respondent or his or her partner occupied an upper middle-class position, UPPER measures whether parents themselves are members of the upper middle-class, CORPS indicates whether one or both of the parents are members of a traditional students association, and CULTURE is the scale that aims to capture the frequency of engaging in highbrow cultural activities. The variables that aim to capture cosmopolitan assets are: COSMOP, the frequency of current cosmopolitan behaviour and EXPAT, whether one or both of the parents had been living abroad for longer than a year. Finally, IS indicates that a child went to an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream (Figure 4-1) while GYM means the child attended a gymnasium rather than a regular stream (Figure 4-2) or an internationalised stream (Figure 4-3). While my focus is on the analysis of the relationships between establishment, cosmopolitanism, and school types, I have included intervening variables in the models as well. If these were to be left out of the analysis, effects might be falsely attributed to the variables of our prime interest while they actually might be caused by the 'hidden' effects of a third intervening variable. Four intervening variables were included: whether parents attended a gymnasium themselves (represented by the block ALUMNUS in the figures), the highest level of education attained within the household (EDULEV), test score of the child (TEST) and place of residence (SUBURB/CITY).

The reason for including place of residence in the model is to correct for possible intervening effects of an area on, for example, the opportunities to engage in cosmopolitan or cultural behaviour. In addition, this control variable is included because the sample is unequally distributed across school types and big cities, affluent suburbs, and towns in the south and east of the country. Earlier analyses showed that the difference between living in an

affluent suburb and the other two residential areas was of importance in the comparison between internationalised streams and regular pre-university streams, while living in big cities turned out to have significant effects that intervened in comparison between gymnasiums and the other two school types. Consequently, SUBURB is used to distinguish affluent suburbs from the other two places of residence in Figure 4-1, while CITY in Figure 4-2 and Figure 4-3 means that parents lived in one of the four largest cities in the Netherlands as opposed to those living in either affluent suburbs or towns in the south and east of the country.

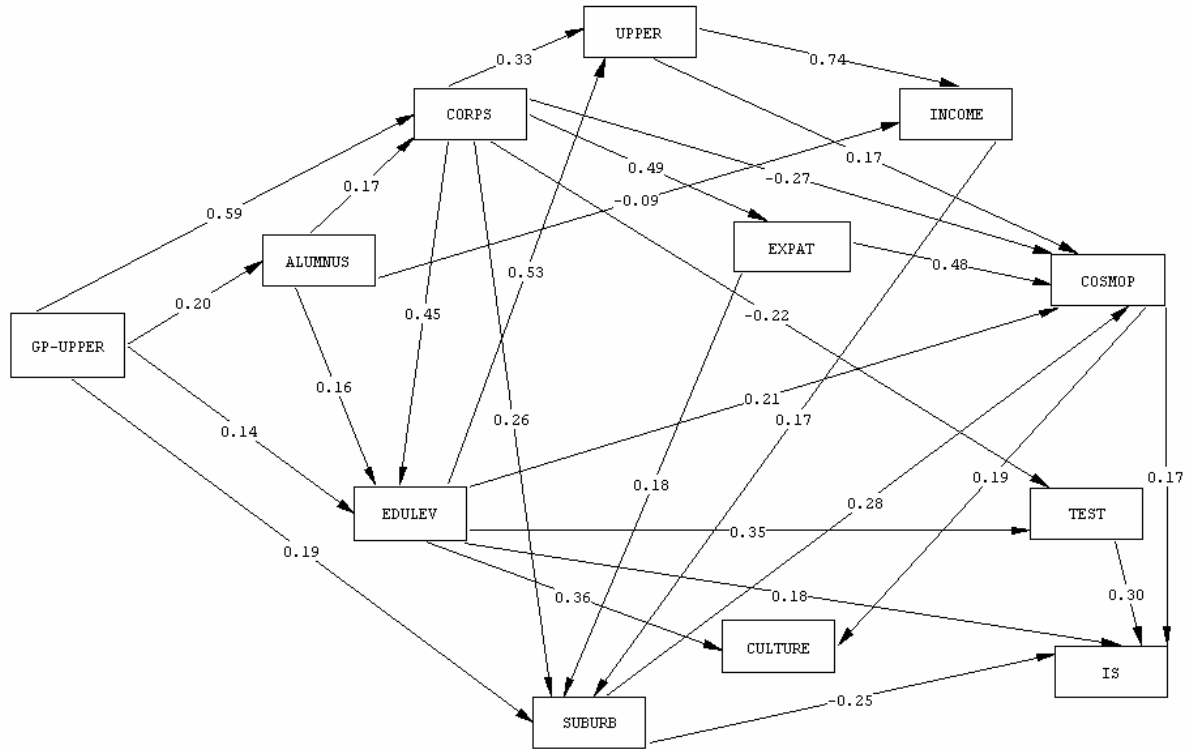
One might argue that the possession of credentials in higher education should also be regarded as an indicator of establishment rather than regarding it as an intervening variable. However, education has proved to be the channel for upward mobility for the generations born right after the Second World War. The process of credential inflation in a way indicates the limited power of education to close off newcomers. As such, it is not an appropriate measure of establishment. While a degree of higher education has almost become a precondition for entering upper middle-class positions, it was never a guarantee for obtaining such positions and it is currently even less so. Highbrow cultural participation provides a more robust basis for distinction, if only because it is more tied to intensive socialisation in the family. Dutch research into highbrow cultural participation showed a tendency among younger cohorts of higher-educated people to engage less often in such cultural activities (Van Eijck, De Haan and Knulst 2002), a finding I interpret as an indication for the continued scarcity—and consequently its opportunities for exclusion or closure (Bourdieu 1986)—of this form of cultural capital.²⁹

The fact that parents were former gymnasium pupils could in a way also be regarded as a consequence of having established upper middle-class backgrounds. However, I regard it as an intervening variable here. If their children go to a gymnasium because their parents indicated that they have fond memories of attending that school type, then we are measuring something other than establishment. All the same, whatever the gymnasium experience of parents turned out to be, and whatever their actual class position, the fact that their children go to a gymnasium can still be regarded as a first step on the pathway to establishment.

In the figures, the arrows indicate significant correlations ($p < 0.05$). The absence of an arrow means that no significant relationship emerged between variables. Bear in mind that in these types of analyses, models are estimated on the basis of a matrix of covariances, or in this particular case, a matrix of correlations. The causal relationships as implied by the direction of the arrows do not emerge from the data, but are designed by the researcher. Put simply: causality is something that I determined. Figure 4-1 shows the results of a path analysis of

going to an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream.

Figure 4-1 Path analysis of going to an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream, standardised effects (N=542)



Source: survey of parents, $\chi^2=39.83$, $df=38$, $p=0.39$, 90% confidence interval for RMSEA=0.0-0.032, AGFI=0.99; Method of estimation is WLS. See Appendix I for an explanation of these statistical measures.

Admittedly, the bunch of arrows shown in the figure is not particularly illuminating at first sight. Let’s use the predictions as a guide to get a clear picture of the results. Note that we are dealing with the odds that a child attended an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream here.

First, are parents’ current cosmopolitan behaviour and being an ex-expatriate indeed positively related to attending an internationalised stream? It turned out that the frequency of current parental cosmopolitan behaviour (COSMOP) had a significant direct effect of 0.17 on attending an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream. The total effect of being an ex-expatriate was positive, but small (0.04) and non-significant. The indirect effect through current cosmopolitan behaviour (from EXPAT through COSMOP to IS: $0.48 \times 0.17 = 0.08$) was reduced by another indirect path through living in an affluent suburb, which resulted in a small negative indirect effect of -0.04 (from EXPAT to SUBURB

to IS: $0.18 * -0.25 = -0.045$ plus from EXPAT to SUBURB to COSMOP to IS: $0.18 * 0.28 * 0.17 = 0.009$, approximate values due to rounding off). This means that, while having lived abroad increased the chances of living in an affluent suburb, children in this particular place of residence were more likely to go to regular pre-university streams. This is not so much a finding to consider but an artefact, a consequence of the composition of the sample (see Appendix I).

Now we will continue the discussion of the results with regard to the role of established sources of power. I did not expect to find any effects of established sources of power: grandparents' upper middle-class position, parental upper middle-class position, parental membership of the Corps and parents' frequency of highbrow cultural participation.

I start with the effects of having a grandfather who belonged to the upper middle class (GP-UPPER). The number of significant effects from grandfather's class position was impressive: it contributed to parental membership of the upper middle class, membership of the Corps, parental educational level, whether parents went to a gymnasium, the level of parental income, living in an affluent suburb, the frequency of both cultural and cosmopolitan behaviour, and whether parents were ex-expatriates. But the issue at stake here is whether the class position of the grandfathers contributed to going to an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream. It turned out that all the relationships that emanated from this variable eventually led to very small and non-significant effects on going to an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream.

Another measure of belonging to the established comprised parental membership of the upper middle class. Two paths ran from occupying an upper middle-class position (UPPER) to going to an internationalised stream (IS). The first went through parental cosmopolitanism (COSMOP) and resulted in a small positive effect of 0.03 (from UPPER to COSMOP to IS: $0.17 * 0.17$). The second went via income, then through living in an affluent old suburb, which eventually yielded a small negative effect of -0.03 (from UPPER to INCOME to SUBURB to IS: $0.74 * 0.17 * -0.25$). The result was that the total effect of holding an upper middle-class position on the chance that children attended either an internationalised stream or a regular pre-university stream was virtually zero.

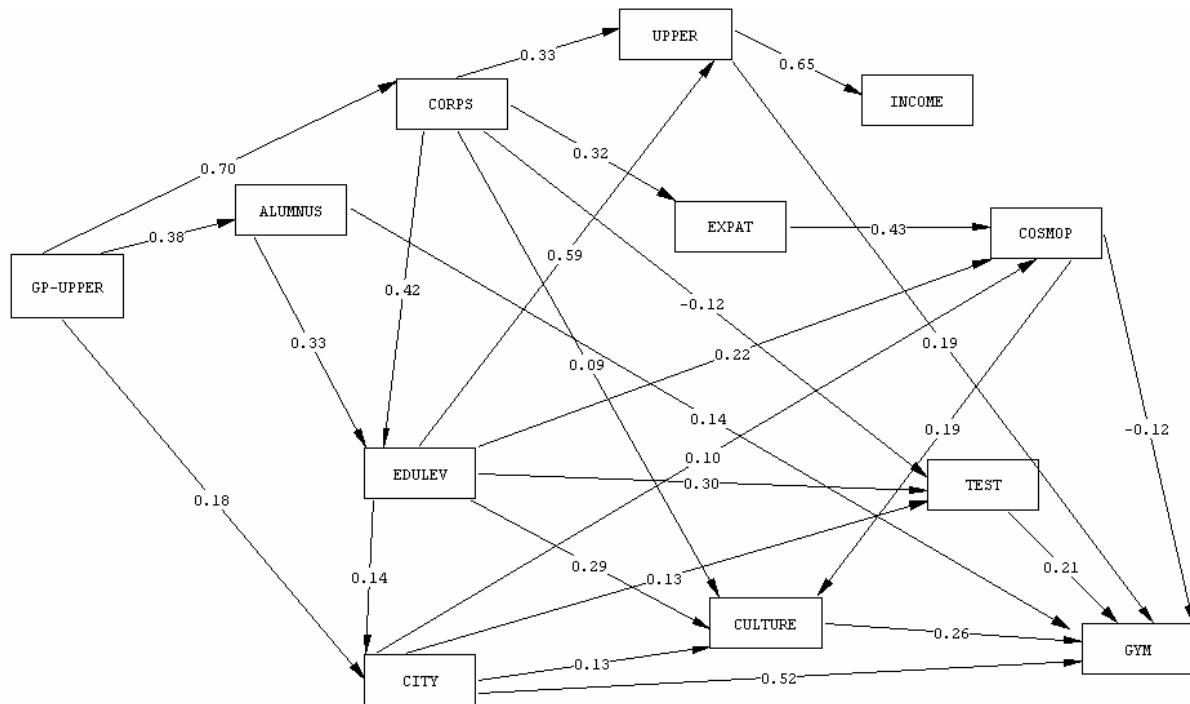
The third variable that aimed to capture parental establishment was parents' membership of the Corps. The total effect of being a member of the Corps on the odds that children attended an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream was very small and non-significant. This effect is the result of several paths. One went through

being an ex-expatriate and via parental cosmopolitanism (from CORPS through EXPAT and from CORPS through COSMOP, then to IS: $0.49*0.48*0.17=0.04$ plus $-0.27*0.17=-0.046$, leaves a tiny negative effect). Another small negative effect ran via the child's test score (from CORPS to TEST to IS: $-0.22*0.30=-0.066$ and from CORPS to EDULEV to TEST to IS: $0.45*0.35*0.30=0.047$, resulting in a net effect of -0.019). In addition, there was a negative effect through place of residence (from CORPS to SUBURB to IS: $0.26*-0.25=-0.065$). Finally, there was a positive indirect path through parental educational level (from CORPS to EDULEV to IS: $0.45*0.18=0.08$). All in all, the result was an effect size of membership of the Corps of about nil.

Parental engagement with highbrow cultural activities (CULTURAL) was the fourth indicator of establishment. I can be very brief on this: no significant correlations were found between parental cultural behaviour and the odds of children attending an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream.

So, what have we learned so far? First, the more parents engage in cosmopolitan behaviour, the higher the chances that their child attended an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream. Such an effect also appeared with regard to being an ex-expatriate, but it was much smaller and non-significant. Second, none of the measures of establishment had significant effects: upper middle-class 'seniority', membership of the Corps, current membership of the upper middle class, and high brow cultural participation. So far I have concentrated on the findings that were directly related to the predictions here. However, other variables, like parental educational level and being a former gymnasium pupil also play a role in the model. I will discuss their roles later, summarizing their effects for all three models. I will now turn to the comparison between going to a gymnasium and going to a regular pre-university stream. The results of the analysis are shown in Figure 4-2.

Figure 4-2 Path analysis of going to a gymnasium rather than a regular pre-university stream, standardized effects (N=491)



Source: survey of parents, $\chi^2=31.28$, $df=40$, $p=0.84$, 90% confidence interval for RMSEA=0.0-0.019, AGFI=0.99; Method of estimation is WLS.

Again, path analysis resulted in a maze of correlations. To find a way through it and to understand what it all means, the best strategy is again to contrast these results with the predictions. They were straightforward enough: first, I expected that going to a gymnasium as opposed to attending a regular pre-university stream was positively related with all the indicators of belonging to the established. Second, I predicted that there was no significant relationship with parental cosmopolitanism. I set out to describe the findings with regard to the latter expectation first.

The effects of being an ex-expatriate flowed through the frequency of current parental cosmopolitan behaviour (0.43). From current cosmopolitan behaviour it flowed into two directions: a small negative relationship with attending a gymnasium (from EXPAT to COSMOPOL to GYM: $0.43 \times -0.12 = -0.05$), and a very small positive relationship via parental highbrow cultural participation (from EXPAT to COSMOPOL to CULTURE to GYM: $0.43 \times 0.19 \times 0.26 = 0.02$). The result was a total, very small, but significant negative effect (-0.03) of being an ex-expatriate on the odds of going to a gymnasium rather than a regular pre-university stream. With regard to parental current cosmopolitan behaviour there was a significant direct negative effect of -0.12, which was reduced only slightly by an indirect path

from cosmopolitan behaviour through highbrow cultural participation: (from COSMOP to CULTURE to IS: $0.19 \times 0.26 = 0.049$). There thus remained a total significant negative effect of -0.07 . Hence, both current cosmopolitan behaviour and being an ex-expatriate had small but significant negative effects on going to a gymnasium rather than a regular pre-university stream.

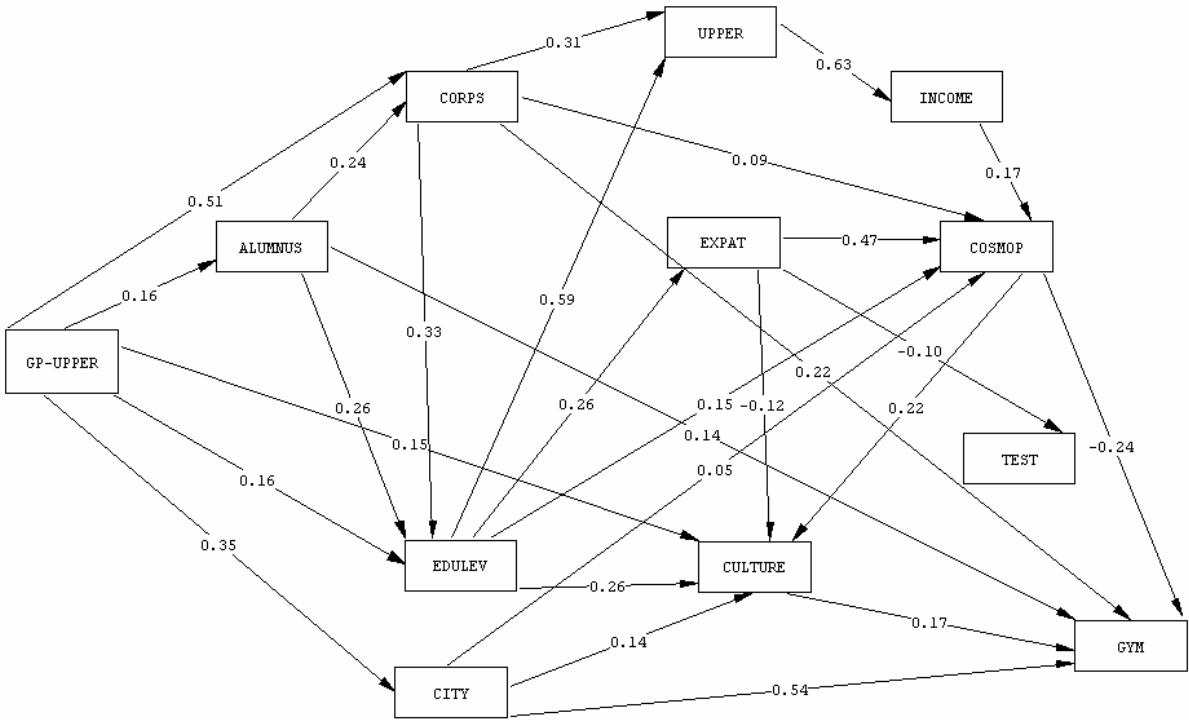
I now turn to the effects of established sources of power. First of all I consider the effect of having grandparents in upper middle-class positions. As in figure 4-1, numerous significant relationships emanated from this variable. This time they resulted in a strong positive effect on the chance of going to a gymnasium rather than a regular pre-university stream (total effect amounted to 0.33). In fact, grandparental class position, together with parental educational level, belonged to the most powerful predictors of going to a gymnasium rather than a regular pre-university stream, after living in a big city. But what are the main ingredients that make up the total effect? About 47% of the effect was related to membership of the Corps: when grandparents were upper middle class, parents were more likely to be members of the Corps, which in turn increased the chances of going to a gymnasium rather than a regular pre-university stream. The larger part of the indirect path via membership of the Corps flowed through parental educational level; there was a strong positive effect (0.42) of being a member of the Corps on attained educational level. When grandparents were upper middle class, this also increased the chance that parents lived in a big city, which in turn led to a greater chance of going to a gymnasium. This indirect effect of living in a city took up another 30% of the total effect of grandparents' upper middle-class position. The effect of place of residence on attending gymnasium should at least partly be regarded as an artefact of sampling bias. I say partly because the supply of gymnasiums is in reality also over-represented in big cities (see Appendix I). The remaining 23% of the effect of having grandparents in upper middle-class positions flowed through parents being former gymnasium pupils themselves, which in turn led to a greater chance of their children attending a gymnasium.

All the other indicators of being established had clear positive effects: highbrow cultural participation (direct effect of 0.26), holding an upper middle-class position (direct effect of 0.19), and membership of the Corps (total effect of 0.19, the indirect effects via parental educational level were largest).

To summarise this exercise: parental cosmopolitanism gave small but significant negative effects on going to a gymnasium rather than a regular pre-university stream. I had expected

that possession of cosmopolitan assets would not make a difference. What we see here is that cosmopolitan assets turn people away from gymnasiums. I find this remarkable, since we also saw in chapter 2 that parents whose children attended a gymnasium had larger amounts of cosmopolitan capital than parents of children who attended regular pre-university streams. As I suggested above, the degree of cosmopolitanism of parents whose children attended a gymnasium is a consequence of their class position, and goes hand in hand with their established resources of power (I will discuss this interrelationship later). As we are statistically able to separate established forms of power from cosmopolitanism, we can see that cosmopolitanism as such correlates negatively with gymnasium. However, in reality, cosmopolitan assets are part of the package of power resources of the upper middle classes. Thence, while their parents' cosmopolitan assets inhibit children from attending a gymnasium, this negative relationship is overruled by their parents' established resources of power. Indeed, all measures of belonging to the established resulted in rather strong positive effects on the odds of attending gymnasium. Among them, grandparents' upper middle-class position stood out as having a particularly strong effect. I will now go on to compare parents whose children attended a gymnasium with their counterparts of the internationalised streams.

Figure 4-3 Path analysis of attending a gymnasium rather than an internationalised stream, standardized effects (N=563)



Source: survey of parents, $\chi^2=48.44$, $df=39$, $p=0.14$, 90% confidence interval for RMSEA=0.0-0.038, AGFI=0.99; Method of estimation is WLS.

Again, we concentrate on the effects of indicators of cosmopolitanism and establishment. With regard to parental cosmopolitanism, both being an ex-expatriate and the degree of current cosmopolitan behaviour led to significant negative effects on the odds of attending gymnasium rather than attending an internationalised stream. Being an ex-expatriate resulted in a total effect of -0.12 (from EXPAT to COSMOP to GYM: $0.47^* - 0.24 = -0.11$ and from EXPAT to CULTURE to GYM: $-0.12 * 0.17 = -0.02$, approximate values due to rounding off). The effect of current cosmopolitan behaviour was also negative, amounting to -0.20 . Its direct effect of -0.24 was slightly altered by a positive indirect path through parental highbrow cultural participation (COSMOP to CULTURE to GYM: $0.22 * 0.17 = 0.037$).

I now turn to the measures of establishment. To start with, grandparental membership of the upper middle class resulted in a strong positive effect (0.34) of attending a gymnasium rather than an internationalised stream. This effect ran predominantly through living in a city (59%) and membership of the Corps (31%). The remaining part flowed through being a former gymnasium pupil. The second indicator of establishment was whether parents were upper middle class themselves. Interestingly, this effect was very small and negative, but significant. It ran through income, then to parental cosmopolitan behaviour (from UPPER to INCOME via COSMOP to GYM: $0.63 * 0.17^* - 0.24 = -0.026$). Membership of the Corps resulted in a positive effect (0.18) on the chance of attending a gymnasium. The direct effect (0.22) was reduced by the indirect effect that went through parental cosmopolitanism, and, via parental educational level through being an ex-expatriate (from CORPS to COSMOP to GYM; $0.09^* - 0.24 = -0.022$ plus from CORPS to EDULEV to COSMOP to GYM: $0.33 * 0.15^* - 0.24 = -0.012$ plus from CORPS to EDULEV to EXPAT to COSMOP to GYM: $0.33 * 0.26 * 0.47^* - 0.24 = -0.01$). The last form of established power concerns the frequency of highbrow cultural participation. It emerged that there was a positive direct effect (0.17) on the chance of going to a gymnasium rather than an internationalised stream.

In conclusion then: the picture that emerges here is that of two school types that force households to show their true colours: on what power sources will the future of the child predominantly be built? Gymnasiums not only attract established sources of power, they also push away cosmopolitan assets. The reverse is true for internationalised streams: they tend to attract parents whose package of power resources is dominated by cosmopolitan resources, while parents who base their upper middle-class position dominantly on established assets are deterred from this school type. Note that parental membership of the upper middle class as such, uncoupled from cosmopolitan and established assets, had a very small negative effect on the odds that children attended a gymnasium as opposed to an internationalised stream.

Reviewing the results of the three analyses, we can conclude that the findings turned out to support the predictions. In terms of establishment, internationalised streams and regular pre-university streams did not differ from each other. This corresponds to the idea that cosmopolitan trajectories to upper middle-class positions are relatively more open. Entering the cosmopolitan pathway—attending an internationalised stream, that is—emerged to have no relationship with seniority of stay in the upper middle class, embodied cultural capital, current class position of parents or possession of established social capital in the form of membership of the Corps. Note that there was no relationship between these established assets and attending an internationalised streams compared to attending a regular pre-university stream. However, the openness is limited: we also saw that possession of cosmopolitan assets increased the odds of attending an internationalised stream rather than both the other two school types. This suggests that cosmopolitan assets are being reproduced at internationalised streams. Such a reproduction process might foreshadow the creation of the cosmopolitan-cultural barrier as predicted by Ultee (1989).

While internationalised streams emerged to be sites that attract cosmopolitan assets, gymnasiums turned out to be actually pushing away such assets, even when contrasted with regular pre-university streams. But, as I have remarked above, this does not mean that parents of children attending a gymnasium are not at all cosmopolitan. They are, but their cosmopolitanism is of minor importance as a source of power than their established assets. This is the reason why cosmopolitan capital as such increases the odds of children attending regular pre-university streams rather than gymnasium: parents of children who attended regular pre-university streams had, on the whole, fewer assets, but their cosmopolitan assets were of greater weight than their established resources of power. This obviously also applies to the parents of children who attended internationalised streams. Clearly, the gymnasiums were, as expected, champions of established power resources.

Please allow me to take the following side-path. Now that we have defined gymnasiums as champions of established power resources, I am curious to know what the relationships are between being a former gymnasium pupil and the appropriation of established assets by parents. Does it make a difference to have attended a gymnasium? Indeed, parents who had been attending gymnasium in their youth had larger chances to join the Corps (direct effect of 0.24) and to become upper middle class (total effect of 0.28). The latter effect consisted of indirect effects only: if parents were former gymnasium pupils, they were more likely to join the Corps (28.5% of the total effect) and, partly through their

membership of the Corps, they were more likely to attain a higher educational level which in turn increased the likelihood of obtaining an upper middle-class position. Former gymnasium pupils were also more likely to engage in high brow cultural participation, but this effect was much smaller (0.11).

As we have found that the possession of established forms is, in part, related to the possession of cosmopolitan assets, it is worth taking a closer look at both types of power resources and how they relate to each other. Such an analysis could add to the understanding of the dynamics behind the establishment-cosmopolitan distinction.

Cosmopolitan, established and related sources of power

I will now take a closer look at the interrelationships between the two types of power resources. I will first analyse how indicators of establishment are interrelated and then go on to how cosmopolitan and established assets relate to each other. The discussion is based mainly on the model that compares gymnasiums with internationalised streams. This latter model provides us with a picture in which the indicators of cosmopolitanism and establishment contrast optimally, so that it offers the best opportunity to scrutinise their interrelationships.

First of all, I consider the role that grandparents' upper middle-class position played within the constellation of established assets. There was a particularly strong relationship between grandparents who were upper middle class and parental membership of the Corps. The total effect amounted to 0.55. By far the larger part (93%) of this effect was direct, the rest of this effect ran from grandparental upper middle class through parents who were former gymnasium pupils, and then to membership of the Corps. The second largest effect of grandparents' upper middle-class position was on parental upper middle-class membership (0.40). This effect consisted of indirect effects only, with the largest of them—making up 40% of the total effect—flowing through membership of the Corps (from GP-UPPER to CORPS to UPPER: $0.51*0.31=0.16$). Another 24% flowed through parental educational level (from GP-UPPER to EDULEV to UPPER: $0.16*0.59=0.094$). To conclude then: the effects of grandparental membership of the upper middle class on the frequency of highbrow cultural participation by parents was 0.34. Nearly half of this effect was direct, the rest flowed through parental educational level, living in one of the bigger cities, and being a former gymnasium pupil.

Second, what about the role membership of the Corps? Being part of this social network strongly increased the chances of obtaining an upper middle-class position: there was a total effect of 0.51, of which 0.31 was direct, the rest flowed via parental educational level. Membership of a traditional students association also increased the frequency of parental highbrow cultural behaviour. This indirect effect amounted to 0.16 and flowed mainly through parental educational level.

The combination of grandparental membership of the upper middle class and parental membership of the Corps played a particularly prominent role in predicting whether children go to a gymnasium rather than to one of the other two school types (their role is only equalled by parental educational level, and only in the comparison between gymnasiums and regular pre-university streams as shown in Figure 4-2). To evaluate the strength of these two most prominent established assets, I compared their effects on obtaining an upper middle-class position with that of parental educational level. In Figure 4-3, the effect of parental educational level on membership of the upper middle class was direct and very strong: 0.59. But the magnitude of the effect of membership of the Corps was only slightly less: 0.51. Finally, the effect of grandparental membership of the upper middle class on acquiring an upper middle-class position by parents yielded 0.40. Similar patterns also appeared in the models shown in Figures 4-1 and 4-2. Obviously, membership of the Corps and educational level are intertwined in reality. It emerged that 37% of the effect of Corps membership flowed through educational level. Nevertheless, the statistical analysis allows to weigh the magnitudes of the effects of educational level and membership of the Corps separately. We can conclude that membership of the Corps yields nearly the same effect on obtaining an upper middle-class position as educational level.

Let us now turn our attention to the relationships between established sources of power and cosmopolitan assets as they appeared in Figure 4-3. I will first discuss the effects on being an ex-expatriate. It emerged that only grandparental upper middle-class membership and parental membership of the Corps had significant effects. Neither of them were large, 0.10 and 0.09 respectively. These effects were indirect and ran predominantly through parental educational level. Here again we can compare the effects of the established assets to that of the highest educational level attained. It turned out that parental educational level yielded a much stronger and direct effect on being an ex-expatriate: 0.26.

With regard to the frequency of current cosmopolitan behaviour of parents, it emerged that there were stronger interrelationships with the features of establishment. First, when grandparents were upper middle class, parents were more likely to engage in cosmopolitan

behaviour. The size of this effect was 0.22. It consisted of indirect paths that ran mainly through membership of the Corps and via parental educational level. Second, the total positive effect of being a member of a traditional student association was 0.24, which ran mainly through parental educational level. Third, there was an effect of parents occupying an upper middle-class position of 0.10. This latter indirect effect flowed through income. Fourth, there was a clear significant positive effect of 0.22 between current cosmopolitan behaviour and highbrow cultural behaviour.³⁰ Interestingly, being an ex-expatriate even had a significant negative relationship with highbrow cultural participation.

Thus the ties between the established power sources and being an ex-expatriate were, all in all, not particularly strong. However, there were clear relationships between current cosmopolitan behaviour and the established assets. This leads me to conclude that even the fraction of the upper middle class that predominantly relies on established assets is also activating its cosmopolitan assets, but only in domestic social arenas.

Again, we can evaluate the strength of these ties between established and cosmopolitan features by comparing them with the effects of parental educational level on the features of cosmopolitanism. First, there was a direct effect of parental educational level of 0.26 on being an ex-expatriate. Furthermore, the total effect on current cosmopolitan behaviour amounted to 0.34. Somewhat less than half of this total effect was direct (0.15), the rest ran through being an ex-expatriate (from EDULEV to EXPAT to COSMOP: $0.26 \times 0.47 = 0.12$) and through membership of the upper middle class and income (from EDULEV to UPPER to INCOME to COSMOP ($0.59 \times 0.63 \times 0.17 = 0.063$)). Clearly, the acquisition of cosmopolitan assets, the traversing of the cosmopolitan trajectory by parents, is much more dependent on high levels of education than on established power resources.

To summarise this section, it can be concluded that within the configuration of established features, grandparental membership of the upper middle class and membership of the Corps gave the highest odds of attending a gymnasium rather than other school types. Membership of the Corps also had strong effects on occupying an upper middle-class position. The magnitude of this effect came close to those of parental educational level. Furthermore, it emerged that being an ex-expatriate was much less related to possessing established powers than the frequency of cosmopolitan behaviour. Apparently, the established upper middle-class fraction also has to rely on this form of cosmopolitanism to secure its positions within the national social arena. Finally, the finding that both being an ex-expatriate and the frequency of cosmopolitan behaviour is much more related to parental educational level than to

established power resources provides support for the above claim that the cosmopolitan pathway is a relatively more open social route. This appeared to be true with regard to the odds of children attending an internationalised stream rather than the other two school types. Now we also know this is the case with regard to parental cosmopolitan trajectories.

But how do parents perceive cosmopolitanism? How do they define it and what does it mean for them and for their children? These questions will be dealt with in the following section.

Constructing cosmopolitanism

My question here is what cosmopolitan capital looks like in the eyes of parents and what role it plays in their identity. Furthermore, I want to find out whether parents deploy cosmopolitan capital for acts of inclusion and exclusion. The power of distinction legitimates or canonizes what is thought to be proper knowledge and behaviour and, perhaps more important, it disqualifies other types of knowledge and behaviour. Finally, I will analyse how parental perceptions of cosmopolitanism relate to the school type their children were attending.

To identify the meanings of cosmopolitan capital, I analysed 35 interviews with parents. Of these 35 families, 25 had a child that attended an internationalised stream. The focus of the analysis is mainly on these 25 families. However, we will also consider the other families in which no child attended an internationalised stream (for an overview of the interviewed parents, see Table I- 3 in Appendix I).

The quotes of parents are either spontaneously expressed in the course of the interview or in response to my questions about their international orientation and whether they think an international orientation is of importance for their children these days. The analysis of the interviews was designed to trace the different appearances, the varieties of cosmopolitanism. While I will indicate below how many respondents fitted in a certain category or pattern that emerged from the data, I do not mean to suggest that such numerical distribution is representative for the population. The numbers only serve to indicate the number of interviews upon which a certain analysis is based. Obviously, I am not concerned with numerical relationships here, the small size of the sample does not allow us to make robust statistical inferences anyhow. What I will be looking for are different appearances of 'cosmopolitanism'. Therefore, even if a certain finding concerns a small number of cases, it is worth taking a closer look at it since it might provide an illuminating contrast. In the following section, I will present fragments of interviews. The aim of presenting quotes is not

to prove that the interviewees actually said these things but to show how I arrived at a particular analysis of the interviews, how I derived their cosmopolitanism. However, I only use quotes that represent themes that were expressed in different wordings but in a similar vein by (a selection of) other parents. When a quote refers to a rather exceptional utterance within the sample of analysed interviews, this will be mentioned (again exceptional cases can be illuminating).

I will first provide a categorisation of the types of cosmopolitanism that emerged from the interview data. I found two types of cosmopolitanism: a dedicated one and an instrumental one. Depending on the version of cosmopolitanism that parents adopted, they differed in the degree that cosmopolitan capital was deployed to distinguish them from others and the extent with which they evaluated the school their children went to. I will first describe the dedicated form, and then turn my attention to the instrumental one.

Dedicated cosmopolitans

A minority of the interviewed parents and couples (7 of the 35 interviews) showed themselves to be dedicated cosmopolitans, or ‘world citizens’. They themselves had travelled a lot, spoke at least one foreign language fluently and had lived abroad, sometimes in various countries. Unsurprisingly, these parents had children at internationalised streams, except for two (in one case a son who dropped out from the internationalised stream and went to a regular pre-university stream, in the other case the son did not meet the admission criteria for the internationalised stream). What does this dedicated cosmopolitanism look like? One couple had taken the expression the ‘world is my home’ quite literally: one long wall of their living room was covered entirely by a blown-up map of the world. While I studied it, the father, a primary school teacher, said:

Oh no! Don't ask me to talk about my travels! We have been roaming all over the world. Getting to know foreign cultures and languages. Travelling is in our blood. We try to encourage that in our children as well. I have been living abroad and later we hiked a lot with the kids (19).

After this display of cosmopolitan credentials, the couple (the mother was a housewife) continued to explain why their children should appropriate a certain cosmopolitan state of mind:

Father: We would not be surprised if, someday, one of them goes to live abroad for a while, for me that's just normal. Mother: It's easy, that's what it is. Today, there are so many more opportunities than there used to be. Look, our eldest son is going to study the languages of South-East Asia, well there might not be that many jobs for him here in the

Netherlands, so you have to be prepared to look beyond the borders (19).

Cosmopolitanism here means the willingness and the ability to look beyond borders; to regard going abroad some time as normal. In a similar vein, the next father, a telecom engineer who recently became jobless, the mother a housewife, emphasised that his cosmopolitan point of view partly determined school choice. In his eyes, children should learn that the world is much bigger than the Netherlands. His son did not meet the entrance criteria for the internationalised stream and now attended the regular pre-university stream of the same school.

I mean, we don't live on an island in Europe, we are an international community, all of us... and the Netherlands can't do it alone. And I find, it's open, there's an outward perspective [at the school, DW] and that I find very important in choosing a school. For the children it's so important that you have an eye for what happens outside (23).

Again, children should be taught to look beyond the borders. The Netherlands provides too restricted a perspective and the school's approach should fit within that viewpoint. What's more, it should contribute to the broadening of perspective. This was a shared vision among dedicated cosmopolitans. The eldest son of the couple mentioned in the fragment of nr. 19 above, attended a gymnasium stream at the time of the interview. When he started secondary education, there was no internationalised stream available in the area. But their youngest son took his chance and went to the then newly-founded internationalised stream at the same school. These parents appreciated the attempts of the staff of the internationalised stream to impart an international outlook in their child:

Mother: I think the staff sets the example for the pupils, those teachers all went abroad... I hear the stories: oh the staff is now off to... they participate in exchange programmes themselves. I think that's a good thing, they try to hand that down a bit. Yes, I think that's good. Naturally, they're young, but still they can go abroad for a study. Take A for example [youngest son], he could easily do that, I don't know if he actually is going to do it, but for him, it's not such a big step anymore (19).

On the whole however, parents differed considerably in the degree to which they thought internationalised streams imparted an 'international outlook' in their children. Although the mother in the previous fragment thought the staff tried to hand down a certain cosmopolitan state of mind, other parents were less impressed in this respect. Whether schools are thought to contribute to the cosmopolitanisation of their children or not, a common element of the dedicated cosmopolitans' socialisation practices was to teach children to be flexible and open-minded. These features are highly valued among the dedicated cosmopolitans. Take for example the following mother who worked in a florist's, her husband was an account manager

at a wine trading company. They had two daughters who attended an internationalised stream. In the fragment, the mother explained how she had learned to deal with other nationalities in her youth and how she had benefited later in life from the flexibility that she had developed as a consequence of her cosmopolitan experiences.

My father [a military officer at Nato] always worked abroad, that's why I went to international schools. I lived in Belgium and went to the French school, or I mean at that international school the language spoken was French. I lived in Germany for a while and there we spoke German and later English at school. I have been raised amidst many nationalities. At the time, I lived amidst fourteen nationalities. My friends were always foreigners. That's how I was raised. Apart from the fact that I had an interesting life, I learned about different cultures at an early age and I have learned to adapt to the circumstances, well, I simply had to. Sometimes we moved year after year, the longest stay was five years. But I have learned to adapt to different cultures. Various social classes, from high to low. And I still benefit from that. And now again, my husband has to deal with a lot of nationalities at his work. He often goes abroad. People from other countries often visit us. Yes, I adapt, I speak the languages. That makes life easy (29).

Clearly, an important feature of cosmopolitanism was not only to be prepared to go beyond borders, but also to be prepared to adapt to the situation, to be flexible. As the dedicated cosmopolitans had been confronted with foreign cultures themselves, they have experienced the importance of an open mind and they want to transfer this disposition to their children.

Note, by the way, that none of the parents interviewed literally mentioned the word cosmopolitanism. It is my decision to frame their utterances in such a term. For the interviewed dedicated cosmopolitans, then, cosmopolitanism is first and foremost a mental disposition about taking the world as their horizon, to dare to look and go beyond borders, and to be open to foreign languages and cultures. The common attitude was that borders should not impede the future plans of their children. If there are opportunities abroad, they should take their chance and go. Although this 'globalisation of the mind' can be safely described as a mental disposition, such a term fails to capture the intensity of what also might be called their 'belief'. This was true for all seven dedicated cosmopolitans interviewed. They have a message, especially directed to their children: the world is there to be explored. For this reason, I labelled them dedicated cosmopolitans. A typical characteristic of dedicated cosmopolitans is their 'globalised mind'. They have incorporated the world into their perspectives on society as well as on their children's course of life. This 'openness' demands flexibility and the capacity to feel at ease within foreign cultural contexts. And this is what the dedicated cosmopolitans try to teach their children. It is indeed the core of Hannerz's (2000: 103) normative description of 'a more genuine cosmopolitanism': 'an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails an intellectual and aesthetic openness toward

divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity'. It follows that their global horizon also leads the dedicated cosmopolitans to praise cultural diversity, as the following fragment illustrates. Here a mother is speaking who worked as a policy-maker of developmental aid. Her husband was as an engineer. They and their two children, the daughter at an internationalised stream, the son at primary school, had lived abroad in various developing countries.

I think we all gain when we really open our minds to foreign cultures, I experienced that personally when we lived in South America. The richness of other cultures... we should appreciate it and I see it as surplus value (4).

But how do parents impart such 'genuine cosmopolitanism' in their children? How do they open their children's minds to foreign cultures? In the following fragment, the mother, nr. 29 quoted above who had attended international schools in her youth, pointed out that her children were raised with their mother's example, whose message was that one can benefit from cosmopolitan assets. In an effort to explain why their children so very much wanted to go to the internationalised stream, she said:

I went to foreign schools myself in my youth, I attended international schools. I don't know how but this experience often came back here in my own family, with my daughters. I have benefited a lot from it, and I still benefit from it now. I have always.. raised my children with the idea, that it is so very convenient to speak foreign languages. And well, they simply love English. My eldest daughter always had the wish to go to Australia. For her, going to the internationalised stream was a now or never thing (29).

Apparently, the transfer of the cosmopolitan mental disposition 'sneaks' in while children are growing up. But the other dedicated cosmopolitans indicated that they also used a more explicit transfer of cosmopolitan assets. They had an urge to confront their children with foreign cultures. When I asked a father, manager at a large cluster of vocational schools, whether his international activities at work related to the fact that his daughter was attending an internationalised stream, he reacted:

I always took care that my daughter had opportunities to experience all kinds of developments.. different groups of people, different countries.. I went around the whole world with her, we travelled a lot (6).

Parents arranged cultural shocks to impart a cosmopolitan cultural openness in their children. In the following fragment, a South American father (a jobless computer engineer) and a Dutch mother (housewife, Spanish teacher) said they took their daughter to visit the homeland of the father and their globally dispersed family. As they saw it, these trips had resulted in the 'international character' of their daughter, who planned to do foreign aid after her medicine

degree.

Father: We have been to South America. Mother: And we have family everywhere, in the US too, on my side as well as his side of the family. So you go there. International doesn't mean "far" to us. [...] She has seen poverty, she has been there several times. Father: Yes, she's been to Mexico, Colombia, Latin America.... I think her international character has emerged naturally (17).

Note the use of the term 'naturally' here. By saying that the cosmopolitanisation process was natural, this father means that it happened spontaneously. However, this may not be as innocent as it sounds. Obviously, 'natural learning' is just another type of social learning, be it that the 'natural' way of acquiring knowledge via the family is perceived as a higher type of knowledge than the 'bookish' or 'scholastic' way that schools provide (Bourdieu 1984). Consequently, the cultural abilities that are of highest value are those that are learned at a young age within the family and that are hard to acquire for those who 'only' have the education system at their disposal. As I have already touched upon, the power of social and cultural capital, or of its cosmopolitan sub-form for that matter, is its ability to legitimate and therefore also to disqualify certain behaviour. When we look at the quotes by the dedicated cosmopolitans from the perspective of legitimising practices, the including power of cosmopolitanism as a specific form of cultural capital becomes clear. This is, for one, the reason that I was able to identify them as dedicated cosmopolitans in the first place: they took the interview as an opportunity to display their cosmopolitan state of mind.

One could say that there is nothing wrong in saying that people should be open-minded towards foreign cultures, that one should not even think twice about going if there is a chance waiting for you elsewhere in the world and that the confrontation with other cultures is inspiring. However, praising this cosmopolitan way of looking at the world goes together with denouncing 'narrow-mindedness'. The following fragment shows the testimony of another dedicated cosmopolitan. After I had asked her to portray Dutch society with regard to the 'groups of people who live here', this mother of a daughter who attended an internationalised stream and a son at primary school, expanded on the narrow-mindedness of most people and 'especially the ordinary man in the street' and continued:

You have to see things within a larger context. I think this is very important. And you see, we have something like, the Netherlands is just the Netherlands, but in fact we talk about the whole world. So, your view should not be restricted to the Netherlands, for example if you think you will be happy in the US to do something, you should go there. Well, entrepreneurs [her husband owns a bio-technological company], as we are, we have to look beyond the borders. You simply have to deal with it, you cannot have a nice little family business in the Netherlands anymore... that's really something... so you have to see it in a larger perspective. DW: How would you define your position within Dutch society

then? Well... we belong to the group of entrepreneurs with a broad view of course. Who spread their wings as much as possible to achieve as much as possible (8).

This mother clearly added a distinctive edge to her cosmopolitanism. A similar denunciation of people with ‘limited horizons’ or ‘who fail to see that the world is larger than the Netherlands’ appeared in the interviews with the other dedicated cosmopolitans.

Another way in which cosmopolitanism is used to close off others appeared in one interview only. I will go into it rather extensively, as it shows the limits of the cosmopolitan ideology of open-mindedness. We return to mother nr. 29 (the one who went to international schools in Belgium and Germany). This particular case shows that the ‘the willingness to engage with others’ (Hannerz 2000: 103) depends on what kind of foreign culture there is to be adapted to. As it turned out during the interview, her daughters were pressing her to allow them to go to the internationalised stream. The mother didn’t like the school in the first instance: ‘lots of trouble, I heard...when I cycled near that school I saw nothing but foreigners there’. Therefore, she didn’t like to see her daughters go there. However, her daughters persuaded her to go to the information meeting, and from that moment all her objections disappeared. With hindsight, she said honestly, she was ashamed about her ‘prejudiced’ behaviour. Apparently, the cultural openness that is proclaimed by cosmopolitan ideology in general and by this mother’s inclination to adapt to other nationalities (see above) has its limits. There are thus different types of foreigners or foreign cultures. Wagner (1998: 32-38) observed that within the cosmopolitan ideology, western or westernised foreigners are interesting, attractive, and welcome. But there are also foreigners who should be avoided. According to Wagner, the multicultural ideology that surrounds cosmopolitanism is class-biased: expatriates from poor countries (‘ethnic minority groups’ or ‘immigrant workers’) are to be avoided, while those from rich countries (‘expatriates’) are interesting and provide opportunities to learn about the richness of the ‘Other’.

Instrumental cosmopolitans

So far, I have explored the dedicated cosmopolitans extensively. I now turn to the instrumental cosmopolitans. These parents had often had cosmopolitan work experiences and therefore saw the advantages of appropriating cosmopolitan assets, mainly learning English at a high level. But they did not relate this to a vision of a world without borders that is open, to be explored for everyone, or to a dedication to cultural openness. They stressed the advantages of cosmopolitanisation for the future of their children and regarded cosmopolitan assets as an instrument for a later career or study. For these parents, the advantages of

attending an internationalised stream were predominantly regarded from an instrumental viewpoint. I counted ten such instrumental cosmopolitans, all of whom had a child at an internationalised stream or, in one case, children who intended going there but eventually went to the regular pre-university stream (see nr. 24, below).

A father and mother, both with a doctorate degree in the social sciences, explained why they were interested in the internationalised stream. Their sons, however, ended up at the regular pre-university stream of the same school because they found the internationalised stream too demanding and also because they thought they had already learned English at a high enough level.

Mother: We have lived in the UK and that's why we were interested in the internationalised stream. Father: Because we went abroad on a regular basis for extended periods we see the advantages of knowing your way around in other countries and other languages... and to be really fluent in another language. In that sense, I am attracted to that internationalised stream. On the other hand, I agree with my sons that, by having lived abroad, we have already provided them with these things (24).

Another example is provided by a father who worked as an account manager at a bank, his wife was a remedial teacher. He had experienced the internationalisation of business and is glad his daughter went to the internationalised stream:

We have read several articles in which it was stated that internationalised streams slowly but surely will take the place of gymnasiums. In any case, I think that you benefit enormously when you learn English fluently. In business, in studies, it's all English... so I am glad she's going to the internationalised stream (1).

A typical characteristic of instrumental cosmopolitans is that they restrict cosmopolitanism to learning English and that they speak of appropriating this asset as a competitive advantage. In the following fragment, a father (owner of a consultancy business, mother a medical specialist) frames the advantages of the advanced mastery of English for his daughter in rather economical terms:

We have friends who speak their languages well.. we went to America on holiday. I think it's important to be fluent in English, that you can write English well, that you are literate in that language. Of course, you can go to a high school in the US to learn the language. But here [at the internationalised stream] they teach you to read and speak in English perfectly, they are being educated in English literature, they take examinations in English at native level. This all means they can go to the UK to study, or to America. It increases your chances. And that surplus value, to say it like that, I think it's a very profitable investment (28).

Seven of the ten instrumental cosmopolitans were managers or, in the above fragment, owners of a firm. They all saw the learning of English at a very high level as a 'head start' or a 'lead'.

Such an attitude might follow from their competitive working environment, but this is a rather speculative interpretation. While some of the instrumental cosmopolitans possessed quite a large amount of cosmopolitan assets themselves or had partners who did so, they did not relate the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets by their children to their own cosmopolitan background. The following mother (a housewife, her husband a consultant at an American multinational ICT company), who had three sons at an internationalised stream, explained the advantages of learning English and put this in an educational rather than a cosmopolitan perspective.

We thought something like, well, you'll always have an advantage if your English is fluent. If various subjects are taught in English, then you also get used to the jargon of that subject in English. Then you don't have to check your dictionary for each sentence, what's this, what's that [...] Concerning the internationalised stream, we thought something like, if you go there, then learning will be so easy.. it will become just normal to read a book in English for your study, so that you won't have problems with it, in any case you gained a head start. If you go to university anyhow, well then English is useful (18).

Note that this mother not only emphasises the practical use of learning English on a high level for a study later, she also mentions that it gives her children a head start, a competitive edge. Interestingly, her husband had accumulated a large amount of cosmopolitan capital.

My husband grew up in an English boarding school in India. His parents were missionaries. They were born in The Hague, were married in South Africa, worked in Indonesia and India...His family is everywhere: in England, South Africa. But I'm as Dutch as can be! (18).

Despite the strong international background of her husband, this mother was certainly not a dedicated cosmopolitan. She saw the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets only in a limited and very practical way: learning English to obtain an advantage at university (she means: a university in the Netherlands) where the subject matter is often in English. While most instrumental cosmopolitans were not particularly interested in the opportunities for their children to go abroad, there were three instrumental cosmopolitans who even denied that learning English could function as a preparation for a future abroad.

I think it's a useful skill to learn a language at such a high level. She can write a text, she can write an academic text in English. She knows the words. That's an advantage, whatever occupation she chooses. Especially in these international times. But I don't think you have to leave the Netherlands to profit from it. No, it's not a conscious prospect, like "oh, she can go abroad whenever she likes", no, not at all (20).

Two of these three instrumental cosmopolitans even indicated that they were afraid of the idea that their children would go abroad. One of them (a housewife, father a top manager at a large

multinational consultancy firm), started by saying that working conditions at multinational firms demand advanced English skills:

Mother: Later he [son] wants to have a job like his father has. And his father sometimes says that speaking English used to be very problematic for him. When he had to deliver a speech in the past... he used to sweat over it for nights! DW: What kind of job does your husband have? Mother: He works at X, in the ICT department. It's an international firm so everywhere... everything's in English. DW: So your husband saw the advantages of the internationalised stream? Mother: He thought: WOW, I should have got that chance! (15).

This mother's case is interesting as she had wanted to prevent her children from gaining expatriate experience. Although this case is exceptional, I quote her at length, because these fragments throw light on perceived disadvantages of cosmopolitanism, which is what dedicated cosmopolitans might call 'narrow-mindedness'. Whereas dedicated cosmopolitans pride themselves on their international experience, this mother perceives going abroad as potentially damaging to the relationships with her parents and her children:

We once had the chance to live abroad for two years. I didn't want to go, the children were small, I didn't want them to go to the international school abroad, and my parents, well they live close by and when something happens you're so far away (15).

Later in the interview, it also turned out that she did not like the idea of her son going abroad:

At his school, they say to pupils that they can go to any university in the world if they want to. They really... they are throwing pupils out, into the wide world. That scares me... See, he might get involved with an American girl or something like that and then... bye, mom! (15).

Another mother (education policy advisor) suddenly realised that her son was more cosmopolitan than she wanted him to be:

Yeah, and they say they are citizens of the world, in a way. Like, you can go abroad to study if you want to and all that. And that attracted him very much. He didn't like the idea of going to school in the Netherlands and then studying in the Netherlands. No, it was more like, "Ah, that's nice, I'll go to the States" straight away. He doesn't like the idea of being predestined to stay here. And then I thought, we'll just see what happens. But now, when he's away in a couple of months, I will be like: "Oh shit, I will miss him so much" (25).

While the instrumental cosmopolitans value the advanced mastery of English very much, they do so because such assets will provide an advantage to their children in Dutch higher education and in career opportunities in the Netherlands. As such, their cosmopolitanism offers much fewer opportunities for ideological distinction.

Parents of children attending a gymnasium on cosmopolitanism

To conclude this section, I will go into the role that gymnasiums play here. Clearly, parents of children attending a gymnasium did not talk that much about cosmopolitanism during the interviews. Three of these parents, who knew about the local internationalised stream, pictured it as if only children of dedicated cosmopolitans went there. The following couple had a child in the gymnasium stream and another one in the regular pre-university stream at the school that also provided the internationalised stream.

Father: Well, the children who go there, in the internationalised stream, they have parents who have lived abroad, or who themselves lived abroad. Those children were raised with different languages and communicated in those languages and that obviously doesn't go for my children. Well, yes my mother speaks English with me. Mother: But that's not enough to go to the internationalised stream (11).

Most of the parents of children attending a gymnasium were simply not interested in providing their child with cosmopolitan assets. In some families (nos. 10, 19, 22, and 27) one child went to a gymnasium and the other to an internationalised stream. In those cases, the benefits of attending an internationalised stream were compared to going to a gymnasium. The following mother is a PhD candidate, the father works as a documentary filmmaker, the eldest child (a son) attended a gymnasium, their daughter went to an internationalised stream. The mother compared the two school types:

X [name of daughter] goes to the "modern gymnasium", as it is called. I think it really has something. It's fine to learn Greek and Latin, but you don't do anything with it after you have finished school and it takes a whole lot of time and energy just to enhance your general knowledge. Then it's better to do something like she's doing (10).

Interestingly, in all the families with a child at both gymnasium and at an internationalised stream, the youngest child went to the internationalised stream. In two cases parents indicated that they preferred the internationalised stream, for reasons that no. 10 gave above, but that there was no opportunity to go to an internationalised stream at the time the eldest child went to secondary school. In the other two cases, it was said that the youngest child was not suited for a gymnasium, because the child found the gymnasium boring or because it was not eager to learn about the classics and 'would never read a book for fun, although he can learn well'.

From the statistical analyses, we know that children of parents who engage in current cosmopolitan behaviour have a higher chance of going to an internationalised stream rather than a gymnasium. Furthermore, we know that when one or both of the parents have attended a gymnasium themselves, the chances of their children going to a gymnasium increases. What happens when these two characteristics come together in one family? What kind of capital

should then be enhanced by school? The following fragment serves to show that the importance of investments in cosmopolitan capital of the dedicated cosmopolitans is not shared by most parents of pupils who attend internationalised streams, even for this mother, who convincingly displayed her (husband's) cosmopolitan credentials early in the interview:

My husband is quite often abroad for his work [...] we lived four years in Africa, my husband's English is as good as his Dutch, he is fluent in French, he understands Italian very well, both reading and listening, he has a mastery of German...we have Swiss friends, English friends...(13).

But regarding the school choice of their son, who wanted to go to the internationalised stream, both she and her husband had their doubts:

At the internationalised stream, they did not teach Dutch history, but history of the world, they are so international, I did regret that a bit. And my husband, he attended a gymnasium himself, he was in favour of him going to a gymnasium, although he found the internationalised stream interesting (13).

Thus they also went to visit the gymnasium nearby, but the father was disappointed:

He had hoped that the school would provide our son with music, a lot of culture and the classics. But he felt it was like just a regular school, with Greek and Latin added (13).

Although 'eventually, their son made the choice', father's disappointment made the decision to go to the internationalised stream easier. This case, for one, shows that the statistical relationships that we found in the previous sections are not the result of actors who seemingly automatically respond to the assets on which their class position is based. Obviously, attending a certain school type depends on many more factors and considerations of parents and children involved. Nevertheless, the interview material that was presented in this section also made clear that parents, whether they are instrumental cosmopolitans or dedicated cosmopolitans, are fully aware of the sociological fact that cosmopolitanism is a source of power. However, they would not describe the importance of the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets for the future of their children in such terms.

Languages of distinction

The niches that both gymnasium and internationalised streams occupy, at least at first sight, are defined by languages: classical languages versus English. On several occasions during my visits to the schools, I was confronted with the power of distinction that these languages entail. These events help to clarify how forms of capital are used to create boundaries so as to close off others. At one school, a school manager warned me not to bother about the teacher of classical languages in whose class I would distribute questionnaires. According to the school manager he would 'surely test me out by starting the conversation in old Greek' and so he did. On another occasion, I agreed with a headmaster to collect data on March 15. He then said: 'So you will be here on the Ides of March'. As I looked puzzled and asked him to explain this, it was clear to him that I lacked the gymnasium education necessary to decode his message. After having explained that Caesar was murdered on that day, he started a monologue about the importance of knowledge of classical antiquity. Pupils as well, the youngest in particular, were apt to test me out or to comment on my below-par language skills. At gymnasiums, it sometimes happened that I was asked to indicate the meaning of certain expressions in Latin, like 'Sir, do you know what *nomen est omen* means?', 'Have you ever heard about *veni, vidi, vici*?'. It was clear from the other pupils' behaviour (giggling, trying to protect me—don't worry about him, sir!—or disqualifying the question: 'we just had that in class, dope') this was not about helping them out with their school work. At internationalised streams, I used to explain the questionnaire in English. This led children to comment on my pronunciation: 'I really hear you are Dutch!' or: 'You have such an accent!' and: 'You never went to an internationalised stream yourself, did you, I can hear that'.

The importance of cosmopolitanisation

I will now try to take the analysis of the relationship between the desire of parents to provide their children with cosmopolitan assets, their social class background, and the school types a step further. Above, we found that upper middle-class parents possessed more cosmopolitan assets. Within the upper middle class, parents whose children went to internationalised streams had higher amounts of cosmopolitan capital. However, it also emerged that there was no significant relationship between membership of the upper middle class and having a child at an internationalised stream. I concluded then that the wish to provide children with cosmopolitan assets is not restricted to upper middle-class parents who already possess cosmopolitan capital themselves. Let us see if this conclusion holds when we approach the question from a slightly different angle. I have tried to measure the importance that parents attach to the cosmopolitanisation of their children in a direct way by asking them to evaluate four propositions on a seven-point scale (1=completely disagree to 7=completely agree): 'A study abroad is important for the development of my child'; 'For many interesting jobs, international experience is indispensable'; 'It is necessary for the future of my child that he or she acquires an outstanding fluency in English'; 'A study abroad is necessary for the future of my child' (Cronbach's alpha 0.74). These are rather bold propositions. They fit within the mental disposition of the dedicated cosmopolitans above. But they also refer to a relation

between the child's future and the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets. In the case of upper middle-class children, the crux of the future is: continuation of class position or generational decline. As Ball (2003: 74) has put it, middle-class ambitions concerning their children's education are characterised by 'urgent futurity'. As such, these statements appeal to the anxiety that surrounds the relationship between education and socialisation practices of the middle classes (Ball 2003: chapter 7; Ball and Vincent 2001; Ehrenreich 1989; Reay 2000). The question here is: to what degree do parents agree with this fearful cosmopolitan's vision?

Table 4-3 Importance of cosmopolitanisation by class position and school type

	Gym.	Inter.	Regular	Δ gym. vs. inter. ^{a)}	Δ gym. vs. reg. ^{a)}	Δ inter. vs. reg. ^{a)}	N
Upper middle class (s.d.)	4.34 (1.05)	4.54 (0.98)	4.37 (1.03)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	396
Other classes (s.d.)	4.15 (1.09)	4.46 (1.07)	3.95 (1.02)	p=0.086	n.s.	p<0.001	388

Source: surveys of parents a) Analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests.

A score of about four indicates the neutral midpoint of the seven-point rating scales. As the scores presented in the table were predominantly close to four, the parents, on average, neither agreed nor disagreed with the propositions. Within the category of upper middle-class parents, no significant differences between school types appeared. Regarding parents of other social class backgrounds, however, it turned out that parents of pupils at internationalised streams were significantly more in favour of the cosmopolitanisation of their children. Actually their score was even higher, albeit that the difference was non-significant, than upper middle-class parents of children attending gymnasiums and regular pre-university streams. This latter finding provides another indication that internationalised streams might be perceived as a site for the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets for offspring with climbing potential from households that do not belong to the upper middle class. So far, so good. Is this not rather obvious? I think not. The point is that I propose that the desire to provide children with cosmopolitan assets is true, independent of membership of the upper middle class and the possession of cosmopolitan capital. In more general sociological terms: in my view, internationalised streams attract ambitious households (both children and their parents) that perceive the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets as a way of increasing the chances of intergenerational upward mobility.

To put this idea to the test, I carried out another path analysis. This time I tried to predict the degree to which parents agreed with the above-mentioned propositions about the

cosmopolitanisation of their child. If my proposition is correct, I expect to find an independent effect of attending an internationalised stream, while taking into account membership of the upper middle class and the amount of cosmopolitan assets. Furthermore, I expect that parental ambitions have a positive effect on the degree to which parents appreciate the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets for the future of their child, again independent of class position.

I asked parents a series of questions aimed at capturing their ambitions regarding the school work and achievements of their children and I will treat the responses to these questions as a measure of their level of ambitions for the future of their children in general. I do not regard this as a problem: all ambitions regarding school work are ultimately ambitions regarding the future of the child since education and the child's future are inextricably linked with each other. These ambitions are measured on a scale consisting of nine seven-point rating scales (ranking from 1=completely disagree to 7=completely agree): 'I would like my child to have to do complex tasks for school'; 'I don't care whether my child likes to do schoolwork or not, it is simply a task to be done'; 'I would like to see my child performing better than other children'; 'I am disappointed when my child fails an exam'; 'A sound education is the best thing parents can give their children'; 'I ask my child how well it is doing at school compared to his or her classmates'; 'I am proud when my child scores a high mark'; 'I demand that my child works hard for school'; 'When my child fails an exam once in a while, that does not really disturb me' (scores for this item were reversed) (Cronbach's alpha 0.66).

In addition to the characteristics of establishment that were used above, I included other variables that pertain to the child's characteristics: gender (boy=0, girl=1) and the class a child attended (final class=0, first class=1). The average age of children attending the first year is 12.7 (s.d 0.93), of those attending the last year it is 17.5 (s.d. 0.70).³¹ These variables have to be included in the analyses because they may be interfering with the relationships between social class, attending an internationalised stream, and the perceived need to provide children with cosmopolitan assets. Table 4-4 gives an overview of predicted relationships.

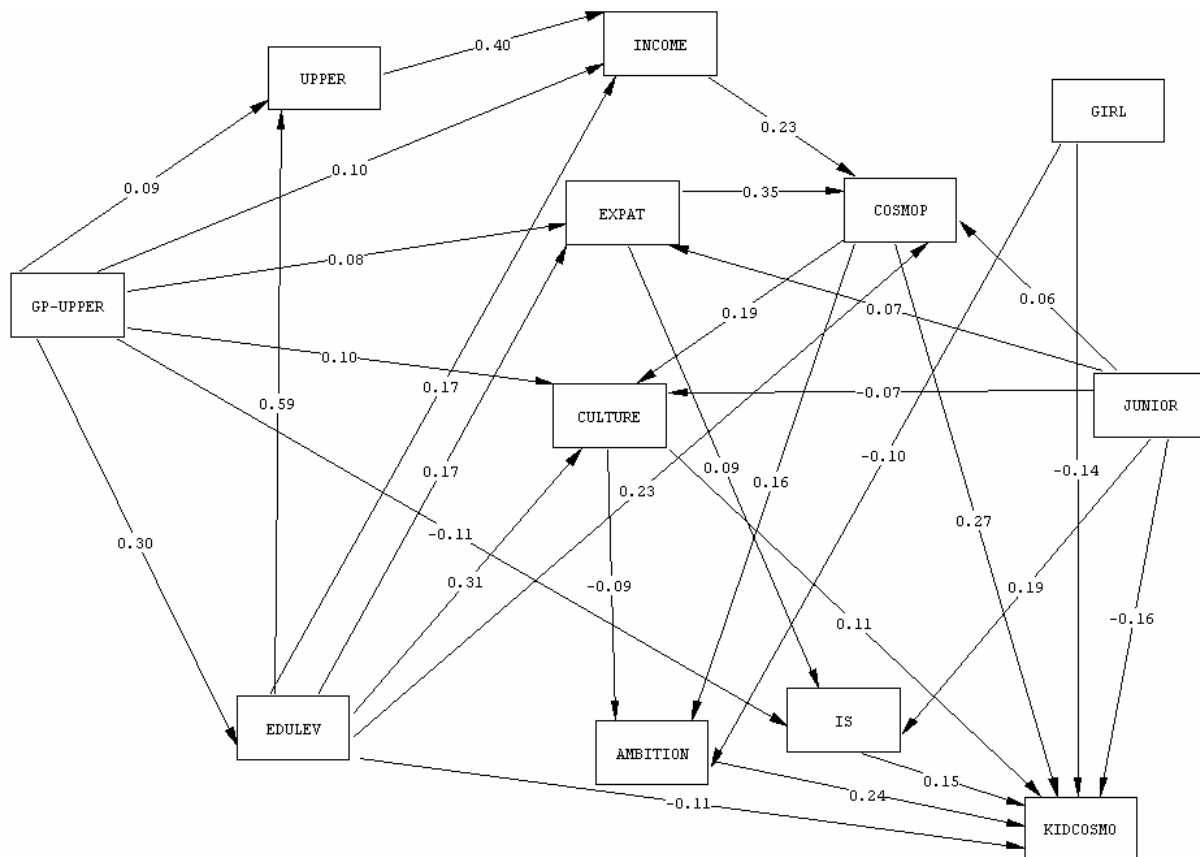
Table 4-4 Parents’ characteristics and the importance they attach to the cosmopolitanisation of their child

	Importance of cosmopolitanisation
Parental cosmopolitanism	+
Parental establishment	0
Child at internationalised stream	+
Parental ambitions	+

Note that the expected positive relationship between parental cosmopolitanism and the importance that parents attach to the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets by their children is regarded as the ‘pure relationship’. Pure, in the sense that it is freed from effects of variables that intervene in this relationship: social class, indicators of establishment, parental educational level, place of residence and features of the child. Although we can never be certain that all variables that matter are included in the analysis, the main point is that parental cosmopolitanism is predicted to have an independent effect, uncoupled from the variables that intermingle between parental cosmopolitanism and how they value the cosmopolitanisation of their children. I also expect that the measures of establishment do not have effects on the desire to cosmopolitanise children, as established households are more likely to build their children’s future on established assets. The positive effect of attending an internationalised stream may be obvious, but again the expected relationship is the effect that is uncoupled from a series of intervening variables. Finally, parental ambitions are expected to relate positively to the parental desire to cosmopolitanise their children because, as we have seen, the transnational trajectory is more open to competition and there are less opportunities for ‘competition rigging’ (Brown 2000). Such environments demands a more competitive attitude, which attracts more ambitious parents.

In Figure 4-4, the block KIDCOSMO indicates the scale designed to capture the degree to which parents value the importance of the cosmopolitanisation for the future of their child. AMBITION concerns the scale that captures parental ambitions regarding school work. The meaning of the other blocks corresponds to those of previous figures.

Figure 4-4 Path analysis of the importance of cosmopolitanisation, standardized effects (N=782)



Source: survey of parents, $\chi^2=46.64$, $df=33$, $p=0.058$, 90% confidence interval for RMSEA=0.0-0.037, AGFI=0.98; Method of estimation is ML.

I am repeating myself when I say that the output of the path analysis demands some patient unravelling. However, one thing is obvious: there was, among all intervening interrelationships, a positive direct effect (0.15, $b=0.33$, $s.e.=0.07$) of attending an internationalised stream (IS) on the degree that parents value the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets for the future of their child (KIDCOSMO). To be clear, this effect was the ‘pure’—as far as we can rely on all relevant intervening characteristics being included in the model—effect of internationalised streams. A pure effect, in the sense that it was free from any ‘disturbing’ relationships with parental social class, their level of ambitions, their cosmopolitan capital, age and gender of the child, and so on and so forth.

Obviously too, the more cosmopolitan assets that households have at their disposal, the more they wish to provide their children with such assets. Current parental cosmopolitan behaviour (COSMOP) had a large direct effect of 0.27 ($b=0.25$, $s.e.=0.03$) and a smaller indirect effect of 0.05 that flowed through parental ambitions (AMBITION) ($0.16 \times 0.24 =$

approx. 0.05). In fact, current cosmopolitan behaviour resulted in the largest effect on the perceived need of the cosmopolitanisation of children. Being an ex-expatriate yielded a total effect of 0.13 ($b=0.33$, $s.e.=0.04$). The greater part of this effect (77%) flowed via current cosmopolitan behaviour, while the rest went through the choice for attending an internationalised stream (12%), and via cosmopolitan behaviour through, again, parental ambitions (11%).

What about the measures of establishment and the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets? First, I turn to the effect of grandparental membership of the upper middle class. A few words will do for our purposes: when all indirect effects are taken together, it turned out that there was no significant relationship between grandparents' membership of the upper middle class and the importance that parents attach to the acquisition of cosmopolitan assets. The second indicator of establishment is parental participation in highbrow cultural behaviour. Contrary to the prediction, this variable had a positive effect of 0.09 ($b=0.12$, $s.e.=0.05$). This total effect consisted of a direct positive effect of 0.11 that is reduced by an indirect path that flowed through parental ambitions ($-0.09*0.24=-0.02$). The third measure of establishment concerned parental membership of the upper middle class. The indirect effects (via income, through cosmopolitan behaviour and parental ambitions) amounted to only 0.03 ($b=0.06$, $s.e.=0.01$) but taken together they were positive and significant. Hence the prediction proved wrong with regard to this indicator as well.

I also predicted that there was a positive relationship between parental ambitions and the perceived need to provide their children with cosmopolitan assets. This prediction proved correct, the effect of parental ambitions of 0.24 ($b=0.32$, $s.e.=0.04$) even had the largest predicting power after parental cosmopolitan behaviour. My suggestion would be that these ambitions stem from anxiety. Such anxiety could be a consequence of the higher degree of openness of the cosmopolitan route. Consequently, the competition for privileged positions that are tied to transnational arenas might be fiercer, which could be resulting in a higher level of ambitions. In that case, I expect that the more cosmopolitan capital that parents possess, the more experience with competitive transnational arenas they have, the more ambitious they are. Indeed, both current cosmopolitan behaviour as well as being an ex-expatriate had significant effects on the degree of parental ambitions.

This brings me to a final word on gender. Being a girl had marked effects on both ambitions of parents and how they valued the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets for the future of their children. Although such a finding is in line with a host of research about gender differences in education, I find it rather surprising to see gender differences at work among

this particular generation of parents. Also, gender differences were clearly not an issue in the interviews. But cosmopolitanism is in fact a highly gendered activity. Within expatriate families it is more often than not the man who was offered a job abroad. Their partners go with them and take up their role in the network of institutions that transfer the transnational culture. There they participate in running the international schools, play a role in churches of the motherland abroad, organise charity funding, cultural events, parties and dinners, and of course they look after the children (see for a detailed account Wagner 1998: 163-178).

Conclusion

While established and cosmopolitan assets often go together in the total package of powers of the upper middle class, we have seen in this chapter that gymnasiums and internationalised streams were separating both types of assets. Thus upper middle-class households have to show their true colours when their children possess the scholastic capabilities to attend either a gymnasium or an internationalised stream: what assets need to be taken into account when households make decisions with regard to the future of their child?

The possession of cosmopolitan assets had the effect of pushing parents away from gymnasiums, pulling them towards internationalised streams and, remarkably, to a lesser extent also pulling them towards regular pre-university streams. This is not to say that gymnasium parents are not cosmopolitan: it emerged that they were only slightly less cosmopolitan than parents of children attending internationalised streams. But the cosmopolitanism of the former is a consequence of their upper middle-class position. In fact, we found that the current established upper middle class was drawing on both its established and cosmopolitan assets in domestic social arenas, while they had lived abroad less often. This means that while the established upper middle class cannot do without cosmopolitan assets, they prefer their children to accumulate established assets at gymnasiums.

The possession of established assets, the most prominent of which were grandparental membership of the upper middle class and parental membership of the Corps, did not affect the chance of going to an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream. Obviously, they reduced the chance of going to an internationalised stream rather than a gymnasium. Interestingly, parental membership of the upper middle class did not make a difference regarding whether children attended an internationalised stream as opposed to a regular pre-university stream or even a gymnasium. Furthermore, we also found that the possession of cosmopolitan assets was only slightly related to the possession of established

assets. In addition, in chapter 2 we already saw that in an internationalised stream, the proportion of upwardly mobile parents was highest of all three school types. Could we therefore say that the separating of established and cosmopolitan assets, or the co-existence of internationalised streams and gymnasiums is a reflection of the competition between an old social elite and a new one?

I think this is indeed what is actually happening. While parents of children attending a gymnasium were on the whole only slightly less cosmopolitan than their counterparts at internationalised streams, it emerged that within the upper middle class, parents of children who attended internationalised streams had markedly more cosmopolitan assets. My conclusion is then that there is an upwardly mobile fraction of the upper middle class that bases its class position more on cosmopolitan assets than on established assets. And there is another fraction of the upper middle class that also possesses cosmopolitan assets and uses them in domestic social arenas, but generally relies more on its established forms of power. The first fraction puts its trusts in internationalised streams for the future of their children, the second on gymnasiums.

However, this is not the whole story. Whereas the upper middle-class parents of the children who attended internationalised streams were social climbers themselves, their non-upper middle-class counterparts perceived the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets as necessary for the future of their children. For them, the aim of acquiring cosmopolitan assets would be to propel their offspring with climbing ambitions into higher positions. Given their lack of both ‘competition rigging’ and ‘competition ranking’ powers in domestic arenas (Brown 2000), the transnational social arenas for privileged positions provide them with a relatively more level playing field. This is so because these transnational social arenas are (still) less liable to competition rigging. In other words, the transnational pathway might be perceived as a more open road to upper middle-class positions.

The relative openness of the cosmopolitan pathway to upper middle-class positions requires a more competitive spirit; the more cosmopolitan assets parents possessed, the more ambitious they were with regard to their children’s schoolwork. In turn, the higher their ambitions, the more importance they attached to the cosmopolitanisation of their children. More specifically, both parental ambitions and the perceived value of the acquisition of cosmopolitan assets were higher for boys than for girls.

The relationship between parental ambitions and the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets also emerged in interviews with both dedicated and instrumental cosmopolitans. The former tried to impart a ‘globalised mind’ in their children. Dedicated cosmopolitans found it

important for their children to look beyond borders and take their chances abroad. Their parents wanted to make clear to them that they should not hesitate to take up a study or take on a job outside the Netherlands, since ‘the world is there to be explored’. As such, their cosmopolitanism is related to opportunities for the future of their child. In that sense, the cosmopolitan dedication of the parents is ambitious: to provide their children with the best possible opportunities to develop themselves. Or, to be more precise: to teach their children to look for the best possible place to be, without restricting themselves to staying within the borders of the Netherlands.

The instrumental cosmopolitans perceived the cosmopolitanisation of their children in a more limited and less ideological way. Nevertheless, when they came to speak of the advantages of learning English at a very high level, their ambitions came to the fore as well. They saw fluency in English as a head start, a competitive edge. As such, they pictured how cosmopolitan assets would improve the position of their children in future social arenas, like university studies and the domestic labour market. Note that parents implicitly displayed a relational perspective with regard to the future of their child: the internationalised streams would give their children a head start *over others*. This means that these parents had a clear picture of their moral task to provide their children with the best possible package of powers for future competition with peers. The interview data does not allow us to relate this notion of ‘preparing your child for future competition’ with the cosmopolitan experience of parents themselves, but the statistical analyses suggested that such a relationship exists.

While cosmopolitan and established assets turned out to have clear relationships with the school types, these forms of power are not the only resources on which middle-class and upper middle-class households base their position in the socio-economic system of inequality. In the following chapter, I will analyse how property, organisation, and cultural middle-class assets relate to the school types.

5 Capital goes cultural

On middle-class assets and school types

In this chapter I will again look at the schools from the perspective of socio-economic inequalities between households. Here I will apply the assets approach, which arguably provides one of the most theoretically sound conceptualisations of differentiation within the middle class. The assets approach identifies three assets, or sources of power, on which members of the middle class base their position. These cultural assets, organisation assets, and property assets are unequally distributed across the middle class. Therefore, the proponents of this approach speak of three middle classes (Ball 2003; Butler and Savage 1995) that are formed around each of these assets. Cultural assets are the main source of power for professionals, organisation assets for managers, and property assets for entrepreneurs.

The first question this chapter will try to answer is whether there is a relationship between the different middle-class assets on the one hand, and school types on the other hand. Whatever relationships we find, we will still not know how they come about in everyday life: to what degree is social class a meaningful social experience? The available research (Bradley 1996; De Regt and Weenink 2003; Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst 2001) presents an image of class consciousness as a latent, ambivalent or passive identity. Today, people identify themselves to a much lesser extent with a certain social class. They also hesitate to speak about themselves and others in terms of social class. Nevertheless, they often implicitly use their own position, or someone else's in the system of socio-economic inequality as a frame of reference. It is only when people compare themselves to others, or when they feel they need to justify their own behaviour, that their class perspective becomes apparent, often without the word social class explicitly being mentioned. The second question I will try to answer in this chapter is what the middle classes look like in the eyes of the parents themselves. To what extent do they share a middle-class identity? By addressing these issues I hope to contribute to the debate on the middle classes and also to the budding 'sociology of educating the middle class' (Power 2001).

School types and middle-class assets: social reproduction?

Bourdieu (1996) distinguished a division within French higher education (both *universités* and *grandes écoles*) that corresponded to the structure of the inherited capital of students. He found that there were ‘intellectual’ institutions for students endowed with relatively much cultural capital, and ‘establishment’ schools for students who possessed capital that is mainly economic. The division between schools that recognise cultural or economic capital is, according to Bourdieu, a reproduction of the division in the French power structure.³² The division of institutions of higher education that Bourdieu found could also be applied to Dutch pre-university education. De Jong (2000: 5) showed that in both 1995 and 1997, the parents of pupils who followed gymnasium education more often had a university degree than the parents of their peers at regular pre-university streams. She also found that while there were clear differences with regard to parental income in 1995, this difference had disappeared two years later. This led her to conclude that gymnasium education was ‘no longer an elite school in the sense of an economic elite, but more in the sense of an intellectual elite’. However, De Jong did not distinguish between students attending separate gymnasium schools and gymnasium departments that are part of the larger comprehensive schools.

I propose to frame the relationship between the school types under study and the three fractions of the middle class in terms of social reproduction. Consequently, the question is then whether the three school types might be perceived as sites that strengthen the dominant asset of each of these fractions. The assumption here is that households tend to focus their reproduction strategies on the transfer of the asset that is dominant within the total package of powers in a household. By saying that households aim to reproduce the dominant assets I do not mean that parents *consciously* try to provide their children with resources so as to safeguard the intergenerational class continuity. Nevertheless, even if parents’ socialisation practices are not consciously directed towards providing children with assets in order to secure their offspring’s future class position, the result of their parenting might lead to social reproduction any way.

What might the relationships between the three school types and the assets-specific reproduction look like? I have derived predictions about the relationships between the school types and dominant assets of households, following the logic of social reproduction. To what extent would a certain school type contribute to the reproduction of the dominant assets of a household, versus the other two school types? A ‘+’ in Table 5-1 indicates that a certain school type is thought to contribute more to the appropriation of a particular asset than the others. As a consequence, children of the holders of that asset are expected to be specifically

attracted to that school type. A ‘0’ means that a school type does not add to the reproduction of a certain asset. As all three school types can be considered as a first successful entry onto middle-class trajectories, I did not introduce negative preferences.

Table 5-1 Predicted school type by middle-class assets

	Gymnasiums versus other two school types	Internationalised streams versus other two school types	Regular streams versus other two school types
Property	0	0	+
Organisation	0	+	0
Cultural	+	0	0

Note that I formulated these predictions from the viewpoint of the assets holders; I tried to predict the school type that children of entrepreneurs, managers or professionals are most likely to go to. So, the predictions are about the distribution of children within a certain category of assets holders across the school types. I am not concerned with the distribution of the three assets within a certain type of school. Predictions of the sort that say ‘there are more children of professionals than of entrepreneurs at gymnasiums’ are only meaningful if the economic structure of society as a whole is taken into account, as there are simply more professionals than entrepreneurs present in society.

I predicted that children of holders of property assets are not particularly interested in the opportunities for distinction that either gymnasiums or internationalised streams provide. As children of entrepreneurs, they are least dependent on the education system. Moreover, but I admit this is rather speculative, attending a regular pre-university stream might leave them more free time, which could be spent on working in the parent’s business, as a way to teach children the management of future property. In addition, I assume that these households have relatively low cultural capital, which corresponds to an instrumental value orientation that views education as a means to an end (Houtman 2003: 156), which may lead to a preference for the ‘easiest’ route to university. Therefore, the prediction reads that their children, compared to holders of organisation and cultural assets, more often go to regular pre-university streams.

With regard to managers (holders of organisation assets), in order to deploy their organisation assets, they are dependent on cultural assets. To be able to enter management positions in organisations, possession of scarce knowledge is required, often in the form of university credentials. From the reproduction viewpoint I would say that this might lead them

to choose a school that gives their children something extra on top of the standard curriculum. Furthermore, we expect them to be more cosmopolitan (see chapter 1), which corresponds to the approach of the internationalised streams. Hence the prediction that their children are more likely to be found at internationalised streams. To be more precise: the chance that they will go to internationalised streams rather than the other two school types is higher compared to both cultural and property assets holders.

Finally, I assume that parents whose middle-class position is based on cultural assets mainly, are—again compared to the households of entrepreneurs and managers—more likely to send their children to schools that provide them with the most thorough acquisition of legitimate cultural capital, the gymnasiums, rather than sending them to the other school types. Learning Greek and Latin, and being members of the school choirs and orchestras are crucial cultural markers of the classic curriculum of the gymnasium. These markers indicate the willingness to engage in activities that lack practical use, and the celebration of self-expression for the sake of self-expression itself (*l'art pour l'art*). This all corresponds to the value orientation of people with abundant cultural capital, who are probably most likely to perceive the intrinsic merits of education and reject an instrumental view of education (Houtman 2003: 156).

Exploring the relationship between middle-class assets and school types

In order to put the predicted relationships between school types and dominant assets to the test, we have to include other characteristics that intervene in these relationships. The variables included in the analyses are similar to the ones used in the previous chapter, except for the fact that the frequency of actual cosmopolitan behaviour and the frequency of cultural participation are excluded from the analysis. We know from the previous chapter that these variables had significant effects on school types. However, we do not include these variables here, precisely because we consider them to be asset-related behaviour. Take, for example, the holders of cultural assets. As a rule, we expect their children to go to a gymnasium because they grow up in households where embodied cultural capital is abundant. The cultural endowment of these children is in fact inherent to the middle-class position of professionals. Thus, including cultural participation in the analysis would be a case of statistical ‘over-controlling’ that might undeservedly lead to a downgrading of the role of the middle-class assets. The same reasoning might apply to the relation between organisation assets and cosmopolitan behaviour.

Another form of cultural capital has to be included, though. We should take parental educational level into account because credentials chronologically precede the acquisition of middle-class positions. The possession of credentials is even a necessary precondition in order to obtain cultural assets, but this is true to a lesser extent for the other assets. So, if children of professionals more frequently go to a gymnasium, we want to know if they do so because of their parents' appropriating position or because of their parents possession of university credentials.

Unfortunately, I could not make use of path analysis to estimate the effects of the assets, due to the fact that it is impossible to model dummy variables in such an analysis (see chapter 4). The alternative is logistic regression analysis, by means of which the relative chance of whether a child goes to one school type rather than the other two is estimated. Odds ratios higher than 'one' mean that a particular variable increases the chance that a child attends a certain school types instead of both the other two school types. If the ratio is lower than 'one', the effect is negative. The data concerns only the parents that occupy middle-class positions.

Table 5-2 Middle-class assets and school types; binomial logistic regression (odds ratios)

	Gym. vs. other two		Inter. vs. other two		Regular vs. other two	
	Full model	Economic model (4)	Full model	Economic model (4)	Full model	Economic model (5)
Assets (ref.=cultural)						
- property	1.92*	2.08*	0.53~	0.49*	1.07	-
- organisation	0.98	-	1.12	-	0.90	-
Alumnus	1.93**	1.97**	0.67~	0.66*	0.73	-
Test score	1.08*	1.08*	1.13**	1.13**	0.81**	0.81**
Residence (ref.=rest)						
- 'big' cities	6.66**	6.41**	0.34**	0.34**	0.22**	0.22**
- affluent suburbs	1.08	-	0.66~	0.62*	1.61*	1.56*
Educational level	1.38**	1.47**	1.03	-	0.67**	0.65**
Income	1.07	-	0.95	-	0.98	-
N	646	646	646	646	646	646
Δ -2loglikelihood ^{a)}	714.57	716.64	813.89	815.13	623.13	625.11
Explained variance (Nagelkerke R ²)	0.25	0.24	0.11	0.10	0.22	0.22

Source: survey of parents; ~ p<0.10 * p<0.05 ** p<0.01; a) compared to model with intercept only.

The assets were measured as so-called dummies, which means that they were compared to a

reference category. The reference category here consisted of households that base their middle-class position on cultural assets. On statistical grounds, the choice for any reference category depends on the number of cases within that category. To allow the most precise estimation (of the average of the category) it is best to choose the largest category. That is why I defined the holders of cultural assets as the point of comparison here (Hardy 1993: 10).

I discuss the models in which gymnasiums are contrasted with the other two school types first. The odds ratios shown in the first column must be interpreted as follows: the chance that children of entrepreneurs (holders of property) go to a gymnasium was about two times (1.92) higher than the chance that they attended one of the other school types, compared to children of professionals. This is a rather surprising finding. One might think (as I did myself, actually) that this is the result of sampling bias: perhaps the finding is due to the strong presence of a certain exceptional gymnasium in my sample that attracts many more children of entrepreneurs than the other gymnasiums do. The proportion of entrepreneurs at gymnasiums ranged from 17.9% to zero. On average, the percentage of property holders was 10.6% at each gymnasium (s.d. 0.31). On the basis of these calculations, we can conclude that the results are not biased by the presence of some atypical gymnasiums in the sample.

The chance that children of managers attended a gymnasium rather than the other two school types compared to holders of cultural assets was very close to 'one'. This means that it did not make a difference whether parents based their middle-class position on cultural assets or on organisation assets for the chance that their child attended a gymnasium.

The test score of the child, whether one or both of the parents went to a gymnasium themselves, place of residence, and parental level of education and income were merely included to compensate for their interference effects. Since the effects of these variables have already been described in chapter 4, I do not need to discuss them here.

In order to see whether a more economical model would fit the data equally well, non-significant variables were removed (model 4).³³ It turned out that the full model did not yield a significantly better fit, so that the more economical model 4 is the preferred one.³⁴ Note that in the latter model, the effect of holding organisation assets was removed. Consequently, the effect of property assets on the relative chance of going to a gymnasium is, in model 4, compared to both holders of cultural assets and holders of organisation assets. From the more economic model we can conclude that the relative chance of children of entrepreneurs to attend a gymnasium rather than the other two school types is two times (2.08) larger as compared to children of both professionals and managers.

I now turn to the comparison between internationalised streams and the other two

school types. I restrict the discussion to the economic model, which is to be preferred on statistical grounds.³⁵ We can see that children from households that based their middle-class position on property assets had lower chances of attending an internationalised stream compared to holders of both cultural and organisation assets. To be specific: when parents were entrepreneurs, the relative chance that children of managers and professionals would attend an internationalised stream decreased by some fifty percent. To put it differently: we could also say that children of holders of cultural assets were twice as likely to attend an internationalised stream than children of entrepreneurs.

There was no effect of holding organisation assets on the relative chance that their children attended an internationalised stream. The assumption that underlay the prediction with regard to the relationship between children of managers was that current cosmopolitans are most likely to be ‘organisation men’. This is a rather central line of thought in the literature on cosmopolitans (see chapter 1). So allow me to take this side road and let us see if holders of organisation assets are indeed more cosmopolitan. First, are there more expatriates among managers than among professionals and entrepreneurs? Of the managers, 27% had lived abroad for longer than a year, while 23% of the professionals and 16% of the entrepreneurs had done so. Only the difference between managers and entrepreneurs was significant ($p=0.049$, analysis of variance, Bonferroni post hoc tests). With regard to the frequency of current cosmopolitan behaviour, managers, professionals and entrepreneurs did not differ significantly from each other. This means that it’s not only ‘organisation men’ (Hannerz 2000: 107) only who are the carriers of cosmopolitanism; the possession of cosmopolitan assets is equally important for professionals, managers and entrepreneurs.

Finally, in the model that compares regular pre-university streams with both gymnasiums and internationalised streams, there were no significant effects of the assets whatsoever.

To learn more about the absence of effects of both cultural and organisation assets, I conducted a similar analysis, in which I included all non-middle-class households as the reference category (results not shown here). Similar to what we found above, only children of entrepreneurs turned out to have a higher chance of attending a gymnasium. Obviously, it also emerged that the relative chance that children of managers and professionals attended a gymnasium was higher than the chance of finding children from non-middle-class positions there. However, these effects were pushed aside and became non-significant when parental level of education was introduced in the analyses. The offspring of families in which cultural

or organisation assets are dominant, did not go more frequently to a gymnasium because of their parents' 'privileged appropriating' positions but because they were higher educated. While cultural and organisation assets are intertwined with educational level empirically, possessing a university credential is not the same as holding cultural or organisation assets. For a credential to yield power, it has to be transferred into a position in which social surplus can be appropriated. Yet it appeared that level of education proved more influential than middle-class assets for both managers and professionals.

The finding that only children of entrepreneurs had a higher relative chance of going to a gymnasium is particularly interesting, as it challenges the idea of asset-specific social reproduction. Therefore, I will now try to answer the question of why children of entrepreneurs go more frequently to gymnasiums.

Are children of entrepreneurs compensating a cultural deficiency?

The suggestion that I want to put forward here is that households that base their middle-class position on property might be looking for ways to compensate for their relatively low level of cultural capital. To assess the validity of the idea of compensation, I will analyse the relationship between the assets, the amount of cultural capital, and the importance that parents attach to cultural formation at school. As in the previous chapter, I have operationalised cultural capital as educational level and highbrow cultural participation. If going to a gymnasium can indeed be considered as a compensation strategy, I expect entrepreneurs to be lower educated than other middle-class parents. In Table 5-3 the average income and educational level of each category of asset holders was compared to the other two categories.

Table 5-3 Middle-class assets, average educational level and average income

Mean	Property assets	Organisation assets	Cultural assets	Δ prop. vs. org. ^{a)}	Δ prop. vs. cul. ^{a)}	Δ org. vs. cul. ^{a)}	N
Educational level (s.d.)	3.13 (0.92)	3.44 (0.88)	3.69 (0.84)	p=0.051	p<0.001	p=0.003	649
Income (s.d.)	6.75 (2.24)	6.65 (1.96)	5.89 (1.93)	n.s.	p=0.004	p<0.001	649

Source: survey of parents; a) Analysis of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests.

It turned out that the average educational level of entrepreneurs was significantly lower than that of managers. Holders of property had a median educational level at university BA level or a vocational college credential [*hbo*], while the median educational level of holders of organisation assets was a university credential, MA level. But the average educational level of managers was in turn significantly lower than that of professionals. With regard to average

income, holders of property did not differ significantly from holders of organisation assets. Both had a median net annual income of € 57,000. Holders of cultural assets earned significantly less than the other two categories, their median income was € 46,000 a year.

But what to expect from the entrepreneurs with regard to their cultural participation from the viewpoint of compensation? If compensation is indeed at work, I assume that they feel their lack of cultural capital is not only to be compensated by their children, but also by themselves. Although they are relatively lower educated, or in other words, have relatively low institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) they can, given their high income, actually ‘catch up’ their relative cultural deficiency by going to museums and theatres, reading books and listening to music. So I would expect that they engage more often in cultural behaviour of the classical, established kind, compared to both professionals and managers, given their level of education. In the same line of reasoning, I expect them to value cultural education at school more highly than the holders of other assets do. In Table 5-4, the frequency of cultural participation of parents is predicted by middle-class assets, place of residence, level of education, and income. The importance that parents attach to arts and cultural education [*kunst en culturele vorming*] at school is predicted in a similar way. I asked parents whether they found cultural education at school important. They could answer this by question by indicating their opinion on a seven point scale, ranging from 1=completely disagree to 7=completely agree.

Table 5-4 Middle-class assets, cultural participation, and the importance of cultural education OLS regression (standardised effects)

	Cultural participation		Importance of cultural education at school	
	1	2	1	2
Assets (ref.= cultural)				
Property	0.04	0.05~	0.05	
Organisation	-0.04	-	-0.05	-0.06~
Residence (ref.=rest)				
Big cities	0.16**	0.16**	0.08*	0.08*
Affluent suburbs	0.08*	0.08*	0.12**	0.12**
Educational level	0.37**	0.39**	0.04	
Income	0.05		-0.09*	-0.07*
Parent former gymnasium pupil	-0.03		-0.06	
Test score of child			0.07*	0.07*
Child is a girl			0.09**	0.09**
Cultural participation of parents			0.34**	0.35**
N	646	646	646	646
Explained variance (adjusted R ²)	0.20	0.21	0.16	0.16

Source: survey of parents; ~ p<0.10 * p<0.05 ** p<0.01

I restrict the discussion of the results to the economic models (2). Unsurprisingly, the largest effect on the frequency of cultural participation came from parental educational level. Living in a big city and in an affluent suburb yielded significant positive effects but not very large effects. For my purpose, the most important finding is of course that holding property assets resulted in a tiny but narrowly significant ($p=0.086$) positive effect on cultural participation compared to holders of cultural assets. In other words: entrepreneurs engaged slightly more often in highbrow cultural participation than professionals did.

Concerning the extent to which parents value cultural education at school, Table 5-4 shows that the frequency of cultural participation yielded the largest effect. There was no effect of parental educational level this time (it was pushed aside by the frequency of cultural participation). Our prime interest however concerns the effects of the assets. It turned out that the holders of property assets regarded cultural education equally important as did professionals: the effect of holding property assets was non-significant compared to holding cultural assets. Managers valued cultural education at school only slightly less than professionals did (narrowly significant, $p=0.068$).

All in all, these findings provide modest support—albeit in an indirect way—for the idea that households in which property assets are dominant might regard a gymnasium as a way to compensate their relative lack of institutional cultural capital. First, holders of property assets engage slightly more often in canonised highbrow cultural activities compared to professionals. Second, while I had predicted that entrepreneurs would view cultural education more important than the other assets-holders, it emerged that they valued cultural education at school just as much as professionals did. Nevertheless, the finding that entrepreneurs are on a par with professionals in this respect does not contradict the idea of cultural compensation to say the least, given the fact that professionals are ultimately dependent on cultural assets.

Them rich, us educated

In this section, I want to answer the question to what extent the assets-conceptualisation corresponds to the schemes that middle-class parents themselves apply to categorise the social world. I also want to know how their notion of the middle class relates to the school type their children are attending. After that, I will try to relate these images of the middle class to the findings that arose from the statistical analyses. To answer these questions, I will rely on the interviews with parents. By looking into the ways parents themselves portray the middle class, we might be able to find more indications for the existence of a cultural compensation

strategy of entrepreneurs as well. However, such indications will be tentative and indirect only, given the low number of entrepreneurs (4) in the sample of interviewed parents.

In the majority of cases, sooner or later in the interview, parents used the system of socio-economic inequality as a reference point to indicate what kind of school their children were attending. Socio-economic positioning also became apparent when they came to speak of reprehensible others. Although only a few did so by mentioning the word class as such, these utterances provided an indirect, hidden way to analyse parents' images of social class. As Coxon et al. (1986: 161) indicate: 'class language does not necessarily include specific class terminology [...] The "natural" social context in which the issue of social class crops up is when people come to talk about others, in particular when they state their dissociation or contrast'. Lamont (1992: 11) has called this type of social constructing 'boundary work'. By excluding others, parents reveal how they should be judged themselves. Boundary work emerges when people try to define who they are. Therefore, these 'symbolic boundaries' are of particular importance when we want to analyse images of social class. So let us explore this realm of otherness.

One symbolic boundary stood out as being particularly impregnable. It was put up by a large proportion of the interviewees (19 of the 35 interviewed parents) and constructed in a remarkably bold way. The negative reference point consisted of imagined parents and children who have lots of money, who take their affluence for granted, and are eager to show off their possessions. There was no trace of any reserve when they came to expand on the category of 'posh people' [*kakkers*]. A father, a policy-maker at a Ministry, said he had serious doubts about the local comprehensive school his daughters attended (one in the gymnasium stream, the other one in the regular pre-university stream). He explained:

It's a school with a whole lot of children coming from neighbourhoods where it's normal to go skiing twice a year... there are pupils whose standard of living is much higher than ours. His wife then interrupted and said: This school has a certain image of being a school for... if I may use the word, a school for snobs [kakkers]. And we feel no affinity with that kind of people whatsoever.[...] Sometimes, we ask our children: "Have you noticed them lately... Are there really children of the super-rich in your class?"(11).

The dismissive tone with regard to 'posh' people was the rule among parents, as was the assertiveness with which they distanced themselves from them. But these people are also fascinating, witness the quoted mother who presumably would have liked to have heard some intriguing stories about the super-rich. Asking children about the 'reprehensibles' at school can be interpreted as 'patrolling borders' (Lamont 1992): to inquire what *they* do, to check if we would possibly act like that, so as to formulate and to negotiate who is 'them' and who is

‘us’ Some parents indicated that the confrontation with ‘them’ sometimes leads to strong negative feelings, which shows that symbolic boundaries can be very real for those who put them up. A father, teacher at a primary school, described how he felt at a meeting for interested parents at one of the three gymnasiums in the area where he lives:

I did not like it there; right from the moment I stepped into the building.. There were a certain type of people... nouveaux riches, mutton dressed as lamb [omhoog gevallen], snobbish and posh.. I felt sick of it. There was such a snooty [ballerig] mentality (16).

In this case, the presence of a symbolic boundary was a reason to strongly advise against going to that particular gymnasium. His daughter now attends another gymnasium. A mother, the wife of a higher manager who lived in a mansion in a very affluent neighbourhood, saw the school her son goes to as ‘snobbish’ and mentioned the many possessions of the pupils, like scooters and expensive clothing. She related the affluence of parents to ‘spoilt’ children and their tendency to waste money:

The school is regarded as snobbish [kakkerig]...yes a lot of spoilt rich people’s children go there.. They distributed fancy invitations for parties, dinner jackets obligatory.... well that is an expensive thing to buy if you have children who are still growing up (13).

Parents tend to think that the problem with people who are rich is that they spend their money too easily and without any self-restraint. Consequently, they feel that the problem with children from rich families is that they are spoilt and therefore could contaminate the children of parents who practise self-restraint. Thus, a father, account manager at a bank, with a daughter at an internationalised stream, revealed that his children had a deformed view of society:

They think it is normal to drive a large four wheel drive car and to go to Indonesia for a holiday three times a year and all that, well, that’s not normal (1).

Stories about the ‘spoilt children’ of rich parents were abundant. In these accounts, the link was always between the affluence of other parents, their failed attempts to subdue the materialistic wishes of their children and the arrogance of these children. In the following quote a father (owner of a firm) explained the type of parents of the children attending the gymnasium his daughters went to.

DW: Did you recognise yourself in the other parents of your daughter’s school? Father: They are parents who were, like myself, well-educated as well. They are people whom I think of as having a positive influence on their children. Stimulating interest, the idea that children have potential to develop themselves. A good education in the broadest sense of the word. And ehm... such a school cannot exclude them... the.. what we used to call the..a bit of nouveaux riches-characters. Like.. they see it as prestigious to have children who go

to a gymnasium. I do not have much in common with them, really. My children told these stories about these typically spoilt kids. But there weren't many of them. [...] In X and Y [villages nearby] and in the more expensive areas here...many good people live there but also a whole lot of what we call " Amsterdam-people who have become rich". I don't want to say they are the wrong type of people. But it still is another influence, that is clear. DW: What makes the difference? Father: I think the difference concerns material goods mainly. And also their opinion on the value of money. A more materialistic attitude and a somewhat more arrogant attitude toward material issues. Without wanting to stigmatise that group (32).

The interview data is not suited to making statements about the actual existence of 'rich others'. In fact, the interesting thing is not so much whether these *nouveaux riches* truly exist as such, but rather the role they play in delimiting the identity of the interviewees. They wanted to make very clear that they themselves are not 'money', that they are not 'materialistic' and that they take care that their children are not spoilt. But there is more to it. They also indicated that, instead of being materialistic, they embraced non-materialistic values and regarded having a high-level education as the hallmark of being non-materialistic. They thus construct a dichotomy in which cultural capital, a characteristic of the right kind of people, opposes economic capital, possessed by the wrong kind of people. A research into parents who sent their children to fee-paying private schools in the Netherlands, revealed this same moralising typology (see De Regt and Weenink 2003: 141-146). De Regt and I explained the moralising typology these parents used partly as an effect of the interview situation. We thought at the time that parents wanted to legitimate themselves in front of the interviewers for choosing an expensive private school rather than a regular school. However, this does not apply to the parents interviewed here. Neither is it an effect of the sample, as this typology is used with the same intensity by parents who live in neighbourhoods that are known to be very affluent, as by parents who live in other areas. I therefore suggest that this symbolic boundary is a common feature of the Dutch middle classes. I will illustrate this by mentioning two examples of how mothers constructed this dichotomy. The first concerns a nursery school teacher and the wife of a higher manager, her son attended a gymnasium, her daughter a regular pre-university stream; the second had a daughter at a gymnasium and a son at a regular pre-university stream, she is an administrative worker, her husband an accountant.

Well, I don't feel comfortable with these people ['parents with lots of money'] but I do belong to the higher..... milieu. As far as my education is concerned, the neighbourhood we live in... the friends we have (3).

My daughter goes to a nice school, friendly people. All right, these parents all have university degrees, but they aren't.. how do I put this... they aren't snobbish or boorish [patjepeeërs].DW: What do you mean by saying 'snobbish'? Blah blah blah.. throwing

around lots of money. I don't like that, I am not that rich myself (14).

One mother, herself a staff-advisor at a large cluster of vocational schools, her husband public prosecutor, ironically portrayed the gymnasium nearby, which she did not like her daughters to go to. Her daughters attended a gymnasium at another location in the same city:

Oh sure, motivated people.. oh no, they don't care about their appearances, sure!.... in inverted commas... I don't like that very much. [...] They all went skiing, they organised a gala, everybody in full dress...and X [name of well-known stand-up comedian] went there... (9).

Later in the interview she said that 'the intellectual upper layers who vote for left-wing parties' to which she considers herself and her husband to belong, are the 'arch-enemies' of these 'posh' parents of the other school. In the following quote, a couple commented on the type of parents of the children attending the same gymnasium as their daughter. The father is a top manager at a bank, mother is director of a home for the elderly, their daughter attended a gymnasium. Again the boundary is one that separates intellectual, educated, self-restrained ('leading a simple life') and demanding parents from those 'who drive a Jaguar'. Note that the mother denies the existence of a relation between income and educational level.

Mother: I think there is a very small intellectual upper layer. These are the people who stimulate their children to set their sights as high as possible. I don't think that attitude is tied to income... when I look at the parents of X's [name daughter] classmates... well they are people who lead a rather simple life but they want the best for their children. Father: That is also the advantage of this school...Mother:... but they are intellectuals who demand quite a lot of themselves...(pause) DW: You mean with regard to a higher education? Mother: Yes, just that, yes exactly that. Father: They have a high level of education themselves and they want that for their children as well. They are not the kind of people who drive a Jaguar...(31).

In another interview, father (account manager at a bank) and mother (remedial teacher) discussed the social background of the pupils of the internationalised stream their daughter was attending. The discussion ran as follows:

Mother: They are now in such a selective group [the internationalised stream their daughter attended, DW]....at gymnasium in X, it's just a bit broader. Father: I am convinced that it concerns better-off parents as well over there...Mother: Well...more parents with higher education, that's always the case at pre-university level.. .But I don't know if they are all well-to-do. Father: Yes, these are highly educated people. Mother: That's what I am saying. Money does not go there [to the gymnasium, DW], like here [the internationalised stream]. Those parents [of children attending gymnasium] are educated. That's a big difference(1).

The father suggested that there is a relationship between highly educated people and their income ('better-off parents'), which his wife, like the previously quoted mother, denies. Most

parents who created the symbolic boundary between the owners of economic capital and the owners of cultural capital do not deny that their income is high. In their most common version, the symbolic boundaries consist of a picture of the 'upper layer' in which the category that has both a higher education and a high income is contrasted with the category that has a high income but lacks a higher education. A mother who is a primary school teacher and whose husband is a police officer, also pointed out this distinction within the social layer above hers:

There are two parties... concerning social prestige. Well of course, you have the rich and the poor.. or rich and how to call it... less educated. Yes, less educated and rich. And the educated but no so very rich... they don't mix very well either... You have to go to that new area nearby X [name of small village nearby]...that's where there they live, the rich and less educated (2).

While sitting in the deluxe kitchen of their recently built, large semi-detached house, a father (owner of a consultancy firm, mother a medical specialist) who actually lived in this above mentioned new affluent neighbourhood commented on this division within the upper layers:

We don't live in the worst neighbourhood of the Netherlands, I believe we both agree with that. But the people who live here [he points across the street] in the truly large houses on the waterfront over there, they do not have academic credentials. Just to point out that [...] the real big money nowadays also comes to people who did not invest in education (28).

The interviewed couple surely would have been labelled as very rich by the mother who was a primary school teacher (no. 2) quoted above. The point is that rich 'people who did not invest in education' are always the other category to which one does not want to belong. If the possession of material goods and money is dubious, high education is very favourable. It is no coincidence that when parents want to sum up the whole spectrum of society, they refer to the most culturally prestigious occupations when they want to indicate who is highest in rank:

DW: What kind of parents feel attracted to the school? Father: It is a motley crowd of people. It really ranges from a professor in nuclear medicine to a baker from the North of X (name of city) (10.)

Mother: at meetings for parents at X's [name of daughter who was attending the regular pre-university stream] school you can bump into parents from all layers of society. From people who have, er, a very ordinary job at the laundry, the cleaning person to the doctor and the professor. At gymnasium [which her son was attending] it's nothing but doctors and higher educated people, I have to say (3).

It has become clear that the interviewed parents share an image of who is good and bad within their social class. We might even speak of two symbolic middle classes: a self-proclaimed 'deserving middle class' and an 'undeserving middle class'. Again, this pervasive image is

not so much of interest with regard to the actual existence of the ‘undeserving’. Much more relevant is that the use of this reprehensive category functions as a strong symbolic category of exclusion. If we apply these findings to the assets approach, it immediately becomes clear who are on the defensive: the holders of property assets. Having a relatively low amount of institutionalised cultural capital and a very high incomes, it is the entrepreneur who finds himself under threat of being designated as the undeserved middle class, as ‘them’, the rich posh.

Unfortunately, there were only four entrepreneurs among the interviewed parents. All of them had university degrees (one of them even was a part time professor) and they did not differ from the other parents with regard to their rejections of ‘*nouveaux riches*’. A reference to (conspicuous) cultural consumption could be noticed in just one case:

Culture, well, we think it's important. My daughters and my wife play violin very often. My wife studied French. We attach value to learning one's languages. And I am a true lover of history myself (32).

We cannot rely on such restricted data to prove our point that entrepreneurs actually feel they are on the defensive, whether they felt under threat of being labelled as ‘posh’ by their middle-class counterparts. Nevertheless, the claim arising from the interview data is clear enough. To be a member of the deserving middle class, one should have a high education and cultivate non-material interests. In an environment where such symbolic boundaries are present, choosing a gymnasium could help to counter the charges of being ‘them’ and to become a bit more of ‘us’. But the choice for just any gymnasium will not do. As we have seen from the quotations above, even some gymnasiums are regarded as populated by ‘the posh’ and there parents might be labelled ‘*nouveaux riches*’. Nevertheless, most parents, no matter whether they hold cultural or organisation assets, characterize parents whose children attend a gymnasium as ‘higher educated’ or belonging to a ‘very small intellectual upper layer’.

Conclusion

Pecunia olet! We found several indications that this is in fact the reason why children of entrepreneurs have a relatively higher chance of going to a gymnasium. The greater propensity of entrepreneurs to send their children to a gymnasium is all the more surprising when we consider that, compared to the holders of cultural and organisation assets, property assets provide the best opportunities for the storage and transfer of appropriated social surplus

(Savage, Barlow et al. 1992: 16). So, why is it that entrepreneurs do not just rely on the intergenerational transfer of property to safeguard the future class position of their children but appear to provide their children with the most thorough classical-cultural training available as well? Households in which property assets are dominant might have incorporated the binary middle-class moral to such a degree that they perhaps regard their own middle-class position as being less respectable than those of professionals and managers. To protect their children from ending up in the wrong ‘undeserving’ middle-class category as they themselves belong to, they might prefer a thorough accumulation of the more legitimate, cultural middle-class assets rather than providing them with property assets alone. Perhaps entrepreneurs even feel that the transfer of property to their children without providing them with a proper cultural education is embarrassing, in the same way that their material wealth is embarrassing in itself, just as in the days of the 17th century Dutch Republic (Schama 1988). So, the fact that children of entrepreneurs had a higher chance of attending a gymnasium could not only be the consequence of a cultural compensation strategy, it could also result from the desire to legitimate the intergenerational transfer of property assets. Clearly, the transfer of economic capital from parents to children is considered far less legitimate than the transfer of cultural capital in modern societies (Bourdieu 1986). In a similar vein, exploitation based on the possession of property is much less legitimate than exploitation on the basis of cultural and organisation assets. Consequently, providing children with cultural capital might also be a way of seeking legitimation for a future exploitative middle-class position.

Combining the results of this chapter and the preceding one, we might wonder whether the preference for gymnasiums of households in which property assets are dominant is related to the possession of established forms of power. If we are to believe the interviewed parents, entrepreneurs are the *nouveaux riches* and consequently do not possess much established capital. I have compared the three categories of assets holders with regard to grandparental membership of the upper middle class and membership of the Corps (analyses of variances, Bonferroni post hoc tests). The comparison revealed that entrepreneurs did not differ significantly from the other assets holders with regard to seniority of stay in the upper middle class: 34% of the households in which property assets were dominant had a grandfather who occupied an upper middle-class position, set against 34% for managers and 38% for professionals. This means that holders of property assets are no more likely to belong to the *nouveaux riches*, as compared to the other two categories. Remarkably, entrepreneurs had joined the Corps less often: 18% was a member, as opposed to 32% of the managers and 27% of the professionals. These differences were not significant, but we should not be bothered by

this too much given the low number of entrepreneurs in our sample. Here we have a slight indication that entrepreneurs are somewhat less integrated within the established social network. I suggest that entrepreneurs might be less dependent on the social network that is provided by the Corps than managers, and to a lesser extent, also professionals. For social networks to function successfully, Corps members require appropriate organisations. With regard to access to jobs for example, a Corps member is only able to help another member if he or she has the organisational power to decide who will get the job³⁶. The established social network is of less use when setting up a firm.

The basic concept that underlies the assets approach is exploitation (Savage, Barlow et al. 1992; Wright 1985; Wright 1997). Exploitation explains the actual existence and emergence of social classes. Class formation sets in when two groups are economically interdependent. Such interdependence becomes an exploitative relationship when one of the groups benefits disproportionately from the fruits of labour of the other, exploited, group. In this situation, the welfare of the exploiters depends on the deprivation of the exploited. Moreover, this unequal exploitative relationship is made possible because the exploiting group possesses scarce resources and does not allow the exploited group to access these resources. Now, what can we say about the argument that the three categories of assets holders each form relatively stable collectivities around their dominant axis of exploitation?

The results of this chapter suggest that the formation of durable social collectivities over generations along the lines of the assets does not apply. On the contrary, what we have found points to the unification of the middle class. It may sound paradoxical, but the very existence of a strong symbolic boundary that distinguishes between those possessing credentials of higher education and those lacking them signals the working of this unification process. The symbolic boundary that cleaves the middle class, as well as the fact that parental educational level pushed aside cultural and organisation assets when we tried to predict school type statistically, both point to the importance of educational credentials for all assets holders. Interestingly, Wright (1997) found that the property boundary is least permeable with regard to intergenerational mobility, friendships across classes, and intermarriage. Wright therefore concluded that material resources are more important social barriers than cultural resources linked to skills. However, the results we have discussed point out that cultural capital has become such a strong prerequisite to becoming 'deserving' middle class in current western societies, that even capital is forced to go cultural.

6 The transition to secondary school

School ‘choice’ and notions of social class

In this chapter, the education arena is viewed from the perspective of pupils and parents. I will try to gain insight into the ways in which households handle the transition from primary to secondary school and how this relates to their middle-class position. ‘Educational transitions’ might sound a bit mechanical but I prefer it to ‘school choice’. The latter term implies that going to a certain school is preceded by a process of conscious decision-making. In this chapter, I regard an education transition as a deliberate choice only in the case where parents and children visited several schools and consciously weighed up the pros and cons of each school. Educational decision-making with regard to secondary education is not self-evident, even among middle-class households. While the transition from primary school to secondary school forms a clear branching-point, it is very well possible that pupils ‘just went’ to a certain school because in their family it was taken-for-granted that they would go there, and going to another school simply did not enter into their minds. British research (Ball 2003: 65; Power, Edwards et al. 2003) showed for example that a certain category of British parents would not even consider sending their children to a state school. In some family cultures there seems to be no other option than private education. In that case, attending private schools is not the consequence of a ‘choice’ but is part of what is ‘normal’ and self-evident. In the case of the Netherlands, it is very well possible that the same applies for a certain category of gymnasium families. On the other hand, there also might be families—non-middle-class families in particular—for whom going to gymnasium is inconceivable because they might perceive it as a snobs’ school.

The first question I hope to answer in this chapter is to what extent and how educational transitions are subject to decision-making (or a lack of it) in the family and whether this differs between parents with children at gymnasia on the one hand, and those involved with internationalised streams on the other. To answer this question, I rely on both survey- and interviewdata of pupils and parents. Although the sample of interviewed parents is a selection of families in which a child went either to a gymnasium or to an internationalised stream, many families have more than one child at secondary school and obviously, not all children from one family will necessarily attend the same school. I will

therefore take into account the considerations of parents concerning all their children who had made (or were in the process of doing so) the transition from primary school to secondary school at the level of pre-university education (I excluded some children who attended a lower level of secondary education). In total, the data presented here pertains to 60 transitions. Of these 60 children, 25 went to an internationalised stream, 19 to gymnasium (two of these 19 children attended a gymnasium stream), and 16 to a regular pre-university stream.

In many societies, education policies have given primacy to parental choice—‘parentocracy’—over the past thirty years (see chapter 3). The increased marketisation has provided middle-class parents with more opportunities for class closure and social reproduction of middle-class fractions through education. Research on British parents and children (Ball 2003; Reay and Ball 1998) and their French (Broccolichi and Van Zanten 2000) counterparts has made clear that market forces in education provide middle-class parents with the chance to express their desire for more homogenous education environments so that their children can be closed off from lower social classes at school. Schools react to this by creating separate educational settings, e.g. special classes for gifted children and the introduction or re-introduction of setting or streaming (grouping children on the basis of ability). As I already explicated, parental choice has a long history in continental Europe (Dronkers 2004). In the Netherlands, virtually all schools are state funded and there are no catchment areas. As a result, parents’ choices are neither constrained with regard to financial limits nor with regard to formal geographical limits. These older market forces were later intensified by neo-liberal education policies that gave schools more freedom to differentiate (see chapter 3). In the Dutch education arena, the battle is between sectors of schools, for example the choice between a Catholic and a public school. But schools also compete with one another within a sector, for example in regions where many religious schools are, parents’ choice may be between two competing Catholic schools (Dijkstra, Dronkers and Karsten 2004).

Within this highly competitive education arena, I wonder how parents’ notions of social class play a role in choosing a school. So, the second question I will try to answer is whether parents refer to notions of social class, and a desire for class closure in particular, in their decisions regarding educational transitions.

Finally, I want to know to what extent the distinction between the established and the cosmopolitan trajectory corresponds to children’s and parents’ legitimations of school ‘choice’. Are these diverging social routes part of the experience of the parents and children involved? By answering these questions, I hope to shed some light on the processes that

underlay the outcomes that I have analysed in the preceding chapters.

Educational decision-making in the Dutch education arena

I asked parents questions regarding their role in the process of school ‘choice’. Some 87% of the 819 parents agreed with the statement that ‘the opinion of the child was most important concerning school choice’, some 80% concurred with the proposition ‘we left the decision concerning the choice of a school to our child’ and 93% of the parents agreed that ‘the choice for a school was based on the child’s wishes’. I also asked pupils to evaluate the process of school choice in this respect. Some 93% of the 989 pupils attending the first form agreed that ‘my opinion was most important in choosing a school’, 14% found that their parents’ opinion was most important and some 86% concurred with the statement that ‘it was my idea to go to this school’. These figures provide a picture of school choice in which the choice of school lies with the child much more than the parent. Or does it? The survey data also provides indications that this division of roles is less straightforward than it appears at first sight. Thus, while 87% of the parents agreed that the opinion of the child was most important concerning school choice, some 40% of the parents also indicated that ‘our opinion was most important concerning the choice of a school’ and slightly more than 25% of the parents agreed with the idea that ‘we sent our child to this school’.

What struck me in the interviews was that many parents, when speaking of the transition from primary school to secondary school, wanted to convince me that it was their child and not they themselves who had made the final choice. Often they did so on their own initiative, without me having to prompt them to talk about the division of roles in the family. The following examples illustrate the different ways in which parents show that it was their child who had made the choice.

It simply was her choice. It was her choice to go to that school (10).

They [the children] had to make the choice themselves (16).

Note that the last quoted parent even regarded choosing as a task, to be performed by children: ‘they *had* to make the choice themselves’. The following mother was strongly advised by a friend, an expert in educational issues, to look for another school for her son:

He [the friend who was an educational expert] said: “He needs a bigger challenge than that school can offer him, you’d better send him to another school”. But I said: “Well, alright, but it’s his choice” (25).

In this fragment, the mother portrayed herself as a sort of moral guardian over her son’s right

to choose a school. She indicated she would not unthinkingly follow her friend's advice, but took note of her child's rights. In the following quote, after the father had given a lengthy explanation of the advantages of the school his daughter attended, the mother interrupted and said:

Mother: But it was her choice to go there, it doesn't matter what we think about it, for us it doesn't matter what kind of school she goes to, it was her own choice to attend the internationalised stream (28).

As the father's arguments in favour of the school might give the impression that he had a strong say in matters of school choice, his wife suddenly took it upon herself to reinforce the moral image of a family in which children are the ones who make the choice and that they were not the kind of parents who actually 'send' their children to a school.

Why did parents want to convince me that it was their child who had made the choice? My guess is that parents feel that it is socially undesirable to have strong preferences in this area. Instead, they portrayed their children as responsible choice-makers. Interestingly, their attitude with regard to educational decision-making is in contrast to the British parents studied by Reay and Ball (1998: 436). They conclude that 'choice was presented as too important to leave to the vagaries of childish preferences'. However, British parents did not actually 'send' their children to certain schools either, but had to 'go through the motions': 'the façade of extensive negotiation and consultation in many of the middle-class families'. Dutch and British parents have in common that they wanted their children to feel that they had their own say in these matters. For both Dutch and British parents, 'the range of significant issues revealed in the process of making a choice must be examined, discussed and agreed upon. Differences of opinion are tolerated, discussed, and resolved with little apparent recourse to authoritarian position-taking by parents' (idem: 435). What makes them different however, is that British parents, sometimes after a bit of probing on the side of the researchers, claimed to have played a far more decisive role in the process and even acknowledged that they had to deploy 'impression management', sometimes combined with 'strategies of persuasion, selling, and indoctrination' in order to 'make the child think the way we do' (idem: 436). For Dutch parents, such strategies were much less morally tenable, although they were deployed occasionally as we will see below. There is another striking difference between British and Dutch parents in this respect. While the former, in order to legitimate their decisive role in school choice, invoked images of 'youthful innocents' lacking the knowledge necessary to make well reasoned educational decisions, the latter indicated that it was the child's responsibility, a task to be performed. How is this possible? How can the middle-class related

‘personal’ (Bernstein 1996) mode of communication lead to such diverging roles in parents?

I suggest that these differences stem from the particular local education arenas in which parents have to operate. As a consequence of both the abolition of the eleven-plus system, which provided a way of sorting pupils into different educational levels, and of the introduction of the comprehensive system, the most pressing issue for British middle-class parents is how to achieve a certain degree of class closure by choosing the right kind of school, whether it is a more or less middle-class comprehensive or a private school (Power, Edwards et al. 2003: chapter 3). British parents now have to rely much more on their social capital to find out about the ‘quality’ of schools (Ball and Vincent 1998). As a result, many British middle-class parents regard issues that touch upon class closure in education ‘as issues that the child is insufficiently experienced to comment on’ (Reay and Ball 1998: 439) because there is too much at stake for them in the British comprehensive school system. As a result, issues like setting (providing separate groups based on pupils’ ability) and the provision of high status subjects are ‘non-negotiable’ for British middle-class families. Another consequence is that these parents are ‘increasingly [...] filtering working-class schools out, often prior to any consultation with children, early on in the choice-making process’ (idem: 439, 441). One could arguably say that the British education system does not serve the middle classes as well as the Dutch system does. Dutch parents enter an education arena in which a strong degree of class closure has already been built into the system. If children do well in their final test at primary school and obtain a high recommendation of their primary school teachers, it is obvious they will go to the higher levels of secondary education and then find themselves in relatively socio-economic homogenous classes. It should be noted here that both pupils’ test scores and recommendations are related to parents’ social background: the higher social class background, the more children are likely to achieve test scores and recommendations that assign them to the highest levels of secondary education (Dronkers 1993b; Dronkers and De Graaf 1995).

Both the sorting on the basis of test scores and primary school recommendations on the one hand, and the high degree of hierarchy in Dutch secondary education on the other, provides middle-class parents with a more confined educational space in which to manoeuvre. In the Dutch education arena, children can be given the responsibility to make the choice far more easily—as long as their choice remains within the range of schools that provide the educational level that corresponds to their primary school recommendation and their test score. A choice for a lower level is probably a non-negotiable issue for Dutch middle-class parents.

Moreover, with hindsight, I think the question ‘who made the choice in the end?’ is not relevant. After twelve years of intensive socialisation it is hard to separate parents’ and children’s influences as if they had not been living together before the transition from primary school to secondary school, as if they had not previously engaged in numerous interactions. The preferences of children at age twelve are obviously primarily formed in interactions with their parents and by examples that are set by parents’ behaviour. In general, the survey data also showed that opinions of parents and children converged: only 9% of the parents indicated that they would have liked to have seen their child attending another school and some 75% agreed with the statement ‘I very much wanted my child to go to this school’, over 96% agreed with the proposition that ‘our child very much wanted to go to this school himself/herself’.

Even if children express a different preference than their parents with regard to the choice of a secondary school, their diverging preference could originate from previously incorporated and appropriated parental attitudes and behaviour. For example, a dedicated cosmopolitan mother (nr. 8) would have liked to have seen her daughter going to a school that was known to have good pupil coaching. However, the daughter herself wanted to go to the internationalised stream, because of her future cosmopolitan plans.

Mother: She wanted very much to go to the internationalised stream because of the following reasons: She had a friend whose father always worked abroad, at X [a large Dutch multinational banking company]. And this family had expressed a wish for my daughter to live with them for a year at the time they went abroad so that my daughter could go to school with their daughter. She found that a fantastic idea, so she thought, ‘if I go to that internationalised stream, than I have already learned English, then I can jump right in there easily’. That was her idea. In the end, she never went to live abroad with this family, but she still found the idea very appealing (8).

I think the daughter was attracted to the idea of living abroad with her friend because of the dedicated cosmopolitans’ mental disposition her parents had successfully imparted upon her. In choosing the internationalised stream, she acted according to this disposition and ignored her parents’ preference for another school. Another dedicated cosmopolitan mother actually disapproved of the neighbouring school that offered an internationalised stream. She had heard rumours about unruly children, and was put off by the number of pupils from the ethnic minorities at that school. Her daughter opposed her view and persuaded her mother to visit the information meeting as she was very much attracted to that internationalised stream. In both cases, the daughters ended up at the school of their preference, which turned out to fit very well with the cosmopolitan culture their parents had imparted on them.

Having considered these arguments, I take the position that trying to disentangle children's and parents' influences does not do justice to the accumulation of interactions of which certain preferences are the result. I will now continue to describe whether educational transitions can in fact be characterised as a choice as such.

Of the 60 transitions that took place in the households of the interviewed parents, 38 can be characterised as a process of conscious educational decision-making that comprised visiting several schools and deliberately comparing alternatives. I first turn my attention to these processes of choice and discuss the 'non-choices' later. Often, the pattern of choice was that the child indicated a preference for a certain school but that parents wanted him or her to visit other schools as well. Parents wanted their child to make a deliberate choice, to weigh the alternatives. The following fragment, spoken by a mother (housewife, father a top-level manager at an American consultancy firm) whose son attended an internationalised stream, illustrates that parents feel that it is their responsibility for their child to be aware of all the possible alternatives.

Well, I have to say that I was attracted to it [gymnasium] as well. I never went there myself, I never did gymnasium. I am not at all... but the atmosphere was good and school policy was good. But it doesn't matter, my son wanted to go to the internationalised stream. But then, it's good to know that you have been there, and then, I have the idea that, I have showed him all the alternatives. So that it has been a deliberate choice (15).

A majority of the parents that were involved in the 38 cases of deliberate choosing were inclined to show their children all options available. A rather extreme case of reviewing all possible options is presented in the following fragment, in which a father (policy-maker at a government Ministry) whose eldest daughter went to a gymnasium-stream and whose youngest daughter to the regular pre-university stream at the same comprehensive school, explained the process of school choice of this eldest daughter.

We wanted to see all the schools with our own eyes. So we went to the open information meetings of all the schools. We went there twice, once as parents, and then with A [name child]. And we gave her the opportunity to choose, because we felt that she should have the feeling that "this is the school that suits me".[...] I have to say that we were glad when it appeared that the schools our children did not like, for their own reasons, were the same schools in which we had absolutely no confidence in. [...] Her classmates at primary school spread out across all those schools, so a couple of friends of my daughter did go to that school [one in which they, the parents, had no confidence] so they [the daughters] had to... they had to justify their choice, why they didn't go there like their friends did, they had to explain this for themselves as well as to their friends who went there. We also found it very important that she had seen the schools where she eventually did not go to, so that they had a picture of what they would be like (11).

Children should have seen all the possible options, they should learn to weigh up all the alternative options, they should go and explore and then make a deliberative choice that can be justified to others and themselves. The fragment also shows that these parents, while stressing that ultimately the choice is their children's, nevertheless created the framework within which such a choice should be made: 'we gave her the opportunity to choose', which is an attitude that corresponds to the approach of the British parents studied by Reay and Ball (1998). At least this father had been able to make his mind up as he had visited the possible range of schools beforehand. The attitude of checking all possible alternatives is enhanced by the selection procedures of the internationalised streams and the *numerus clausus* at some gymnasiums. A mother (housewife, father owner of a company) explained how they went through the process of choosing a school.

Well, for the eldest daughter, it soon emerged that she could choose whatever she liked. She simply had... she simply was rather smart and, er, she could choose whatever she liked to choose. She just was rather clever and she wanted to go to the internationalised stream right from the start. [...] Nevertheless, she went to see all the other schools, because she knew that she had to do an entrance test for that internationalised stream. So she also went to a gymnasium, that school was much closer to home then because we lived nearby at the time, but well she found it was too boring, too many nerds. [...] We rather liked X [name school] which is a smaller school, where they have good coaching from the moment you walk into that school for the first time until you have graduated. That appealed to us, but she was utterly against that school, she had something like, that's not the school I will be going to. She had been there, oh yes, she visited all the schools that offered some sort of pre-university or gymnasium-like programme. Eventually, she really said, OK, I want to do that internationalised programme, but if I don't get in, I'll just go to the regular pre-university stream of that school (8).

Even though it was very clear for this child that she wanted to go to the internationalised stream, she went through the process of exploring all the alternatives so as to secure the second-best option in case she failed her entrance test. From the fragment it is clear that children apparently had the room to indicate their preferences and disapproval, at least, this is how the parents looked back on the process. Another mother (a staff advisor at a cluster of vocational schools, the father a public prosecutor), whose eldest daughter went to a gymnasium without much consideration of the alternatives, wanted to approach the transition from primary school to secondary school somewhat differently with regard to her younger daughters. She said:

I wanted to do an extensive round of all the schools here in the neighbourhood. But after two schools, my daughter said: "Just stop it, Mom, I'm going to X [name of gymnasium] anyhow" (9).

Again, this quote can be read as a display of the parental propensity for providing a

framework for a choice that is based on the child's wishes. The mother seemed to indicate that while she wanted her daughter to explore all the possible alternatives, it was her daughter who was ultimately in charge and who terminated the whole process of selection by saying that she would simply go to the gymnasium. According to the following parents (father an unemployed computer engineer and mother a teacher of Spanish), their daughter's choice had been a matter of following her heart or her mind [*verstand*]:

She had been wanting to go to X [name school] for a long time because she spends a lot of time making music, and they have a special music department there. She just wanted to go to X. But then a teacher from the internationalised stream visited her primary school. That made her very enthusiastic. So we went to the open information meeting. Her heart said: "X has the music", but her mind said: "No, I'll go to the internationalised stream, as I'm not sure I will have a future in music in six years' time". So we agreed that the internationalised stream had more to offer her in that respect (17).

But some parents expressed doubts as to the extent to which their efforts to make their children capable of choosing a school on their own had succeeded. An example is provided by a father (manager at a large cluster of vocational schools) whose daughter wanted to go to the internationalised stream.

She went to the information meetings of various schools together with her mother, and before that she had asked friends already attending a secondary school. In addition, she talked to pupils and teachers and eventually decided to go to X [school that offered an internationalised stream]. She wanted to attend the internationalised stream and that school was the only place where they offered such a stream... So... she found that school the most appealing at first sight.. we don't know if it's all wishful thinking or if she weighed up all the pros and cons involved (6).

Both the survey data and the interviews revealed that children and parents alike were quick to indicate that it was the children who ultimately made the choice. Apparently, their children's choice often fell within the range of reasonable alternatives that parents had in mind. Given the segregated structure of the Dutch secondary education system, this happens more often than not. Nevertheless, as we will see, a considerable number of parents used the 'British approach' and were channelling their child's choice into the desired direction.

Educational 'non-choices'

The educational transition was not subject to decision-making and comparing of alternatives in all households. In 22 of the 60 transitions, no process of elaborate decision-making of visiting and comparing schools took place. In these cases, going to a certain school was self-evident. But why was it self-evident? In nine cases, there was no choice to be made simply

because parents were satisfied with the school that was nearest to their home or, in three cases, because the example of an older sibling that had had positive experiences was followed. Interestingly, these considerations of spatial and social vicinity correspond to Reay and Ball's (1998: 432) working-class families' emphasis on the local and the familiar in matters of school choice. In the following fragment, the father (a chief tax inspector) explained why he did not consider other schools for his sons than the one close to their house.

DW: What was it like, finding a school for your sons? Father: Well, not so much... we believe that it is most important for them stay in their environment. So, we don't think they have to go to a school that's farther away, even if that school has a better reputation, in principle we choose.. actually we chose the school that was nearest (30).

Among the nine parents who did not go through a process of educational decision-making but just picked the nearest school or trusted on the positive experiences of a sibling, this father was exceptional. For he considered that 'staying in their environment' was the main concern with regard to school 'choice'. The other eight parents acknowledged that the school closest to their home met their requirements of what a good school should offer, and consequently, they argued, there was no need to look any further. As the following mother (divorced general practitioner) indicated:

DW: Did you visit other schools? Mother: No. Look, if there's a good school nearby I'd rather see her go there. If it's available close to home, why bother looking farther afield? (20).

In the other ten cases in which no process of elaborate comparing and decision-making took place with regard to the transition from primary school to secondary school, the parents were 'sending' their children. They often justified this by claiming to know what suited their child best. In five cases, parents considered their children 'gymnasium material' and did not look any further. Typical gymnasium children were described as being gifted and capable, having an intellectual orientation, and being self-disciplined, independent workers. In another five transitions, only internationalised streams were considered. In three of these five transitions, the parents stayed abroad while their children attended primary school. The other two cases in which parents had 'sent' their children to an internationalised stream concerned children who were not given a choice because parents were afraid they would choose a school that would not challenge them sufficiently. In the following sections, I will analyse all transitions that led to an internationalised stream or to a gymnasium. In so doing, I hope to gain insights into how pupils come to attend these particular school types.

‘Choosing’ an internationalised stream

Here, I will restrict my analysis to households where a child is attending an internationalised stream. I will consider the way the ‘decision’ to go to such a school is presented. In chapter 4 it emerged that cosmopolitan assets and the wish to provide children with such assets play a significant role in the decision to go to an internationalised stream. Here, I aim to provide an image of the process of *how* they eventually ended up there. Of all 60 transitions, 25 ultimately led to attending an internationalised stream. In six cases, the interviewed parents indicated that their child was the one who initiated the idea of going to the internationalised stream. In these cases, the children were said to have been attracted by the use of English in class and by learning that language at a high level. These parents also indicated that it was the children who first received the information about the internationalised stream. The following father was an alderman of a large city, his son went to an internationalised stream:

DW: Whose idea was it to go and have a look at the internationalised stream? Father: My daughter’s [the daughter is the sibling of the child who went to the internationalised stream]. She was looking at all these schools’ brochures. My son had been given those brochures at primary school. He had got them and she browsed through them. Then she said: “Wow, they’ve got a bilingual, Dutch-English stream”. My son found that interesting as well, because he had always liked English. I don’t know why exactly, but he was quite interested in that language, so to him that seemed to have added value, and then he went to that school and wanted to do the internationalised stream (12).

In the six cases in which children were said to have taken the initiative in choosing an internationalised stream, they had received their information through the marketing activities of school, or from their peers, as in the following fragment of an interview with a mother (housewife, father a top-level manager at a multinational consulting company).

DW: Who got the idea of going to the internationalised stream? Mother: My son heard it from the boy next door. That boy said that he dreamed every night in English, which made a big impression on my son. We then went to an open information meeting, where he attended a sample lesson. After that, he was very enthusiastic about it (15).

In the other nineteen cases of all the 25 transitions to an internationalised stream, parents ascribed a more prominent role to themselves in the process. Three of these nineteen cases comprised households who, at the moment of transition, were about to return to the Netherlands. While living abroad, they were made aware of the opportunity provided by the internationalised streams. The following mother (policy-maker) indicated that their choice of place of residence in the Netherlands was determined by the presence of a particular internationalised stream:

And then we got the advice [by the foundation for Dutch Education Abroad] to consider an internationalised stream for her. We had heard about it already because good friends of ours with a similar background [of development-aid workers] had already moved back to the Netherlands and their eldest child also went to that school. So that's how we ended up here in X [name of town], because we also had to decide where to live. And we had a good reference from those friends and also from others abroad whose children had attended that school. [...] It's got a good reputation, and we have friends here with a similar background whose children attend that school as well.. So that was a determining choice with far-reaching consequences (4).

The above fragment is typically a dedicated cosmopolitans' educational transition. However, it was clear that internationalised streams were not only appealing because of the opportunities they offer for providing pupils with cosmopolitan assets, they also turned out to be interesting for parents who were looking for a school that would provide their child with a challenging education. Interestingly, when internationalised streams were considered because they seemed to provide children with a more demanding curriculum, an explicit comparison with gymnasiums was almost always made. Recall the mother quoted above (no. 25) who had been advised by her friend, an expert in educational issues, to look for a more challenging school for her son. In the interview, she said she had told her friend that her son had already made the choice. She then continued by saying that 'all my friends are sending their children to a gymnasium'. After having said that, she pointed out that when she told her son about the newly-started internationalised stream that would provide him with an educational challenge, 'he was enthusiastic right from the start because he never wanted to go to a gymnasium, he had something like, it's such a stuffy place'. In fact, giftedness and high ability are mentioned in numerous accounts of educational transitions. The following fragment is taken from an interview with a father (consultant, entrepreneur) and a mother (medical specialist).

Father: Given her talent, we found all other schools here in the neighbourhood no serious option. She found that herself too... but she found a gymnasium too academic, and you know the categorial gymnasium is just very classical, nothing has changed in the past thirty years, she found that boring (28).

Later in the interview, this father spoke of how to invest in the 'surplus value' that his child had. For all the parents whose children attended an internationalised stream and who mentioned the giftedness of their children as a factor that had to be considered when choosing a school, gymnasiums were juxtaposed to internationalised streams. Strikingly enough, these parents found that the school their child attended should make this giftedness 'work'. The reason for this was either because they believed that all possible cognitive resources should be deployed, or because they were afraid their children would find life at school too easy and would turn into under-achievers. The former discourse indicates that the parents feel that

giftedness is an assignment, a duty to fully develop one's potential. In the latter, parents are concerned that their child will ultimately follow lower levels of education than it is capable of. The following mother, a housewife with three 'highly gifted' sons attending the internationalised stream, father a consultant at a multinational company, did not want to take that risk and left her son with the choice: either you go to a gymnasium or you go to the internationalised stream.

All the boys skipped a class at primary school so all of them are young pupils. The teacher at primary school advised us to go and look for a secondary school that provided a homogenous first year. "Don't put him in a mixed-ability first-year class, because he will fall back to the lower level". Because they like to take it easy and not work too hard, that makes life easy as well. So then you soon eliminate quite a number of schools because they only provide mixed-ability first-year classes. So a gymnasium and the internationalised stream were left as the options. So we gave him the choice: either you go to a gymnasium or you go to the internationalised stream. [...] He didn't like the idea of going to a gymnasium because he didn't want to do Latin and Greek, he found that boring. So that just left the internationalised stream (18).

In all the accounts about highly-gifted children or smart children who needed or wanted to do something extra, it is striking that the children who eventually ended up at internationalised streams all found the gymnasium stuffy and boring, according to their parents.

In conclusion, it emerged that, in addition to the cosmopolitan reasons for choosing an internationalised stream we established in chapter 4, there are apparently alternative considerations that led children to going for the internationalised stream. One is the high ability of children and the other, which relates to this, is because the alternative, gymnasium, is too 'dull'.

'Choosing' a gymnasium

Let us now try to find out how children end up going to a gymnasium. Of the 60 transitions, 19 led to a gymnasium. In just two of these 19 cases, the reasons mentioned for the children to go to such a school were the opportunities for cultural or classical education. Only one father (no. 16) was very keen on providing his children with a thorough training in classical languages. The other case was of a son who played violin at a very high level (no. 35). This family had chosen a gymnasium because the school was willing to provide him with opportunities to continue his musical activities at moments he officially should have been doing work for school. Moreover, both parents and son were attracted by the cultural atmosphere that the gymnasium provided. But the majority of parents did not mention the cultural climate of the gymnasiums, although they sometimes referred to the fit between the

cultural activities of the gymnasium and the cultural interests of the household. But they did so in a broader sense and did not seem to regard this as a serious factor in the school choice. Much more emphasis was placed on the capacities of the child. These arguments were similar to the ones we found in the previous section. A mother (dentist, father a lawyer) said the following about the transition of her eldest son:

We only went to see the gymnasium then. We didn't look any further. We thought: he is capable of going far, so let him have the opportunity to go far. That was our intention straightaway. It was very clear that he had the ability to do it (27).

Another example is provided by the following mother (nursery school teacher, her husband a high-level manager at a Dutch multinational company). She had not visited any schools other than a gymnasium when her eldest son had to go to secondary school because he was a 'gymnasium' child.

He went to gymnasium because, for him, given his ability, we thought it would be the best school ... He had a very high test score and he is level-headed. He has always been quite sure of himself, and very eager to do assignments at primary schools, he did it all himself. So, he's really a child that can take on extra schoolwork, and that's why we sent him to gymnasium (3).

Another argument concerns the smaller size of the gymnasiums and the 'protected' environment that they provide. The following father is an entrepreneur. He explained how his daughters went from primary school to a gymnasium. He himself went to a gymnasium stream at a *lyceum* (see chapter 3) and his wife went to a gymnasium, but neither completed their gymnasium education.

Our daughters attended a primary school where nearly all the children received a recommendation to go to gymnasium. And most of them went there. We didn't visit any other schools. Apart from the classical curriculum, the gymnasium is a smaller school. Added to that, although it's hard to prove, but one hears these stories, the larger comprehensives' pupils are assigned to lower levels. Then they say: go to a lower level, then the schools' results at the examinations will be better. That's hard to prove, but one hears these stories. Anyway, that played a role as well. And I liked the idea that the school was not that big (32).

This father mentions the classical curriculum casually. This argument for going to gymnasium was mentioned only a very few times. However, he does emphasise the small size of the school. His argument that other, comprehensive schools are said to place children at lower levels is in line with the idea that gymnasiums provide a protected environment: there is no chance to be assigned to a lower level of education. In that sense too, the gymnasium prevents children from being exposed to children at the lower levels. When parents invoke the 'safe

haven' or the 'protected environment' argument with regard to gymnasium, they often refer to the personality of their child. A single mother who was a policy-maker at the tax department, was afraid that her son, who had skipped a class at primary school, would be bullied because of his young age and his small stature; 'you hear these stories of bullying'. Therefore, she wanted her son to go to a smaller school that provided homogenous first-year classes rather than mixed-ability classes.

So I wanted a small school for him. I had asked them [staff at gymnasium] whether they often had young and small pupils like him. There they said "we have several in each class". I asked that same question at X [local comprehensive school, providing mixed-ability first-year classes]. There they said: "that happens once in a couple of years". So, it's more common, these young pupils at gymnasiums. He would not be the only one. For me, that was important (21).

The 'protected environment' provides gymnasiums with a major advantage in the education arena. Even when parents are not particularly in favour of the classical curriculum, this element can tip the scales in favour of gymnasiums. Especially so when children are young or insecure. The following mother, divorced social worker, the father manager at a multinational ICT company, had herself been a gymnasium pupil, like her husband.

I was not in favour of her going to a gymnasium. I do not really see the advantages of it. Well at least.. maybe it's helpful for learning languages, but in daily life, what's the use of it? I felt like, just go to a regular pre-university stream. So we went to see several schools and my eldest daughter was a bit insecure at the time, always waiting to see which way the wind blows.. she got a bit nervous at these larger schools. "Do I really have to be among all these people!". Then we had a look at the gymnasium and she felt much more comfortable. It was important for her to engage in a structured, not too crowded environment at the time. Added to that, she wanted to do something extra on top of the regular curriculum, although she was not specifically interested in learning classical languages. That pleased her as well. And we agreed with her that she needed some extra challenge (22).

In contrast to the arguments that parents invoke with regard to the internationalised streams, the 'choice' for a gymnasium is, in general, not related to the content of their curriculum. Overall, neither the classical languages nor the cultural environment were features that seemed to be factors to be considered for going to a gymnasium. However, two other arguments did stand out. Both arguments were related to the particular character of the children. First, gymnasiums were said to provide an environment that were best suited to the intellectual capacities of the child. Second, the small scale and the protected environment was thought to be helpful for young, insecure or timid children. The fact that parents take the personal characteristics of their children into account is rather evident. Nevertheless, this fact has been slightly obscured due to my efforts to present a coherent picture of social processes

in the previous chapters. While I think it is important to lay bare statistical patterns, the following section serves to show that educational transitions are not necessarily straightforward processes.

Mixed families: choosing both a gymnasium and an internationalised stream

In four households, one child attended a gymnasium and another the internationalised stream. What do these mixed households tell us about the motivations for education decision-making? In the first family (no. 10) the eldest son went to a gymnasium, the daughter to the internationalised stream. From the interview, it was clear that these parents were much more enthusiastic about the internationalised stream. At the moment of the transition from primary school to secondary school, the internationalised stream had not yet opened its doors and their son went to a gymnasium, given his high test score. The mother had pointed out to the daughter the existence of the internationalised stream. In the second combined family (no. 19), the eldest son went to the gymnasium stream of a larger comprehensive school and the youngest son to the internationalised stream at the same school, parents—dedicated cosmopolitans as they were—found the internationalised stream more appealing as well. Again, the internationalised stream did not exist at the time the eldest son went to secondary school. In the other two families (nos. 22 and 27), the internationalised stream and gymnasium each matched the particular characteristics of their children. Both mothers indicated however that ‘learning English is of much more use than Greek and Latin’. In the case of no. 22, a gymnasium provided a protected environment for the eldest daughter, who needed to be challenged academically with something extra. The other daughter was perceived to be less gifted, although she obtained a high test score. Due to rivalry between herself and her sister, and because both her parents had been former gymnasium pupils, she also wanted to do something ‘special’. The more ‘messy’, ‘vivid’ and loosely structured school that offered the internationalised stream was thought to suit better the character of the second, less ‘intellectually inclined’ child. The mother of no. 27 said her eldest son was a typical gymnasium child: a disciplined mind and eager to learn. The younger son was said to be equally smart but lacked the self-discipline required to learn the classical languages. For him, ‘learning English by doing’ was an option that corresponded best to his character, while at the same time it provided him with the ‘necessary’ challenge.

The previous sections have made clear that educational transitions, whether they are the result

of deliberate choices or not, involve various considerations. In the following section, I will devote special attention to another one of these considerations: the perception of social class.

Notions of social class and school choice

We have seen in chapter 5 that parents present themselves as members of an educated upper class and from that position they feel that their children should learn how to deal with others belonging to a lower social class than themselves. Although they were quick to loathe the moneyed upper class, their perception of those lower in rank were expressed more cautiously in general. This cautious way of speaking might be the consequence of parents' desire to act in a socially desirable manner. It may also result from parents' limited daily experience with the lower social classes. There are few occasions where middle-class parents meet 'others' of lower social classes, except for superficial and not very confrontational interactions in shopping centres and public transport, for example.

However, in 18 of the 35 interviews, the lower classes became a factor in their minds at the moment of the education transition. As such, they (the lower classes) played a role in the process of educational decision-making. The following fragment is taken from an interview with a primary school teacher and a housewife, who had not chosen a gymnasium for their eldest son. Instead, their son went to the gymnasium stream of the comprehensive school, which later also introduced the internationalised stream that their youngest boy was attending.

Mother: Gymnasiums are for the elite of course. And we thought it was better for him to go to another type of school. DW: What do you mean by saying they're for the elite? Mother: Well, at the school he's at now, he meets other sorts of boys, I think er.... Well there are lower levels of education, so there are other types of people, right. DW: And you like that? Mother: Well.. then they meet... Father: It's normal. Mother: Well otherwise they would have met them anyhow, somewhere, wouldn't they? But I think it's a good thing. And they have problems with them, I must say. DW: What do you mean, what is that about? Mother: Well sometimes they come home and tell these stories and then I think, well er.. like, for example, a situation at the gym when they are changing their outfits, then a class at a lower level, like junior general secondary education or lower enters the gym. They make lots of noise, they shout, rummage around, they are rude. They push other kids around. That kind of thing, that wears me out. Father: They're much wilder kids. Mother: They can't control themselves, they're not interested in school or study (19).

This fragment clearly shows the ambivalent attitude of many middle-class parents towards those lower in rank. On the one hand they thought that their children should be able to talk and engage with all sorts of people and therefore reject elitist schools like gymnasiums. On the other hand they feared the wild and undisciplined character of children from lower class

backgrounds. This fear sometimes played a role in educational decision-making, as can be seen in the following fragment. Father was a jobless computer scientist, mother a teacher of Spanish. Their daughter went to an internationalised stream.

Father: I was afraid she would end up in a group of children who didn't like swots. Mother: And A [name child] has been very disciplined. Always doing her homework. Doesn't mess around in class. [...] Father: I don't want to mention any group in particular, but certain pupils with a foreign background are strongly inhibited by their parents and you know, at school, they just go wild.[...] Mother: we would be rather pleased if she didn't go to a school where she ends up in a mixed-ability first year. The group was too big and we know from friends of ours that the differences are huge. The atmosphere can be determined by a certain group, which can affect the learning process of the whole class. Father: The more homogenous the group is, the better. That's also why we encouraged her to go to the internationalised stream. Mother: She's reasonably straight and sensitive, she likes a quiet atmosphere with children who are at about the same level (17).

Here the fear of uncivilised others, of youngsters who go wild is considered as disturbing a 'quiet atmosphere' and having 'effects on the learning process of the whole class'. Clearly, the presence of wild youngsters was perceived as harming the development of their child. Note that the dangerous others were here explicitly categorised as the offspring of immigrants. However, it was not in all cases that the rough and potentially disturbing behaviour was ascribed to immigrants. More often, they were categorised according to their educational level. A mother, policy-maker at a local tax office, who had been looking for a protective educational environment for her relatively young son, had this to say about her encounters with the lower educated parents at her son's football club:

It's the fierceness of their speech and their behaviour that makes me feel uncomfortable (21).

Time and again, parents mentioned the differences in bodily control between themselves and their children on the one hand, and those from lower social backgrounds on the other. Apparently, there is a deep cleavage between the respective socialisation practices that are aimed to impart self-control, which starts with controlling the body on the one hand and the lack of bodily control they observe in other children on the other. I have already described how self-control is a key element of upper middle-class socialisation practices. It is in this light that we should regard parents' concerns about the lack of self-discipline and the unruly behaviour of those 'other children'.

Mother: There are differences between the children in her class and those at the lower levels. They have different interests. But they are also somewhat more disruptive. My daughter told me about them when she had to do an exam and she had been in the same

room with pupils from the junior general secondary education stream [mavo]. They were distracting each other, their motor system is different (20).

This physical wildness is in direct contrast with the attempts to impart self-control in the bodies of middle-class offspring. As I argued before, self-discipline, or the propensity to defer gratification, is also very important for obtaining and maintaining middle-class positions later in life. This is the second reason why parents feared the direct presence of ‘lower others’ at their children’s school.

To be honest, I do not really regard it as a disadvantage that there is no vocational stream at her school. We have always said to our children: you can choose whatever school you like, but please do not choose a school with a vocational stream for God’s sake. Because such streams have such an enormous impact on the quality of the school. So there you have all those kids on scooters and well ... who just don’t care about doing well at school, and think school is not important, just take a job and so.. that sort of thing (8).

Well, when I look around at A’s school [school that offers the internationalised stream her son is going to], I mean that vocational stream well. Well... It’s all very dark [she is referring here to the skin colour of the pupils] and they are not motivated. I don’t want to say they are bad people in general.. but you don’t want your child to mix with them (15).

These are very clear examples of class closure at work. Note that mother no. 8 equated the quality of the school with the class background of its pupils in this respect (compare Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995). These mothers were not only worried about the physical wildness of the lower classes, they also feared a social contamination: that their children would be infected by a lack of motivation, and a lack of interest in educational achievements. For these reasons, gymnasiums are different from most internationalised streams. A mother (dentist, father a lawyer) explicates these differences. Her eldest son went to a gymnasium, the younger brother attended an internationalised stream.

At X [name of school that offers the internationalised stream] it’s completely different. The children are very different from those at the gymnasium. The friends of B [name of youngest son who attended the internationalised stream] really come from a different segment. DW: How did you notice that? Mother: To be very specific: simply the size of their houses. They live in terraced houses. That’s quite different from the house we live in [a large semi-detached house in an affluent neighbourhood]. Also their behaviour, they smoke and drink. At B’s school, smoking and drinking is normal. Children in the second form are already smoking and drinking. That doesn’t happen at gymnasiums, at least not to that extent. Those boys are raised very differently. They don’t smoke and they don’t ride mopeds at the gymnasium. Once we said to A [eldest son who attended gymnasium] “We don’t want you to buy a moped, because we find it too dangerous”. But that was not an issue at all. He said: “Hey I’m at a gymnasium, what do you think?”. At B’s school, most of the pupils attend lower levels of education. [...] These pupils are of the restless kind, let’s put it that way. They do not easily become attached to school, because they need more space and are used to very different behaviour at home than at a gymnasium. They are

simply unwilling people, to use that word (27).

Again: the differences were discussed in terms of bodily control, as this mother referred to the wildness and restless nature as well as to the smoking and drinking habits of the other children. Indeed, the insulation that gymnasium provides was for some families, depending on the local education arena, a major consideration in educational decision-making. The following mother was a former gymnasium drop-out, she was a medical receptionist, the father part of a camera crew. Their daughter had been bullied by ‘wilder kids’, whose company was now to be avoided.

We were only concerned with the wellbeing of our child. And that was safeguarded best at the gymnasium, because that’s simply the safest place (5).

Another example of seeking shelter as one of the considerations for choosing a gymnasium was provided by the following father, an entrepreneur. His two daughters went to a gymnasium. At one point in the interview he talked about parents he was friends with who found the gymnasium an elitist school. I asked him whether that was something to be considered when making the educational transition.

DW: So that actually spoke up for a comprehensive? No. No. No.. On the contrary. I think it’s important to develop yourself within a certain group, but you shouldn’t close your eyes to the fact that there other sorts of people walking around the planet as well (32).

Earlier in the interview, he had explained about these other sorts of people. As a young boy, the child of a successful entrepreneur in farming, he was considered ‘the rich man’s son’ and was beaten up in the primary school playground by working-class children, ‘but I hit back hard’. He then continued by saying that he wanted to teach his daughters how to defend themselves. Because they had encountered similar class-confrontations: ‘when they cycled past the local comprehensive, they were called names, like: “Stuck-up bitches!” [*hockey trutten*].³⁷ Most parents agree that it is important for their children to learn how to interact with other types of people. But it was only in a few cases that they indicated that such interactions should take place at school. Far more parents were satisfied with confrontations that were less intensive. A mother (primary school teacher) whose daughters attended the internationalised stream and the regular pre-university stream of the same comprehensive school, was rather disapproving of their neighbourhood and the elitist nature of the school her children were attending. In her view, to have your children attending the internationalised stream was perceived as a status symbol by neighbouring parents. The father (top-level manager at a Dutch multinational company), was noticeably quiet when his wife discussed

these matters and did not want to comment much on her monologues. Perhaps because he, as an executive of a large multinational company, was the implicit target of her loathing of the privileged. Much to the mother's liking, her children had actually experienced 'others' during an exchange with a British school.

This school, and this neighbourhood, it's such a restrictive social environment. When they went on an exchange with a British school in Liverpool they lived with British families with small houses in Liverpool. They suffered an enormous culture shock. There, the unemployed fathers had enormous bellies and did nothing else but lie on the couch, watching TV and drinking beer in their shorts all day. Both parents and children were not used to that. They complained about that: "that the school should have looked for a better milieu for the exchange". But we [she means her and her husband] did not agree with that. It is a good thing to be confronted with others (33).

Some parents indicated that their behaviour was not in line with their left-wing principles, but in the end they did what they perceived as being the best possible option for their children.

Once I lived in X [name of town] and there we lived in a neighbourhood with mansions, terraced houses and a gypsy camp. It's a terrible thing to say, I know, and it's not really done, but these children and mine, it just doesn't work out. At the time, I intended to socialise with all kinds of people. But these kids... they were spoilt and their parents are narrow-minded. I was constantly busy explaining why we did things differently at home. I was a teacher at a primary school, but the level was so incredibly low. You know, I vote left wing but I really think... it's hard. Helping other people the whole day is really... well it doesn't make you happy. Actually I'm rather glad that they all go to X [name gymnasium] (9).

Such reflections and the tension between left-wing ideals and actual behaviour that is guided by what's in the best interest of the child have also been reported in other studies on school choice (Ball 2003; Broccolichi and Van Zanten 2000; Power, Edwards et al. 2003).

It is very clear from the interviews that for about half of the 35 interviewed parents the presence of rough elements at school was a factor to be considered when making educational decisions. The more the parents perceived a threat from children from lower social classes, the more likely it was that they would opt for a gymnasium, at least when their children had obtained high test scores. This school type provides insulation from the wild and disinterested youth. However, it should be added that the extent to which this fear of unruly children was actually activated in matters of school choice also depended on the personality of the child. In the next section, I will focus on what the children themselves considered of importance with regard to the 'choice' of their school.

Pupils' legitimations of school choice

While the interviews provided a complex picture of education transitions, I have also analysed pupils' reasons for choosing a school in a more straightforward way. In the questionnaires that were completed by the first formers, questions were included that were aimed at identifying their motives for choosing the school they were currently attending. Apart from the fact that such a measurement overlooks the complex process of educational choice (and 'non choice') that has been explained already, there are several other reasons for interpreting the findings of the following analyses concerning school choice with caution. First, it should be noted that the questions about school choice were put to children who had already chosen a school. As such, their answers not only indicate motivations for school choice but also form legitimations of this choice with hindsight. I cannot exclude the possibility that children think differently about the reasons for choosing a school before and after they have actually spent some time at that school. Second, in the situation where a researcher asks them to motivate their choice for that particular school, the thought might cross children's minds whether their arguments are 'valid'. They might be aware of the fact that certain reasons for school choice are perceived to be less legitimate than others. Third, as we have seen above, not every pupil's family had deliberately 'chosen' a school and gone through the process of weighing up all the pros and cons of a school.

I will return to these issues when reflecting on the interpretation of the statistical results later. For now I think it might be an interesting exercise to analyse differences across school types with respect to pupils' legitimations. The differences I am interested in follow the idea of the cosmopolitan and the established pathway. Before I analyse whether pupils' motives fit in these upper middle-class trajectories, I want to know the degree to which gymnasium pupils considered alternative schools, especially internationalised streams, and vice versa. I asked pupils if they had visited information meetings at secondary schools other than the one they were currently attending, and if they could name these schools. This information might provide an insight into the extent to which pupils and their parents had compared alternative options. I did not count the cases in which pupils who attended a gymnasium had visited other gymnasia, because here I am interested in the extent to which pupils visited different school types (and not different schools as such).

To my surprise, it turned out that gymnasium pupils had visited the highest number of schools: 1.70 (s.d. 1.00) on average, followed by pupils at internationalised streams, who had gone to see 1.60 (s.d. 1.05) schools. Their peers at regular streams indicated that they had visited 1.55 (s.d. 1.12) schools. The differences were however non-significant. Given the

exclusive nature of gymnasiums, I had expected that many more pupils at this type of school would go there without considering alternative options, but this is not the case. I also analysed the degree to which pupils at internationalised streams had visited the information meetings at gymnasiums and vice versa, so as to calculate the extent to which these school types can be considered as direct competitors. It emerged that at both school types, about one fifth of the pupils had visited the other school type: 19.5% of the gymnasium pupils had gone to see the closest school that provided the internationalised stream, while 22.6% of the internationalised stream pupils had visited the information meeting of the gymnasium closest to them. This means that a substantial part of the pupils had made a deliberate choice between the internationalised stream and the gymnasium.

So we now know that the majority of the children who attended either a gymnasium or an internationalised stream actually had made a choice between these two school types. To understand the considerations of children related to school choice, I asked them a series of questions of the form: 'I have chosen this school because...' followed by a series of statements about the school. Pupils could indicate whether they agreed with them by means of a rating scale comprising five categories: 1=disagree completely, 2=do not agree, 3=neither disagree, nor agree, 4=agree, 5=completely agree. I clustered some of these statements into three scales. The first scale consisted of three items that were designed to indicate the extent to which school choice is an expression of the wish to become cosmopolitan: 'one can learn English really well here', 'this school organizes excursions and exchanges abroad' and 'I can go abroad more easily after having finished this school' (Cronbach's alpha of 0.68). The second scale (Cronbach's alpha 0.67) was a cluster of motives that justifies school choice on the basis of the schools' supply of extracurricular activities. It consisted of the following statements: 'at this school, music and drama are offered', 'this school offers a lot interesting extracurricular activities' and, 'at this school, I can follow extra additional subjects'.

Obviously, the scale aimed at measuring the extent to which pupils legitimated their school choice by pointing out the wish to become cosmopolitanised belongs to the cosmopolitan trajectory of which the internationalised streams are part. The relationship between the second scale and the established pathway is less obvious. Here I assume that pupils who are attracted to these extracurricular activities have incorporated the type of embodied cultural capital that belongs to the established upper layers (Bourdieu 1984). As we have already discussed in the preceding chapters, such cultural capital requires investments in time and intensive socialisation practices, as well as a family culture in which cultural activities that are freed from economic necessity and lack of practical use are celebrated. The

motives that pertain to the second cluster of legitimations of school choice have in common that they indicate an interest in engaging in activities at school that lack economic benefit or tangible use.

In addition to these two clusters, I included a third set of motives. This third cluster was designed to form a picture of students' desire to choose a 'high quality' school that gives them the opportunity to excel (Cronbach's alpha 0.72), or their wish for 'exclusivity' to put it bluntly. The items were: 'I need challenging education', 'at this school, high achievements are important', 'education is better here', 'this school is better for smart children' and 'this school offers the best opportunities for my future'. The underlying theme of this set of motives is the intention to be set apart from other pupils, to choose a school that confirms their special status. By including this series of motives I hope to be able to test Dronkers' (1993a: 289) hypotheses about English-speaking education in the Netherlands. First, the choice for bilingual education could be regarded as a way of becoming a member of a cosmopolitan culture. This hypothesis pertains to the first cluster of legitimations above. Second, Dronkers (*ibidem*) also hypothesised that the introduction of English-language education might function as a way of keeping the distance between the upper classes and the lower classes.

I also included other, less complicated, legitimations of school choice in the model. The first concerns two reasons for school choice that are commonly said to have a large impact on educational decisions: the vicinity of the school ('I have chosen this school because it is close to my house') and whether friends went to the same school ('I have chosen this school because my friends went to it too'). In addition, I included the degree to which pupils regarded learning classical languages as a reason for choosing a particular school ('I have chosen this school because I can learn Greek and/or Latin here'). Note, by the way, that many internationalised streams have included Latin in their internationalised curriculum (sometimes as a result of requests from parents), so that this question is not only relevant to pupils who attend gymnasiums.

Finally, I included test score, place of residence, and parents' educational level in the models, control variables that have already been explicated earlier in the book. In addition, I included the age of the pupil, a control variable that was not used hitherto. The interview data suggest that the age of the child can have effects on school choice (e.g. seeking a more protected education environment for younger pupils). I used logistic regression analysis to estimate models. To path model these variables would yield quite a complicated model, which will not contribute much more to our understanding, especially so since we already

introduced path models to analyse paths from parental characteristics to school types in chapter 4.³⁸ Here the aim of the analysis is to see to what extent pupils' legitimations of school choice relate to the school types they go to. The resulting effects take the form of odds ratios that indicate whether a variable contributes to or inhibits the chance of a pupil going to either a gymnasium versus a regular pre-university stream, an internationalised stream instead of a regular pre-university stream or, finally, a gymnasium versus an internationalised stream. Odds ratios greater than one indicate, for example, that a certain characteristic increases the chance of a pupil attending a gymnasium on the one hand, rather than a regular pre-university stream on the other.

Table 6-1 Legitimations for school choice; multinomial logistic regression (odds-ratio's)

	Full		Economic		Economic
	Gym. vs. regular	Inter vs. regular	Gym vs. regular	Inter vs. regular	Gym. vs. inter.
Legitimations					
- Cosmopolitanisation	0.77*	5.68**	0.75*	5.91**	0.16**
- Extracurricular	0.95	1.18	-	-	-
- Exclusivity	1.56**	0.56**	1.54**	0.58**	2.40**
- Latin and Greek	2.50**	0.84*	2.44**	0.86~	2.87**
- Friends	0.81*	0.71**	0.81*	0.71**	-
- Close to home	0.91	0.79*	0.93	0.82*	-
Test score	1.25**	1.35**	1.25**	1.35**	-
Age of child	0.56**	0.67**	0.53**	0.64*	-
Residence (ref. =South and East)					
- Big cities	5.10**	0.51~	6.04**	0.56~	10.28**
- Affluent suburbs	0.58~	0.78	-	-	-
Parents' educational level	1.65**	1.42**	1.60**	1.39**	
N	892		892		614
Δ -2loglikelihood ^{a)}	906.56		900.20		455.08
Explained variance (Nagelkerke R ²)	0.72		0.72		0.72

Source: survey of first-year pupils; ~ p<0.10 * p<0.05 ** p<0.01; a) compared to model with intercept only.

Before I discuss the results of the analysis, I want to emphasise that while the clusters of motives—briefly: cosmopolitanisation, extracurricular and exclusivity—are here presented as separate reasons for choosing a school, they are in reality intertwined. I have calculated partial correlations between these clusters, controlling for all the variables shown above. The correlation between cosmopolitanisation and extracurricular was strong and highly significant

($r=0.43$, $p<0.001$), it was also rather strong between cosmopolitanisation and exclusivity ($r=0.36$, $p<0.001$) while there was a lower but still reasonably strong correlation between extracurricular and exclusivity ($r=0.24$, $p<0.001$).³⁹

These interrelationships correspond to the fuzzy character of educational decision-making that emerged from the interviews above and from other research (Reay and Ball 1998): several motives and considerations simultaneously play their part and are tied to the particularities of local education arenas. While keeping this fuzziness in the back of our heads, it is still worth trying to model social reality—which is what I am doing here actually—in a framework that prescribes that exclusivity as a motive for school choice that can be separated from the wish to become cosmopolitan.

I restrict the discussion of the results to model two, because it fits the data equally well while using fewer degrees of freedom.⁴⁰ In the right-hand column, gymnasiums are compared to internationalised streams. Only the best fitted model is shown here, which emerged after eight runs.

First the findings concerning the ‘choice’ to go to a gymnasium rather than a regular pre-university stream will be discussed. Starting with the wish to become cosmopolitan, it emerged that gymnasium pupils were less likely to invoke this argument compared to pupils who went to regular pre-university (each unit increase on the scale that indicated that they had chosen their school because of cosmopolitanism leads to a reduction in the chance of going to gymnasium by 23%). This finding is in accordance with the results of Oonk’s (2004: 50, 114) study. He reported that gymnasiums are less involved with internationalisation than other schools. Contrary to my expectation, gymnasium pupils tended to invoke the argument of extracurricular activities with regard to school choice to a lesser extent than regular pre-university stream pupils did, albeit that the difference was non-significant. Gymnasium pupils indicated significantly more often that their choice for gymnasium is based on their wish for exclusive education. Unsurprisingly, they also invoked the argument of learning classical languages more often. This ‘reason’ for choosing a gymnasium had the largest predicting power. Interestingly, this justification for school choice appeared only seldom as a serious consideration for choosing a gymnasium among parents. The result we see here is probably a consequence of my questions being chosen so that it was convenient for pupils to select their answer and I doubt whether the classical languages indeed have such an effect on pupils’ considerations. Given the social background of gymnasium pupils, it is not surprising that they were less inclined to mention that they had chosen a gymnasium because their friends went there and because the school was close to their home (but only the effect of the latter

motive is significant). Such arguments are typical for lower-class families, while upper middle-class parents and children feel that arguments of social and physical vicinity are less important (Reay and Ball 1998). Finally, it also turned out that age played a role: the younger the children were, the more likely they attended a gymnasium. An increase of pupils' age with one year resulted in almost two times a smaller chance of attending gymnasium. This probably has to do with the wish of parents to provide their younger children with a protected educational environment, as we have learned from the interviews. I will pass over the effects of test score, place of residence, and parental educational level since they were already discussed in earlier chapters, and move on to the 'reasons' for choosing an internationalised stream compared to a regular pre-university stream.

As expected, the more pupils valued the cosmopolitanisation at school, the higher the chance that they would end up attending an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream. This was in fact the largest effect in the model. Each unit increase on the cosmopolitanisation scale led to an almost six times higher chance of going to an internationalised stream. Rather to my surprise, pupils at internationalised streams were less inclined to indicate that they had chosen the internationalised streams for reasons of exclusivity. It emerged that each unit increase on the scale that captured their appreciation of exclusive education led to a decrease in the chance that they wanted to go to an internationalised stream by some 40%. Note that this result is relative to the pupils that attended regular pre-university streams. Consequently, while pupils at regular pre-university streams were of the opinion that their school provided exclusive education, their peers at the internationalised streams denied this. This might be a consequence of differences in the reference categories in the minds of the internationalised stream pupils on the one hand, and the regular pupils on the other. The latter might tend to compare themselves with lower levels of secondary education and feel that they are better off. The former might be comparing the exclusivity of their school to that of the position of the gymnasiums and conclude that they are less well off in terms of exclusivity. With regard to the opportunity to learn classical languages, it turned out that the pupils of the internationalised streams were less inclined to apply this legitimation compared to their peers at regular pre-university streams (the effect is narrowly significant, $p=0.056$). This is interesting since quite a number of internationalised streams offer Latin as well as Greek, as do regular pre-university streams. Apparently, the pupils at the former school type are less interested in these classical languages. The internationalised stream pupils, like their gymnasium counterparts, indicated that they were

inclined to a lesser degree to choose their school because their friends went there or because the school was nearby. Finally, there was an effect of age: younger pupils had a larger chance of ending up at an internationalised stream.

We now turn our attention to model in the right-hand column of Table 6-1, which shows the results of a comparison between pupils attending gymnasiums and those attending internationalised streams. I will discuss the results briefly. In the model presented, only significant effects were included. Motives for school choice like ‘friends’ and ‘close to home’ were removed: we now know that such motives were equally unimportant considerations for pupils who had chosen either a gymnasium or an internationalised stream. Both parental educational level and test score were removed as well: gymnasium and internationalised stream pupils did not differ from each other in this respect. You might wonder how this is possible, since in chapter 2 we established that the two school types differed considerably with regard to the educational level of the parents. But we have to keep in mind that the effect of parental educational level here is not the only variable at work: it intermingles with the motives for school choice. So, while there are significant differences between the parental educational level of both school types, this particular variable was outweighed by others that turned out to be better predictors of the choice between a gymnasium and internationalised streams.

The first of these predictors was pupils’ indication to have chosen their school to become ‘cosmopolitanised’. The more they mentioned this as a reason for school choice, the less they actually attended a gymnasium. The odds ratio amounted to 0.16, which means that each unit higher score on the ‘cosmopolitanisation’ scale yielded a lower chance of choosing a gymnasium rather than an internationalised stream. Or, put differently: a six times ($1/0.16=6.25$) larger chance of going to an internationalised stream rather than a gymnasium. Furthermore, the more pupils indicated they had wanted to attend an exclusive, ‘high quality’ school, the more likely they went to gymnasiums rather than internationalised streams. Unsurprisingly, given the results discussed above, the more pupils indicated having chosen their school because it could provide them with opportunities to learn Latin or Greek, the higher the chance that they actually did choose a gymnasium. All in all, this comparison between gymnasium pupils and internationalised stream pupils offers a picture in which the contrasting features of both school types come to the fore: the wish to become cosmopolitanised and the desire for a traditional, exclusive type of schooling are mutually

exclusive. Or, at the very least, pupils regard these legitimations for school choice as being incompatible.

What can we conclude from this? First, gymnasium pupils did not legitimate their choice for gymnasium vis-à-vis regular streams because of the extracurricular activities that I thought corresponded to the ‘embodied cultural capital of the dominant classes’. Instead, they indicated that the opportunity to learn classical languages and the search for exclusive education were motives for choosing a gymnasium. Perhaps this is a rather weak argument, but learning Greek and Latin are in fact cultural activities that fit very well to the type of embodied cultural capital we are interested in (see also chapter 3). As such, it could be argued that the legitimations of children to choose a gymnasium indeed fit in the established upper middle-class trajectory. However, it might equally well be possible that pupils think that learning classical languages actually does have a practical use for them. More importantly, however, I suspect that pupils simply invoked this motive because it provided them with a convenient answer to a complicated question that is hard to answer by means of a questionnaire. The same is true for the propensity of the pupils at the internationalised stream who said they had chosen their school for cosmopolitan reasons.

Interestingly, the wish of the latter pupils to become cosmopolitanised compensates their negative appreciation of the internationalised stream in terms of a provider of exclusive education. The picture that emerges is that of gymnasiums as schools that safeguard the tradition (the classics) for the risk-avoiding established upper layers. The internationalised streams are then schools for those who are prepared to take larger *perceived* educational ‘risks’, at least relative to the security that gymnasiums provide. Both pupils attending internationalised streams and those attending gymnasiums have in common that their school choice is not motivated by reasons of social and spatial familiarity. In that sense, both gymnasium and internationalised stream pupils are more prepared to break away from friends and environment.

Returning to Dronkers’ (1993a: 289) hypotheses with regard to the decision to attend English-language education, the data provides support for the idea that the choice for internationalised streams could be regarded as a way of becoming a member of a cosmopolitan culture. But, again, note that I have some doubts about the validity of this result. His second hypothesis, that the introduction of a new, exclusive type of education might serve to close off lower classes is rejected, given the finding that the pupils at internationalised streams regard their school as being less exclusive than their peers at regular streams.

Conclusion

As far as Dutch middle-class parents are concerned, the process of school choice is stripped bare of its sharp edge. This sharp edge pertains to the pressing issue of securing a sufficient degree of class closure. For British and French middle-class parents who do not want to, or are not able to, turn to the private sector, choosing a school is a much more risky affair than for their Dutch counterparts. This is so because the segregated structure of Dutch secondary education provides middle-class households with a built-in degree of class closure, at least when their children obtained a test score and a recommendation from their primary school that enables them to enter the highest levels of secondary education. At these higher levels, they will find themselves in school classes that are relatively homogenous socio-economic environments.

This is not to say that there is absence of urgency and anxiety in the transition from primary school to secondary school in the Netherlands. For Dutch parents, the crucial moment is when their children take the final test at primary school. Although the achievements of children on the test as well as the recommendations of the primary school teachers are related to their parents' social background (Dronkers 1993b; Dronkers and De Graaf 1995), there is no guarantee that children from higher educated parents achieve high test scores and recommendations. Consequently, in the Dutch situation, parents' and children's anxiety focusses on the results of the test. As a result of the increasing role that test scores play in assigning pupils to the various levels of secondary education, the anxiety that surrounds the test intensifies as well (De Regt 2004).

The segregated structure of Dutch secondary education provides room for some Dutch middle-class parents to delegate the choice of a school to their children, as long as the chosen school fits within the range of schools that the parents had in mind. This is often the case, if only because most middle-class children are probably not inclined to pick a school that provides only levels of education that are lower than that which they are considered capable of following. In 38 of the 60 transitions analysed, there was a process of deliberate choice involved. In these cases, parents were inclined to provide a framework of choice: they encouraged their children to visit all possible alternatives, to weigh up the pros and cons of each school. It can be argued that the structure of Dutch secondary education provides a rather safe playground where parents can encourage their children to become educational choosers.

However, not all transitions to secondary school involved actual decision-making. Some parents were simply satisfied with the nearest school or with the school already

attended by a sibling. Others sent their children to a gymnasium or to an internationalised stream. In these cases, the specific characteristics of the child were sometimes coupled to a strong desire for class closure and/or the idea that the ‘surplus value’ or ‘giftedness’ of the child should be utilised properly. It was only in a few cases that the parents actually send their children to either an internationalised stream or a gymnasium because of cosmopolitan or cultural reasons.

We already knew from the survey data that the three school types differ considerably with regard to the degree of class closure they provide. Moreover, pupils who attend regular pre-university streams or internationalised streams at comprehensive schools that offer various lower educational levels are confronted much more with ‘others’ than gymnasium pupils are. Furthermore, pupils who follow a regular pre-university stream education attend a mixed-ability first-year class, albeit that the mixing is often restricted to aspiring pre-university pupils and pupils who are assigned to the level just below on the basis of the primary school recommendation and/or their test score. The level below pre-university education is the five-year ‘higher general secondary education’ level [*havo*], which is comparable to the British GCSE Higher programme. The varying degrees of class closure that the three school types provide were perceived sharply by parents. About half of the parents had clear notions of these ‘others’ and took the presence of ‘lower others’ into consideration when choosing a school for their own children.

While many parents indicated that they should—and actually wanted to—prefer socially mixed education environments, all parents who spoke of the ‘others’ portrayed them as potentially threatening. It was clear from parents’ descriptions that these ‘others’ concerned children from lower social classes and/or ethnic minorities. The behaviour of children from lower social classes was at odds with two crucial elements of upper middle-class socialisation goals. First, parents mentioned their wildness, restlessness, roughness, and their smoking and drinking behaviour. This all comes down to a perceived lack of bodily control, or as one parent said: ‘their motor-system is different’. Middle-class upbringing is, among others, oriented to imparting self-control, which starts with controlling the body. I believe that there is a direct link between school achievement and bodily control: the more children have learned to impose their will on their body, for example by learning to play a musical instrument, the better they are able to sit and listen to teachers all day at school. What is more, the disciplining of body and mind by schools and other institutions is, according to Foucault (1989), the main goal of such ‘disciplining institutions’. The second issue that middle-class parents were concerned with in regard to children from lower social class backgrounds was

their perceived lack of interest in matters of education. Some of the parents feared that their children might be infected by such an attitude and that they would lapse into disinterest in their education career: they were ‘unwilling’. The more parents feared ‘other’ children, the more likely they would opt for a gymnasium, particularly so in cases where their child was relatively young or was perceived to be in need of a protective environment.

The interviews with parents showed that the transition to secondary education is a process in which various arguments and considerations are brought into play. The interview data allows us to have a look at the complexities of middle-class educational choosing (and ‘non-choosing’). Such a viewpoint adds some nuances to the statistical analyses presented in previous chapters. This is not to say that the results discussed in this chapter present an argument to reject or to revise the relationships found between middle-class powers and school types. The point is that even while educational ‘choice-making’ and ‘non-choice-making’ is a far from straightforward process, such processes eventually lead to the specific patterns of clustering and activation of middle-class assets in the education arena as described in this and preceding chapters.

Admittedly, neither the finding that pupils at internationalised streams indicated they had chosen their school to become cosmopolitanised, nor the result that gymnasium pupils wanted to learn Latin or Greek contributed much to our knowledge. Much more interesting was that gymnasium pupils actually said that they were less inclined to have chosen their school for cosmopolitan reasons compared to their peers at regular pre-university streams. This suggests that aspirant cosmopolitans drift away from gymnasiums. Similarly, pupils who attended internationalised streams denied that they had chosen their school for reasons of exclusivity compared to their peers at both regular pre-university streams and gymnasiums. Furthermore, while Latin is part of the curriculum at a substantial number of internationalised streams, the pupils also denied that they had chosen their school in order to learn classical languages, again compared to pupils attending either gymnasiums or regular pre-university streams. I suggest therefore that a choice for an internationalised stream can, at the same time, be interpreted as a choice against an established and traditional education environment. A choice for a gymnasium is then a choice against the new, cosmopolitan type of school. But this conclusion should be accompanied by a warning: I did not actually measure motives of school choice but legitimations for choices that had already been made. Since we also found that a large proportion of gymnasium pupils had visited the local internationalised stream and vice versa, such negative reasons for choosing a school could very well originate from their desire to justify their decision with hindsight.

7 The elite school perspective

Preparing for cosmopolitan and established upper middle-class pathways?

Both gymnasiums and internationalised streams are sometimes called ‘elite schools’ in the Dutch media. According to Dijkstra, Dronkers and Karsten (2004: 69), prestigious elite schools outside the state funded sector have virtually disappeared from the Dutch education arena as a consequence of the equal subsidising of all religious and public schools. In addition, state funded schools are not allowed to use extra funds from parents to appoint additional staff. In the Netherlands, Dijkstra et al. argue, one cannot find an equivalent of the British public schools or of the American prep schools.

The characterisation ‘elite school’ often refers to the social background of the pupils of these schools. Social exclusivity is also the general concern of the sociological literature on illustrious American, British, French, and Japanese elite schools. The role that elite schools play in the social reproduction of the upper layers of society is the main viewpoint of most sociological studies in this area. Processes of social reproduction are often studied by measuring the social background of pupils (Euriant and Thelot 1995; Halsey, Heath and Ridge 1984; Ono 2000) and/or by assessing these schools’ contribution to their pupils’ chances of entering prestigious universities and of obtaining elite positions later in life (Katchadourian and Boli 1994; Useem 1984). This elite reproduction perspective is also applied in research that considers the socialisation practices or habitus formation at elite schools. Such studies aim to show how the acquired mental dispositions enhance privileged socio-economic positions (Cookson and Persell 1985). Bourdieu (1996: 88) argued for example that the *classes préparatoires* impose a form of ‘symbolic confinement’ on their pupils. This confinement consists of continuous anxiety and pressure, created by the intense competition that accompanies the preparations for the *Concours* on which entrance to the *grandes écoles* is dependent. As I have argued before, habitus formation at elite schools pertains to the imparting of key elements of upper middle-class socialisation: self-discipline and competitiveness.

This chapter is devoted to an application of the elite school perspective on survey data of pupils who attended the final class of the three school types under study. The average age

of the pupils is 17. At the time of data collection, they were preparing for their final exams. They would leave secondary school upon passing. The data does not allow me to analyse the degree to which our school types contribute to the habitus formation of pupils, or to be more specific, the appropriation of self-discipline and competitiveness. Such analysis requires a longitudinal panel study, preferably combined with observation in classrooms for a considerable period.

Therefore, I will consider the structural dimension of the elite school perspective only. The first question I will try to answer pertains to the social background of the pupils. How do our school types compare to illustrious French and British elite schools in this respect? I restrict the comparison to France and the UK because the only recent data I was able to access pertained to these societies.

The second question concerns the degree to which there are differences across the school types with regard to their pupils' chances of obtaining upper middle-class positions later in life. Given that the three school types provide equal access to university, and the virtual absence of differentiation between Dutch universities, I believe that possible differences with regard to the future socio-economic positions of pupils across school types are not so much related to tertiary education. Rather, I would like to view such differences from the perspective of established and/or cosmopolitan upper middle-class trajectories. This is not to say that these two pathways are the only ones that lead to upper middle-class positions. But given the distinct relationships between established and cosmopolitan assets on the one hand, and gymnasiums and internationalised streams on the other, it is only logical to investigate to what extent pupils actually intend to follow these particular social trajectories. I assume that pupils who want to tread either of these pathways have more chances of attaining upper middle-class positions later in life than those who do not. All things being equal, the possession of cosmopolitan assets and/or assets that are of value in established circles increase the chances of entering the upper middle class.

I have formulated two other questions with regard pupils' intentions to follow either the cosmopolitan or the established route to the upper middle class. My third question is to what extent parental indicators of cosmopolitanism and establishment are related to pupils' plans to go cosmopolitan or to head for the established trajectory. Finally, the fourth question concerns whether competitiveness and self-discipline affect the intention to follow either the established or the cosmopolitan trajectory after secondary school. While I have just indicated that I cannot properly examine the role of the schools with regard to the habitus formation of pupils, the survey of pupils did contain measurements of both self-reported self-discipline and

competitiveness, and I find it interesting to compare the school types in this respect. I have to admit that we can only speculate where such differences would originate from, and that these self-reported degrees of self-control and competitiveness are captured in a rather superficial way. More importantly however, I wish to analyse the effects of these mental dispositions on, again, the intentions of pupils to tread the cosmopolitan or the established pathways upon leaving school.

The social background of elite school pupils in France, the UK, and the Netherlands

The educational context in which the three Dutch school types operate differs considerably from British and French education arenas. In each education system, different ways of class closure are sought by middle-class households. To what extent is the degree of exclusivity of the three Dutch school types comparable to that of British and French elite schools? Although the mechanisms of class closure work differently in, respectively, British and French society, it is still worth comparing the outcomes of these processes. Do the schools at the highest level of Dutch secondary education fulfil the same role with regard to class closure for the Dutch upper middle classes as private schools or otherwise illustrious preparatory schools do for their British and French counterparts? Recall that the fraction of upper middle-class parents was nearly two thirds at gymnasium, almost 49% at internationalised streams and slightly over 37% at regular pre-university streams.

Adonis and Pollard (1997: 24) measured the social background of parents of pupils who attended British elite private education in 1994. They ignored the not-so-exclusive private schools: all sorts of denominational schools or otherwise less expensive and less selective schools. As Power et al. (2003: 17) observed, Adonis and Pollard concentrated on the schools that were ‘associated with social advantage in either the typical origins or typical destinations of their pupils’. Therefore, I think we can safely assume that Adonis and Pollard did not underestimate the social exclusivity of the British private schools. They found that two thirds of the parents whose children attended an elite private school in 1994 belonged to what they call the ‘super class’. Their ‘super class’ resembles what is here defined as the upper middle class. Although there is a time gap of about ten years between my data and those of Adonis and Pollard, I think it is reasonable to say that the Dutch gymnasiums are just as socially exclusive with regard to the origins of their pupils as these British private schools that are ‘associated with social advantage’ (Power, Edwards et al. 2003: 17).

In France, also in 1994, Euriat and Thelot (1995: 410) found that 48.5% of the pupils

who attended the *classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles* had a father who belonged to the *cadres supérieures et de professeurs*, occupations that, roughly speaking, pertain to the upper middle class. As their finding is based on all pupils attending these preparatory classes that year, we can be sure that their data provide a sound basis for comparison. Therefore, we may conclude that gymnasiums are more socially selective than the *classes préparatoires*, while internationalised streams are on a par with the French preparatory classes.

Given these indications about the elitist character of gymnasiums, and to a lesser extent also of the internationalised streams, it is all the more justified to pose the question of the extent to which pupils at gymnasiums, internationalised streams, and regular pre-university streams actually differ with respect to their intention to take either the cosmopolitan or the established pathway to upper middle-class positions.

Nobility of the chosen ones

While I did not systematically observe socialisation processes in classrooms, the case studies of the introduction of an internationalised stream at eight schools provided me with information about the ways the staff at the internationalised streams perceived their pupils. The anecdotal data that I describe here serves to show how teachers' attitudes towards pupils might acknowledge the latter's feelings on belonging to the 'chosen ones'. In his *State Nobility*, Bourdieu (1996: 73-101) uses a concept of nobility that is concerned with what he calls the 'mental structures of the chosen ones'. In the following, I will apply this nobility concept loosely to what I heard and saw during visits to the schools.

First, Bourdieu's concept of nobility concerns the 'noble nature' of pupils. This pertains to their perceived natural giftedness, their talent and at the same time the disguise of any familial heritage. Following observations are related to the perceived noble nature of the pupils. At seven of the eight schools, school managers and teachers indicated that the internationalised stream had confronted the staff with 'another kind of classes' than they had been accustomed to. They noticed that the internationalised stream attracted pupils who 'have never learned to study at primary school, who never had to make an effort at school, and who always scored the highest marks'. When I entered a classroom to participate in a lesson in English of the internationalised stream, the teacher introduced me to the class by saying: 'Here they are, these are the apples of my eyes'. At most schools it is mentioned that teaching a class filled with motivated and smart pupils is very inspiring for both teachers and pupils. I was told that these smart pupils require teachers to adopt a different didactic approach. As a school manager said: 'Now and then we have bloody smart kids. And a lot of teachers are just not used to that because we've never had these kinds of kids at this school. There is a kind of fear among teachers as well. Like, "wait a second, these kids are a whole lot sharper and smarter than I ever was". The average teacher here is not used to that kind of pupils'. The combination of motivation, capacities, and the feeling that they 'are allowed to be smart', results in pupils 'outrunning their teachers'. Other indications for the perceived noble nature of the pupils attending internationalised streams appeared for example in the school brochures. One school wrote about the necessary preconditions for entrance and mentioned 'linguistic feeling' as a prerequisite, in another school brochure 'a more than average intelligence' was a criterion for selection. Fruhauf (1994: 46) interviewed some pupils and reported: 'they turn out to be intelligent and have good verbal capacities'.

Second, Bourdieu's nobility comprises a 'noble attitude': confidence, self-assurance, ease, natural leadership, and also dilettantism. So, for instance, a teacher told me: 'The motivation of these pupils is really different. They are really willing to go for it. We, the teachers, we are beginning to become aware of that. All of a sudden, we teachers got a selected group of pupils who are ready, willing, and able'. It was sometimes said that these pupils were a bit too fast in giving their critical replies to teachers, that they were a bit over-confident. A former teacher summed it up like this: 'There was an

enormous chemistry at work when you put these pupils together in one class. You have to change your didactic approach drastically. As a teacher, you can't be talking the whole lesson. They won't let you, they want to do things themselves, they want to give the answer themselves. You have to let them work for themselves and then it appears they can do an inconceivable amount. The possibilities of these classes are unlimited'.

Third, nobility is understood as a 'destiny', which means that pupils have to sacrifice, to learn to be self-disciplined, and devote themselves to their schoolwork. I also found a tendency to emphasise the noble destiny of the pupils. It was sometimes commented that pupils attending the internationalised streams were 'suddenly confronted with demanding homework and unsatisfactory marks for the first time in their lives and they don't know how to handle that'. Not only do these pupils have to learn that they have to work at school, they also must learn to accept unsatisfactory marks. In addition, teachers had high expectations of the pupils attending the internationalised stream. Some of them penalised the errors of the pupils attending the internationalised stream twice as much compared to pupils attending regular pre-university streams who did the same test. A teacher: 'It appears that the staff demands more of them and views them as the chosen ones'. A mother, involved with the introduction of the internationalised stream at another school: 'There are several teachers here who clearly have high expectations of these pupils. Especially the English teacher, he cherishes that group'. The schools seem to refer to the noble destiny in their brochures as well. Especially hard work, motivation, effort, and challenge are mentioned frequently. Some schools point to the ultimate noble destiny: their internationalised streams constitute the first step 'to top positions in the Europe of the future', 'internationally oriented jobs at a top level' or 'towards a brilliant career'. Because of the acknowledgement of their nobility, pupils attending the internationalised streams might indeed feel they belong to the chosen ones. This might, in turn, contribute to the recognition of their superiority and the acceptance of their destiny by themselves and by others.

Cosmopolitan and established pathways revisited

I will now consider whether gymnasiums and internationalised streams stimulate the treading of cosmopolitan or established upper middle-class trajectories by pupils: to what extent are pupils who attend internationalised streams more inclined to go cosmopolitan compared to pupils of the other two school types? And to what degree do gymnasium pupils have a higher propensity for taking the established pathway? In addition to analysing the role of the schools in this respect, I will consider the effects of parental indicators of cosmopolitanism and establishment as well as those of pupils' self-reported self-discipline and competitiveness.

The cosmopolitan trajectory is here understood as the intention of pupils to study abroad or to follow an internationalised study in the Netherlands upon leaving secondary school.

Internationalised studies pertain to studies taught in English with an international orientation like European law, business administration. The established route comprises pupils' intention to become a member of a traditional student association, the Corps, which provides access to the established social network (Dronkers and Hillege 1998). In addition, I explored the relationship between school types and pupils' current cosmopolitan and established behaviour. The former pertains to the frequency of reading foreign magazines and newspapers, the latter comprises pupils' possession of legitimate—established—cultural capital, which is here captured by the frequency of playing a classical musical instrument.

In addition to analysing the relationships between school types, pupils' plans to tread an upper middle-class trajectory and their current cosmopolitan or established behaviour, I will consider the role of self-control and competitiveness. Self-control and competitiveness were measured by rating scales. Pupils were able to indicate how they perceived themselves with regard to issues that I related to either self-discipline or competitiveness (see chapter 2). So, the degrees of self-discipline and competitiveness are in fact self-reported self-discipline and self-reported competitiveness. The focus here is on the role that these mental dispositions play in the degree to which pupils want to enter the cosmopolitan and/or the established pathway.

I also included indicators of parental cosmopolitanism and parental membership of the established upper layers in the analyses in order to disentangle effects of school types, pupils' current cosmopolitan/established behaviour, and effects originating from their home environment. Recall that the data used rely on surveys of the pupils who attended the final year of the six-year pre-university curriculum, be it a regular pre-university stream, an internationalised stream or a gymnasium. Consequently, the measurement of parental features analysed here was based on information as reported by their children (see Appendix I for a comparison between the surveys of the parents and those of pupils). The indicators of parental establishment comprised parental membership of the upper middle class and the number of luxury investments at home (antique furniture, yacht, second home). Two variables aimed to capture parental cosmopolitanism. First, a rating scale was used to measure the frequency of various types of cosmopolitan behaviour of both parents, as reported by their children: business trips abroad; duration of business trips abroad; speaking English at work; writing English at work; hosting foreign guests at home; visiting foreign friends; reading foreign books and foreign newspapers (Cronbach's alpha 0.83). The time categories were the same as used earlier. The second operationalisation of cosmopolitanism was whether parents had lived abroad for longer than one year, again based on information provided by their children.

To find out to what extent going cosmopolitan after secondary school is a different pathway than taking the established path, I analysed the degree of overlap between the two. It turned out that there was a very small and non-significant correlation between the two ($r=0.06$, n.s). Of the 51 pupils who wanted to join the Corps, nine (17.6%) also planned to study abroad or follow an internationalised study. The correlation between the frequency of reading foreign magazines and newspapers and the frequency of playing a classical musical instrument was non-significant ($r=0.03$) as well. So we can conclude that both trajectories are not likely to coincide with one another.

Table 7-1 shows an overview of the expected relationships. The predictions follow from the findings presented in preceding chapters. The features shown in the left-hand column are assumed to have effects on pupils' inclination to tread the cosmopolitan pathway, presented in the middle column, and their propensity for entering the established route to upper middle-class positions, shown in the right-hand column.

Table 7-1 Predicted relationships between middle-class pathways, school types, and parents' and pupils' characteristics

	Cosmopolitan trajectory	Established trajectory
Internationalised stream	+	n.a.
Gymnasium	n.a.	+
Parental establishment	-	+
Parental cosmopolitanism	+	-
Pupils' self-control	+	+
Pupils' competitiveness	+	+

Note that the effects of attending a certain school type are here compared to attending both the other school types. So, being a gymnasium pupil is assumed to increase the chance of entering the established path, as opposed to attending either an internationalised stream or a regular pre-university stream. The expected relationships are straightforward enough. Attending an internationalised stream as opposed to the other two school types is expected to increase the intention of going abroad for a study or of following an internationalised study in the Netherlands as well as on pupils' current cosmopolitan behaviour, captured by the frequency of reading foreign magazines and newspapers. Attending a gymnasium rather than internationalised and regular streams is expected to enhance pupils' plan to following the established upper middle-class trajectory. In other words: gymnasiums pupils are expected to be more inclined to join a traditional student association and to possess more embodied cultural capital, here represented by the time they spend playing a classical musical instrument. I did not analyse the degree to which gymnasium pupils planned to go cosmopolitan or the extent to which pupils of internationalised streams wanted to join the Corps, so predictions are not applicable in this respect.

Turning to parental features, I expect that parental features of establishment reduce pupils' propensity to tread the cosmopolitan trajectory and their cosmopolitan reading. This prediction follows from the results of chapter 4, which showed that attending an internationalised stream was negatively related to the measures of establishment. Furthermore, we had found that parental measures of cosmopolitanism were only weakly

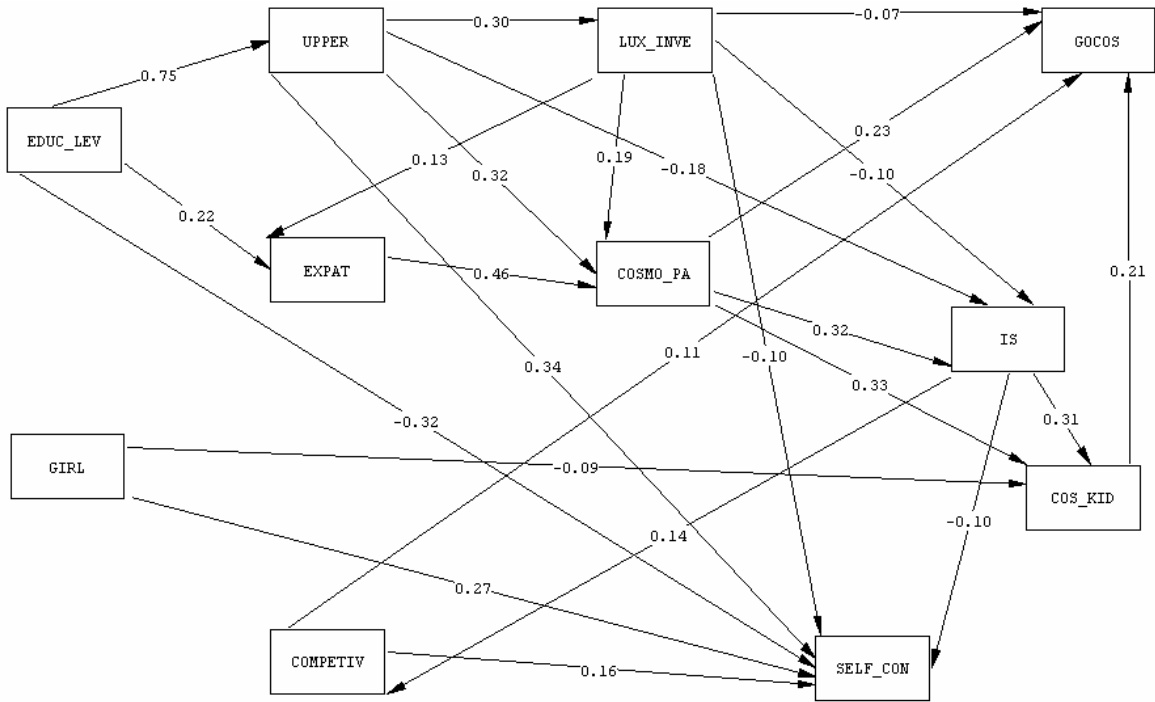
related to features of establishment. Parental cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, is expected to reduce the odds that pupils plan to join the Corps and play a classical musical instrument. After all, in chapter 4 we found that cosmopolitanism actually diminished the relative chances of attending a gymnasium, which I take to be a site where established assets cluster.

Finally, the prediction is that self-discipline and competitiveness both contribute to the intention of pupils to join either of the upper middle-class trajectories. This prediction simply follows on from the assumption that these dispositions are crucial elements of upper middle-class socialisation. Therefore, the more pupils possess these elements of the upper middle-class habitus, the stronger their inclination to follow trajectories that enhance their chances to obtain such class positions later in life.

The cosmopolitan road to upper middle-class positions

I analysed direct and indirect interrelationships by means of path analysis. Pupils attending internationalised streams on the one hand were compared to those attending gymnasiums and regular pre-university streams on the other. GOCOS stands for going cosmopolitan after secondary school, i.e. whether they had plans to study abroad or to follow an internationalised study in the Netherlands, COS_KID indicates pupils' frequency of reading foreign magazines and newspapers. IS means that the comparison concerns internationalised streams versus the other two school types. Parental membership of the upper middle class is represented by UPPER, while LUX_INVE stands for the number of luxury investments at home. Obviously, EXPAT indicates whether parents have been living abroad and COSMO_PAR stands for the frequency of parental cosmopolitan behaviour. COMPETIV concerns the scale of pupils' self-reported competitiveness and SELF_CON indicates the measurement of their perceived self-control. Finally, I also included following control variables: EDUC_LEV, parental education level (as reported by their children) and, GIRL, whose meaning is obvious. I introduced gender in the model since there are gender-related differences in the degree of self-discipline concerning schoolwork (see De Regt and Weenink in press). In the following figures, the arrows represent significant effects ($p < 0.05$).

Figure 7-1 Path model of the intention to study abroad or to follow an internationalised study, pupils of internationalised streams versus regular pre-university stream and gymnasium pupils, standardised effects (N=504)



Goodness of fit indices: $\chi^2 = 35.41$, $df = 30$, $p = 0.23$; 90% confidence interval for RMSEA = 0.0-0.038; AGFI = 0.99. Method of estimation: WLS.

Before I discuss the results of the analysis, I would like to explain how I modelled the direction of some arrows, as you might question the causality of some of the effects. The first case of ambiguous causality is that I assumed that the number of luxury investments had effects on parents being ex-expatriates and the frequency of cosmopolitan behaviour (the arrows from LUX_INVE to EXPAT and to COSMO_PA). In my view, belonging to the established, here represented by luxury possessions, actually precedes going abroad, while being cosmopolitan does not turn someone into a member of the established upper layers.⁴¹

The second case of ambiguous causality pertains to effects of attending an internationalised stream on both competitiveness and self-control (see the arrows going from IS to COMPETIV and SELF_CON). This means that I assume that these mental dispositions are influenced by the type of school pupils attend. Had I modelled the effects in the reverse direction, this would have indicated that I assumed that pupils went to a certain school type because of their competitiveness (or lack of it) and self-discipline. Such an assumption is far-fetched in my view. Therefore, my point of departure is that there is indeed an effect of attending a certain school type, although I cannot reveal how such effects actually come into

being and what roles the school, staff, and peers play in this respect on the basis of the data collected in this study. All in all, I will assume that the model is correctly specified and go on to compare my predictions with the actual results of the model.

In what follows, I will discuss the results of the analysis of pupils' plans to go abroad and their current cosmopolitan reading behaviour. We will consider the role of school type (taking the internationalised streams as the reference category as opposed to both the other two), measures of parental cosmopolitanism and establishment and pupils' perceived self-control and competitiveness.

What is the role of the internationalised streams with regard pupils reading foreign magazines and newspapers and the odds of intending to go abroad for a study or to follow an internationalised study in the Netherlands? There was indeed a large (0.31) and significant positive effect of attending an internationalised stream on the frequency of reading foreign magazines and newspapers (a direct effect; see the arrow from IS to COS_KID). There was also a significant positive effect of attending an internationalised stream on the intention to go cosmopolitan after secondary school, albeit that this effect was much smaller (0.08). The path flowed mainly through the frequency of reading foreign magazines and papers (from IS through COS-KID to GOCOS: $0.31 * 0.21 = 0.065$). A much smaller part ran via pupils' competitiveness (from IS via COMPETIV to GOCOS: $0.14 * 0.11 = 0.015$). The latter indirect path suggests again that pupils at internationalised streams are slightly more competitive, or to be more precise: they are less non-competitive than their peers at the other two school types.

How does parental establishment relate to the cosmopolitanism of pupils? I predicted that the indicators of establishment would reduce pupils' cosmopolitanism. The first indicator of establishment was parental membership of the upper middle class. What are the effects of this variable on cosmopolitan reading behaviour of pupils? It turned out that the offspring of upper middle-class parents had a larger chance of reading foreign magazines and papers than those of lower social classes (total effect amounted to 0.11). The greater part of this effect went through the frequency of parental cosmopolitan behaviour and then to the frequency of cosmopolitan reading behaviour of their children (UPPER*COSMO_PA to COS_KID: $0.32 * 0.33 = 0.106$). A much smaller positive effect went through parental cosmopolitanism and attending an internationalised stream (UPPER*COSMO_PA*IS to COS_KID: $0.32 * 0.32 * 0.31 = 0.032$). Other indirect paths departed from parental membership of the upper

middle class through the number of luxury investments at home and then to parental cosmopolitan behaviour and/or having parents who had lived abroad. These indirect paths together yielded a positive effect of 0.13. Interestingly, these positive indirect effects were reduced by the negative effects of having upper middle-class parents on attending an internationalised stream (UPPER*IS to COS_KID: $-0.18*0.31 = -0.056$ and UPPER*LUX_INVE*IS to COS_KID: $0.30*-0.10*0.31 = -0.009$).

And what about the effects of parental membership of the upper middle class on the odds that pupils wanted to go cosmopolitan upon leaving secondary school? It emerged that there was a total positive effect of having upper middle-class parents of 0.09. The greatest part of this total effect flowed through parental cosmopolitan behaviour and then to pupils' intention to go cosmopolitan (UPPER* COSMO_PAR to GOCOS: $0.32*0.23 = 0.074$). Other, smaller effects ran through the frequency of parental cosmopolitan behaviour and/or the number of luxury investments and then via pupils' frequency of cosmopolitan reading behaviour. These smaller positive effects amounted to 0.048. Similar to the pattern described above, there were also negative indirect effects. There was a small negative effect from parental upper middle-class position via the number of luxury investments on the odds that pupils wanted to follow a cosmopolitan study of -0.021 (UPPER*LUX_INVE to GOCOS: $0.30*-0.07$) and still a smaller one that ran through attending an internationalised stream and the frequency of pupils' cosmopolitan reading behaviour (UPPER*IS*COS_KID to GOCOS: $-0.18*0.31*0.21 = -0.012$).

The effects of the other indicator of parental establishment, the number of luxury investments, was already touched upon in the detailed explication above. Here, it suffices to say that the sum of both direct and indirect paths of the number of luxury investments on the frequency of cosmopolitan reading behaviour resulted in a positive effect of 0.08. Concerning the plans of pupils to follow a study abroad or an internationalised study in the Netherlands, negative and positive effects of the number of luxury investments outweighed each other so that the total effect was non-significant and very, very small.

To summarise the effects of parental establishment on pupils' cosmopolitanism, it emerged that when pupils had upper middle-class origins, they more often planned to go cosmopolitan upon leaving school and they also engaged more in cosmopolitan reading behaviour. These positive effects were indirect and small: they mainly ran through the current cosmopolitan behaviour of parents. Also, the more luxury investments, the more often pupils read cosmopolitan magazines and papers. Interestingly, however, these positive indirect effects were reduced by negative indirect effects that flowed from parental membership of the

upper middle class through the number of luxury investments on attending an internationalised stream. What's more, there was also a direct negative effect of the number of luxury goods on pupils' plans to go cosmopolitan after secondary school.

Now I will continue the discussion with regard to the indicators of parents' cosmopolitanism and on pupils' propensity for following the cosmopolitan route. Corresponding to the rather obvious prediction, the frequency of parental cosmopolitan behaviour had large positive effects on both the intention to go cosmopolitan after secondary school (effect size 0.32) and on the frequency of reading foreign magazines and newspapers (0.43). The greater part of these effects were direct: respectively 69% and 77% of the total effects. Pupils from ex-expatriate households were also more likely to plan to follow a cosmopolitan study. The total effect amounted to 0.15, about three quarters of which ran through the frequency of parental cosmopolitan behaviour, and the rest via attending an internationalised stream and/or cosmopolitan reading behaviour of children. The effect of having ex-expatriate parents on the frequency of cosmopolitan reading behaviour was 0.19, with most of it again flowing through current parental cosmopolitan behaviour. This confirms the finding reported in chapter 4 that intergenerational transfer of cosmopolitan assets is taking place. Since we also found that attending an internationalised stream increased pupils' plans to study abroad or follow an internationalised study in the Netherlands as well as their cosmopolitan reading behaviour, this school type can be regarded as a site where cosmopolitan assets are reproduced.

Finally, I will consider the role of self-discipline and competitiveness on pupils' propensity for taking the cosmopolitan road to upper middle-class positions: while there is no effect of pupils' self-discipline whatsoever, there was a small but significant direct positive effect of competitiveness (0.11).

Before we set out to analyse pupils' inclination to follow the established path, I will summarise the findings with regard to the exercise above. The first series of findings concerns the role of school type. It emerged that pupils who attended an internationalised stream versus gymnasiums and regular pre-university streams slightly more often intended to study abroad or follow an internationalised study in the Netherlands. This effect was indirect: pupils at internationalised streams more often read foreign magazines and newspapers, which in turn led to a greater propensity for going cosmopolitan after leaving secondary school.

The second set of results pertains to parental establishment. It turned out that parents' membership of the upper middle class—as compared to all other classes—slightly but

significantly increased the chances that pupils planned to go cosmopolitan. Also, pupils from upper middle-class households more often read foreign magazines and newspapers. These positive effects were indirect: upper middle-class parents were more cosmopolitan, which in turn had strong effects on pupils' propensity for following the cosmopolitan trajectory. While attending an internationalised stream turned out to be relatively less liable to class closure in chapter 4, we here see that the actual appropriation of cosmopolitan assets is dependent on membership of the upper middle class. This is so because upper middle-class parents more often engage in cosmopolitan behaviour, which in turn increases the chance of their children intending to go abroad to study and the frequency of their cosmopolitan reading behaviour. I have to admit that membership of the upper middle class is an ambiguous indicator of establishment since these upper middle-class parents could be social climbers. Nevertheless, we here see that taking the cosmopolitan pathway is less 'socially open' than attending an internationalised stream as such. The number of luxury investments slightly increased pupils' frequency of reading foreign magazines and newspapers but it did not have effects on their plans to go abroad to study or to follow an internationalised study in the Netherlands. If we assume that the number of luxury investments are related to the seniority of stay in the upper layers, or the social power over time, then the finding that the luxury investments encourage the frequency of cosmopolitan reading, but do not relate to pupils' intention to follow a cosmopolitan study provides support for the idea, put forward in chapter 4, that the established fraction of the upper middle class relies on cosmopolitan assets in domestic areas.

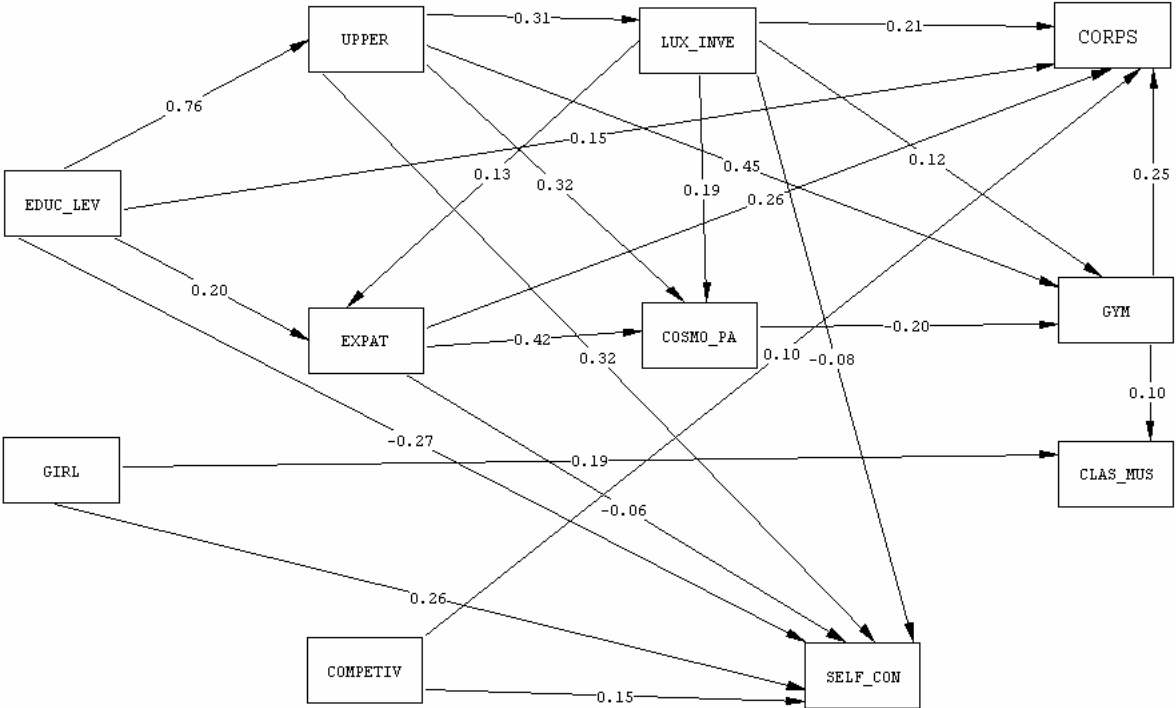
I can be very brief on the relationships between parental cosmopolitan behaviour and pupils' inclination to follow the cosmopolitan pathway: the more cosmopolitan parents were, the more cosmopolitan their children. Finally, it emerged that the more competitive pupils were, the more likely they wanted to go cosmopolitan after completing secondary school. But this effect was small. These results will be contrasted with the findings of preceding chapters below.

The established road to upper middle-class positions

I will now present the analysis of the degree to which pupils want to tread the established pathway. We will again consider the role of school type (taking the gymnasiums as the reference category as opposed to both the other two), of parental indicators of establishment and cosmopolitanism and pupils' self-reported self-discipline and competitiveness. Here, pupils' intention to become a member of a traditional students' association is indicated by the

block CORPS and the frequency of playing a classical musical instrument appears as CLAS_MUS.

Figure 7-2 Path model of the intention to join the Corps, pupils of gymnasiums versus pupils of regular pre-university and internationalised streams (N=505)



Goodness of fit indices: $\chi^2 = 40.10$, $df = 31$, $p = 0.13$; 90% confidence interval for RMSEA = 0.0-0.044; AGFI = 0.99. Method of estimation: WLS.

Note that this path analysis compares pupils at gymnasiums with pupils at the other two school types. I start the discussion with regard to the expected positive relationship between attending a gymnasium and pupils' propensity for following the established pathway, which consisted of joining a traditional student association and the frequency of playing a classical musical instrument. We can see that attending a gymnasium indeed has a significant positive effect on playing a classical musical instrument. But it should be noted that this effect is not particularly strong (0.10). The effect of attending a gymnasium on the odds that pupils wanted to join a traditional student association is also positive, and can be regarded reasonably strong (0.25).

And what about the relationship between parental indicators of establishment and pupils' desire to join the established? I discuss the effects of having upper middle-class parents first. Parental membership of the upper middle class had a significant positive but small indirect

effect (total effect of 0.04) on the frequency of playing a classical musical instrument. This effect mainly ran from occupying an upper middle-class position through attending a gymnasium to playing a classical musical instrument. Not surprisingly, pupils from upper middle-class backgrounds also appeared to be more inclined to join the Corps (total effect size of 0.18). Again this effect consisted of indirect paths. The largest flowed through attending a gymnasium (UPPER*GYM to CORPS: $0.45*0.25=0.113$), the second largest ran via the number of luxury investments at home (UPPER*LUX_INVE to CORPS: $0.31*0.21=0.065$). Other indirect paths outweighed each other. Interestingly, these positive effects were slightly reduced by a small negative effect via parental cosmopolitan behaviour and attending gymnasiums (UPPER*COSMO_PA*GYM to CORPS: $0.32*-0.20*0.25=-0.016$ and UPPER*LUX_INVE*GYM to CORPS: $0.31*0.12*0.25=0.009$).

The other measurement of parental establishment pertained to the number of luxury investments at home. It appeared that this feature had a rather large positive effect on the propensity for becoming a member of the Corps (total effect 0.26). By far the greatest part of this effect was direct (about 80%), the rest flowed via attending a gymnasium. Contrary to my expectation however, there was no effect of luxury investments on playing classical musical instruments.

I continue the discussion with the effects of parental cosmopolitanism: the frequency of parents' current cosmopolitan behaviour and whether they had lived abroad. I predicted that these features reduced pupils' desire to belong to the established. It turned out that parents' current cosmopolitan behaviour indeed resulted in small but significant negative effects; the more parents meet foreign friends, travel abroad, and speak and read English, the less their offspring wanted to join the Corps and the less their children played a classical musical instrument. Both effects consisted of indirect paths that went from parents' cosmopolitanism to attending a gymnasium and then to either joining a traditional students association or playing a classical instrument (COSMO_PA*GYM to CORPS and to CLAS_MUS). Having ex-expatriate parents also resulted in a very small negative effect on playing a classical musical instrument. But then, strikingly, it appeared that children from ex-expatriates were actually more inclined to join the Corps. The total effect amounted to a considerable 0.24. By far the greater part (0.26) of this effect was direct. It was slightly reduced by a path from having lived abroad through parental cosmopolitanism via attending a gymnasium and finally to the desire to join a traditional students association (EXPAT*COSMO_PAR*GYM to CORPS: $0.42*-0.20*0.25=-0.021$).

Finally, I will consider the effects of the self-reported degrees of self-discipline and competitiveness on pupils' propensity for following the established trajectory. Similar to the analysis shown in Figure 7-1, there was no effect of self-control. And similar to the positive effect of competitiveness on pupils' desire to study abroad or to follow an internationalised study in the Netherlands, it emerged in this analysis that competitiveness also enhanced the odds that pupils wanted to join a traditional students association. This effect was direct and amounted to 0.10.

What can be learned from the path analysis in short? First, it is clear that gymnasium pupils are much more inclined to join the Corps. They also more often play classical musical instruments. It also turned out that playing a classical musical instrument did not relate significantly to the intention of becoming a member of a traditional students association. Apparently, joining the established culture is not tied to entering the established social network that is provided by the Corps.

Second, parental indicators of establishment also resulted in a higher propensity for following the established road. Both pupils' desire to join a traditional students association and the frequency of playing a classical musical instrument increased if they were from upper middle-class homes. These effects were indirect: an upper middle-class background increased the likelihood of attending a gymnasium, which in turn led to a desire to tread the established pathway. The more luxury investments at home, the more pupils wanted to join a traditional students association, while there was no such effect of luxury investments on playing a classical musical instrument.

Third, parental cosmopolitanism had ambiguous effects on treading the established pathway. The more parents engaged in current cosmopolitan behaviour, the less their children's desire to join the Corps, and the less they played a classical musical instrument: the more parents engaged in cosmopolitan behaviour, the less chance of their children going to a gymnasium, and in turn this led to a diminishing chance of playing a classical musical instrument. However, pupils who had ex-expatriate parents were more inclined to join the Corps. Although this latter effect was direct and rather strong, I have no explanation for it.

Finally, it turned out that there was a small but significant effect of pupils' competitiveness on the chance of them wanting to join a traditional students association.

Once again: established, cosmopolitans, and school types

While we found in chapter 4 that there was no relationship between parental establishment and attending an internationalised stream as opposed to attending a regular pre-university stream, in the analyses presented here, in which we compared internationalised streams with both the other two school types, there even emerged a small but significant negative relationship between measures of establishment and internationalised streams. With regard to the school type that upper middle-class children eventually went to, two forms of upper middle-class power—established and cosmopolitan—led to diverging ‘choices’. First, we found that established powers not only pushed children to gymnasiums but also pulled them away from internationalised streams. There were direct negative effects of both parental membership of the upper middle class (-0.18) and the number of luxury investments (-0.10) on the chance that pupils attended an internationalised stream rather than the other two school types. Although both these indicators of establishment were positively related to parental cosmopolitanism and therefore indirectly to the chance of attending an internationalised stream as well, their total effects remained significantly negative, albeit very small in the case of the number of luxury investments. Second, it emerged that the more parents engaged in cosmopolitan behaviour and/or whether they had lived abroad, the less the chance that their children attended a gymnasium rather than either internationalised streams and regular pre-university streams. Therefore the possession of cosmopolitan assets by parents pulled their children away from gymnasiums and pushed them to internationalised streams. The total effect of parental cosmopolitan behaviour amounted to -0.20, and that of having lived abroad -0.084.

Gendered social trajectories

While gender is not my main concern, it is worth saying a bit more about its effects, without trying to embed gender differences theoretically here. In chapter 4 it turned out that parents found that the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets is less important for girls than for boys. I related this to the traditional gender roles in ex-expatriate households. But how do girls themselves view cosmopolitan trajectories? From the analyses shown above it emerged that being a girl led to significant negative effects on both the frequency of reading foreign magazines and newspapers, and via such an activity, also on their plans to go abroad to study or to follow an internationalised study in the Netherlands. While these effects were small (respectively -0.09 and $-0.09 \times 0.21 = -0.019$), it is still interesting to observe how they come

about. However, I prefer to refrain from speculating on this issue here. For now, it suffices to say that the traditional gender roles that are part of the cosmopolitan lifestyle are already visible with regard to the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets at an early age.

Furthermore, gender also had effects on the frequency of playing musical instruments. Boys were less likely to engage in this activity compared to girls. The effect was rather strong. In other words, girls are more likely to acquire cultural capital that is valued in the established circles. One might say that they are thus more inclined to enter the established route. However, there were no gender differences with regard to joining the established social network that is provided by membership of the Corps.

Gender turned out to have strong effects on the degree to which pupils view themselves as self-disciplined: girls regarded themselves much more self-disciplined (direct effect of about 0.26). But the point is here that the analyses suggest that girls have incorporated this key element of the middle-class habitus to a much greater degree. Does that mean that girls also have greater chances of obtaining upper middle-class positions later in life? Girls are indeed surpassing boys in many areas of education, including at the university level. On the other hand, the analyses also showed that the self-perceived degree of self-control did not have an effect on pupils' inclination to follow the established or the cosmopolitan pathway. In this respect, their higher perceived self-discipline did not result in greater chances of obtaining upper middle-class positions via either the established or cosmopolitan trajectory. This latter finding is in contrast to what the literature on elite schools says about the role of self-discipline.

If we agree that it is not surprising that girls perceive themselves as more self-disciplined, should we then not be surprised about the lack of gender effects on the degree of their self-reported competitiveness? Indeed, I would have expected that girls would regard themselves as less competitive, but it appeared that there was no such effect. However, most pupils actually considered themselves as being non-competitive; on average they tended to disagree with the propositions put to them. So the point probably is not that girls perceived themselves just as competitive as boys, but that boys (like girls) turned out to view themselves as being non-competitive. In the following section, I will take a closer look at both competitiveness and self-control.

The role of self-control and competitiveness

While it emerged that the more competitive pupils are, the more they were inclined to follow either the established or the cosmopolitan route, the size of these positive effects was not particularly large. Apparently, both the Corps and cosmopolitan study environments provide youngsters with challenges that fit their competitive attitude. In fact, the strong hierarchy in traditional students associations puts a premium on such behaviour. In a similar vein, a foreign study environment or an internationalised study provides children with challenges. It could very well be that competitive pupils think their ambitions will be more rewarded or more challenged in foreign education arenas.

As I have said before, the literature on elite schools suggests that self-control and competitiveness are important goals of the socialisation practices at such schools. It emerged from the analyses that the pupils who attended internationalised streams were somewhat less non-competitive than pupils at both the other school types. Unfortunately, I cannot say how this relationship came about. Perhaps the application procedures play a role here. The explicit selection on motivation that is common at most internationalised streams might lead to a climate in which pupils 'are not afraid to show who they are' and in which they dare to achieve. Indeed, the competitive nature and the eagerness to achieve of many of the internationalised stream pupils was a recurrent theme in the interviews with the headmasters.

As both self-control and competitiveness are also important elements of the habitus of the upper middle class, I wonder how these dispositions relate to the social background of parents. First, there was a strong direct positive effect of parental membership of the upper middle class on self-control of 0.32, an effect that was only slightly reduced by indirect negative effects via the number of luxury investments (UPPER*LUX_INVE: $0.31 * -0.08 = -0.025$). This suggests that this mental disposition is indeed an important part of the habitus of the upper middle class. Second, there was a large direct negative effect of parental educational level of -0.27 on self-discipline, which was reduced entirely by indirect effects, mainly the path via parental membership of the upper middle class. Parents' educational level might lead to educational confidence at home, so that pupils feel they can relax their self-discipline. Having higher educated parents might give them a feeling that such credentials are within reach. Note that self-control is also a form of anxiety: to take action so as to remove fears that things work out differently than the way you have planned them. Self-control is therefore also anxiety-control. Pupils with lower educated parents might be more anxious in this respect; they have to secure a trajectory that is not familiar to them, at least not in the circle of immediate family relations.

Conclusion

So, what is the yield of applying the elite school perspective on our school types? First, a comparison between the degree of social exclusivity, measured by the proportion of upper middle-class pupils, showed that gymnasiums are as socially exclusive as British private schools and that internationalised streams are just as exclusive as French preparatory classes. We know from the preceding chapter that the degree of class closure at school plays a role in matters of school choice. This is true for both Dutch and British and French upper middle-class parents. This is so because the quality of a school is perceived in class terms: ‘parents take a much livelier interest in the schoolmates than in the schoolbooks of their children’ (Walzer 1984: 215, quoted in Ball 2003: 53).

However, activating their social, economic, and cultural capital to provide their children with what is perceived as a ‘good school’ is a more urgent issue for British and French middle-class parents than for their Dutch counterparts. Obviously, Dutch middle-class parents also have to deploy social and cultural capital and sometimes also economic capital, when they wish to move to an area in which schools are said to be of higher quality. Nevertheless, there are two reasons why choosing a school is not as urgent for Dutch middle-class parents. The first has already been explicated in the preceding chapter: the degree of differentiation of the Dutch education system already provides a strong degree of class closure. The second reason again relates to the structure of the Dutch education system. For Dutch middle-class pupils, the crucial matter is to obtain a high test score (De Regt 2004). When they have taken this hurdle and landed in a school type of the highest level of secondary education, a substantial part of the educational route has been accomplished. For French and British pupils who wish to secure an upper middle-class position later, many more hurdles are built in. The chain of elite educational institutions that aim to prepare pupils for the most sought-after universities form a much more pressurised educational route. Such a trajectory fosters anxiety. The structural features of the Dutch education system on the other hand might give pupils a certain peace of mind, at least for the ones who end up at the highest levels of secondary education. This might be the reason why the scales that aimed to indicate pupils’ self-discipline and competitiveness hardly ‘worked’ in the analyses. Such attitudes apparently are of less use in the Dutch education system. Or at least the pupils under study did not consider that these mental dispositions applied to them.

Whereas British and French elite schools increase the chances of entering prestigious institutions of higher education, we found that internationalised streams provide a social space where cosmopolitan assets cluster. We also found that their pupils were more inclined to take

the cosmopolitan pathway to upper middle-class positions. However, it should be noted that we do not know precisely how this result came about. We do not know what roles are granted to the cosmopolitan climate in the classroom, the encouragement by staff and/or peers, the cosmopolitan aspirations of individual children, or whatever factor is related to attending this particular school type. We can only say that after taking parental class positions, parental cosmopolitanism, parental educational level, gender effects, pupils' self-reported self-discipline and competitiveness into account, there remains a relationship between attending an internationalised stream, reading foreign magazines and newspapers, and consequently pupils' propensity for following a study abroad or an internationalised study in the Netherlands. Although I cannot show it statistically, I think it is fair to attribute the higher frequency of pupils' cosmopolitan reading behaviour to attending an internationalised stream. As a result, I think it also legitimate to attribute their higher propensity for going cosmopolitan after school to the fact that they attend an internationalised stream.

Gymnasiums not only provide a site where established capitals cluster, they also form a social space where pupils come together who are more inclined to take the established route to upper middle-class positions. Again, it is unclear how these relationships were formed. Why did gymnasium pupils more often play a classical musical instrument? I think it is not too speculative to say that the cultural climate at gymnasiums, the presence of school orchestras in particular, encourages pupils to pursue their established musical pastime. But this effect might be a consequence of selection: it could very well be that pupils who play classical musical instruments are more likely to go to gymnasiums anyhow. Likewise, it is hard to tell how the higher propensity of gymnasium pupils for becoming a member of a traditional students association emerged. There is one parental feature that is probably of importance here, which was not included in the analysis: parents' membership of the Corps. Unfortunately, pupils were not asked about that in the questionnaire. Probably, a part of the effect which is now ascribed to gymnasiums because there is nothing else left to control for, stems from parental membership of the Corps. Clearly, gymnasiums provide an environment in which it is more common to join such a students association. This might provide pupils with additional encouragement to enter the established social network, whether their parents are members of a traditional students association or not.

In this chapter we also found that while membership of the upper middle class did not make a difference to the chance that children attended an internationalised stream, it did have positive effects—through parents' cosmopolitan behaviour—on pupils' intention to follow a cosmopolitan study and their cosmopolitan reading behaviour. This suggests that the

cosmopolitan road to upper middle-class positions after leaving school is liable to class closure and is less socially open than I suggested in chapter 4. I also suggested in chapter 4 that the established fraction of the upper middle class activates its cosmopolitan assets mainly in domestic arenas. Here we found some support for that idea as a relationship emerged between the number of luxury investments and the frequency of cosmopolitan reading behaviour. Finally, the finding that children from ex-expatriate households were more often inclined to plan to join the Corps seems rather puzzling at first sight. In fact, the effect of having ex-expatriate parents on the intention to join the Corps was even stronger than on planning to follow a cosmopolitan study. Note however that this concerns just being an ex-expatriate. Although being an ex-expatriate and current cosmopolitan behaviour often go together, ex-expatriates are not necessarily cosmopolitan. It is possible that this finding pertains to people who have been living abroad but who are primarily oriented to the domestic social arenas.

So, are gymnasiums and internationalised streams elite schools? With regard to the social exclusivity of their pupils, the answer is positive. Furthermore, we found indications that attending an internationalised stream encourages the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets as opposed to gymnasiums and regular pre-university streams. Attending a gymnasium rather than either internationalised or regular streams stimulates the acquisition of established sources of power. Both the appropriation of cosmopolitan and established power sources increase pupils' chances of gaining upper middle-class positions later in life.

8 Conclusion and discussion

The aim of this final chapter is to provide an evaluation of the undertaking in both sociological and societal respects. I will first relate the results of the previous chapters with each other and consider the insights that the study has produced. I will also indicate the consequences of these insights for particular areas of sociological interest. Subsequently, I will formulate questions that follow from this research and that may serve as a guide to future research. Also with regard to future research, I will reflect on some of the conceptual weaknesses contained in this study so that similar studies can avoid or reduce these. Finally, I will try to relate my findings to current public debate concerning education and education policy. It is not my aim to formulate specific policy recommendations here. Instead, I intend to provide some food for thought that will hopefully stimulate a process of critical reflection on contemporary issues in education policy.

What can be learned from this study

Let us look back to chapter 1, in which the main aim of the project was formulated. There, I observed that the project concerned the exploration of how different sources of power that the middle classes possess are activated in the education arena and, more specifically, whether the middle classes have created separate educational niches in secondary education. From the beginning of the research, it was clear that the school types under study were to be regarded as middle-class schools with regard not only to the social class background of the pupils but also to the opportunities that these school types provide for entering university. While I found huge differences between cultural and economic wealth between the Dutch labour population in general and the parents of the pupils attending the three school types, it was also evident that there were rather large differences across the school types as well.

It was not necessary for me to conduct an extensive sociological enquiry to be able to confirm that gymnasiums are socially the most exclusive school type, as this is commonly known and I am prepared to accept common wisdom on this occasion. Gymnasiums themselves tend to conceal this fact by emphasising that they attract the intellectual elite, which they mistakenly distinguish from the social upper layers. Even though the degree of social exclusiveness that gymnasiums provide would not come as a surprise to many people,

few would be prepared to believe the finding reported in this study that gymnasiums are just as selective as the British private elite schools with respect to the social class background of pupils. The most conspicuous barrier that British private schools have erected to exclude the lower classes is a straightforwardly material one: high tuition fees (in addition to their less visible and, perhaps just as difficult to surmount, cultural thresholds). However, it emerged that the cultural barriers of gymnasiums appear to be equally effective in terms of class closure. And I use the plural ‘cultural barriers’ here deliberately. Think, for example, of a lack of cultural capital that makes people feel out of place; of social class notions by which gymnasiums are judged to be schools for snobs, or of the lack of parental confidence that leads them to believe that going to a gymnasium would be beyond the capabilities of their children. Since gymnasiums provide only the highest level of secondary education, pupils who—once admitted—do not make the grade academically, have to leave the gymnasium altogether. Nevertheless, these cultural barriers are in general thought of as legitimate, while selection on economic grounds is loathed in the Netherlands. This loathing of economic selection might be due to the middle-class cleavage that is strongly present in the collective moral notions of the Dutch middle classes. In this middle-class moral landscape, material possessions and economic inequality (incorrect) are contrasted with cultural possessions and cultural inequality (correct). However, such a divide overlooks the fact that both the culturally rich and the economically rich belong to the highest echelons of society in terms of their class positions. People who base their positions on cultural capital typically have well-paid, secure jobs.

One source of middle-class power was activated at gymnasiums in particular, compared with the other two school types. This is what Bourdieu (1984: 70-72) has called the ‘social power over time’. What is he referring to here? Time is one of the main investments required for cultivation, the appropriation of forms of legitimate embodied cultural capital. In other words, manners, speech, and cultural activities that are valued in the highest social circles. Note that engaging in such forms of cultural capital actually ‘negate’ economic necessity. Such activities show a mastery of time in two respects. First, because the time investments required to obtain these forms of cultural capital are freed from economic needs. Second, because such activities seem to lack any potential economic profitability. Moreover, seniority in upper middle-class positions, which is another form of social power over time, gives younger generations a head start in acquiring this form of cultural capital. Therefore, I regard the gymnasiums—with their cultural orientation, classical curriculum, and traditional prestige—as locations where the social power over time is activated. It turned out that having

a grandfather who belonged to the upper middle class, the possession of a high amount of embodied legitimate cultural capital by parents, and parental membership of a traditional students' association were powerful predictors of the likelihood that children would attend a gymnasium rather than either regular pre-university or internationalised streams. Attending gymnasium in turn contributed to the accumulation of established assets: we found that parents who had been former gymnasium pupils had greater chances to join the Corps. Moreover, because they more often were members of the Corps and because of the higher educational level they attained, former gymnasium pupils also had a significantly greater chance to become a member of the upper middle class.

Interestingly, the special attention for the young highly-gifted children at some gymnasia could be interpreted as another indicator of the activation of social power over time. Precocity, in Bourdieu's (1984: 70) eyes, 'is the birthright of the offspring of ancient families', for it contains the accumulated embodied cultural capital of previous generations. The fraction of the upper middle class that possesses this seniority, this social power over time, can be called the established upper middle class. Gymnasiums are thus schools for the established upper middle class. As this statement stands, I would imagine that some Dutch laypersons would react by saying: 'I could have told you that'. Because it all sounds so logical. Nevertheless, this characterisation departs from a more accepted way of referring to gymnasia as schools for the intellectual elites, which often refers to the bright pupils and the high educational level of their parents.

Indeed, it emerged that educational level had a great effect on the chances of a child going to a gymnasium rather than to a regular pre-university stream. But that is only part of the story. As I just said, we found that when parents were members of the Corps, the chances that their children attended gymnasium increased strongly. The magnitude of this effect was virtually on a par with that of parents' level of education. Interestingly, while the percentage of upper middle-class parents was markedly higher among parents of pupils who attended gymnasia, parental membership of the upper middle class as such—uncoupled from established sources of power that is—did not make much of a difference in whether children attended either a gymnasium or an internationalised stream. In fact, parental membership of the upper middle class even reduced the odds of attending a gymnasium rather than an internationalised stream, albeit that the effect was very small. While gymnasia thus stood out as the most socially exclusive school type, internationalised streams turned out to be equally academically selective: their pupils did not differ with regard to their test scores. To conclude then: even while the gymnasia belong to the most academically selective schools

(together with the internationalised streams), and while parents of children attending a gymnasium are markedly higher educated, this school type is best referred to as a school for the established upper middle class rather than a school for intellectual elites, in other words, the higher educated. This is so because the main social resource activated at gymnasia is the social power over time. The finding that the intention of gymnasium pupils to join traditional students' associations, the Corps, significantly more often, is completely in line with the idea of social power over time. By entering the social network of the upper layers, the offspring of the established upper middle class increases its chances of extending their family's seniority of stay in the highest echelons of society. This is, by the way, not just an assumption: with regard to the parents, we found that there was a strong effect of parental membership of the Corps on acquiring an upper middle-class position. The magnitude of this effect was nearly as great as that of parents' level of education on obtaining an upper middle-class position. However, I am not able to properly identify the role of gymnasia with regard to pupils' intentions to join the Corps, since the data does not allow me to show how gymnasia contribute to pupils' propensity for taking the established route. It might be the case that attending a gymnasium is, at least partly, a spurious effect of parental membership of the Corps. At this point, I can only say that, after controlling for a host of features related to both parents and pupils, an effect of attending a gymnasium on the intention to join the established social network that is provided by the Corps remained.

The existence of the gymnasia as sites where traditional established powers cluster might seem incompatible with a modern society like that of the Netherlands. However, gymnasia are not a separate phenomenon in this respect. Consider, for example, the nobility, perhaps the most emblematic of power over time. I have already mentioned Dronkers and Hillege's study (1998), in which it was found that board members of the Corps had greater chances of attaining elite positions. But they also found that the noble descent of these board members increased such chances even more. In the course of the 20th century, the opportunities for acquiring elite positions by members of the nobility did not diminish significantly for the cohorts born between 1900 and 1940 (Dronkers 2003). In the same period, Dutch noble families had higher chances of obtaining an elite position than Dutch high-bourgeois families (Schijf, Dronkers and Van den Broeke-George 2004). Schijf et al. explain the continued social relevance of the nobility by pointing out that the competition for scarce elite positions requires assets that distinguish people in addition to more frequent forms of power, like a university degree. Following this line of thought, I propose that the various appearances of the power over time all offer such a 'super distinction'.

Analogous to the idea of social power over time, I suggest that we can speak of the social power over place. Such power over place pertains to cosmopolitan assets that allow one to expand one's horizons, to speak the current *lingua franca* fluently, to be at ease in foreign places and to participate confidently in the emerging transnational culture. Last, but definitely not least, such assets give the owner a competitive edge in transnational social arenas where the struggle is for privileged positions. At first sight, the internationalised streams seem to be perfectly suited to function as a niche where this social power over place is activated. Although this idea was confirmed in the comparison with regular pre-university streams, it is also true that the internationalised streams did not appear to have a monopoly on attracting parents who possess these cosmopolitan assets. It turned out that the overall amount of cosmopolitan assets of parents of children attending gymnasium did not differ significantly from the parents of children attending internationalised streams. What is more, it appeared that indicators of establishment weakly related with indicators of cosmopolitanism. While cosmopolitan and established assets and parental membership of the upper middle class are in reality intertwined, the statistical analyses allow us to separate their effects. It turned out that cosmopolitan assets as such actually push households away from gymnasiums, and pull them towards internationalised streams and, to a lesser extent, also towards regular pre-university streams. This means that while the package of power that parents of children attending gymnasiums contains a reasonable amount of cosmopolitan assets, these assets are 'overruled' by their established assets; mainly grandparental membership of the upper middle class and membership of the Corps.

Obviously, the upper middle class always possessed a certain degree of international orientation. This is all the more true for the upper middle class in the Netherlands, whose economy has been heavily involved in the global economic system since the seventeenth century. However, when I compared the possession of cosmopolitan assets within the category of upper middle-class parents only, it emerged that today's upper middle-class parents with a child at an internationalised stream are significantly more cosmopolitan than their gymnasium upper middle-class counterparts. This indicates that—even if all members of the current Dutch upper middle class are probably required to possess more or less cosmopolitan capital—there is a fraction within the upper middle class that is more dependent on its power over place than other members of this highest social echelon.

Within this cosmopolitan fraction, there is a category of people who are true believers in the social power over place: these are described as 'dedicated cosmopolitans' in chapter 4. They are inclined to instil a 'globalised' mindset in their children: their offspring should learn

that the world is there for them to explore. It emerged that the internationalised streams provide these dedicated cosmopolitan parents with an extension of their efforts to instil such a ‘globalised’ mindset in their children. In other households containing a child attending an internationalised stream however, parents indicated that the acquisition of cosmopolitan capital—first and foremost learning English at a very high level—would give their children a head start, an advantage later in life. These parents can arguably be characterised as ‘instrumental cosmopolitans’. Also, the major legitimisation of pupils to choose an internationalised stream was the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets. It should however be noted that I have some doubts concerning the validity of this finding as it might be elicited by the method used. All the more so since the interview data yielded a much more complicated picture of education transitions.

Whatever the degree of cosmopolitanism of parents, it appeared that internationalised streams stimulated the following of a study abroad or an internationalised study in the Netherlands, albeit that this effect was rather small. Internationalised streams also encourage the cosmopolitan reading behaviour of their pupils, and their pupils also perceived themselves as being less non-competitive. Both factors lead to a greater propensity for following a study abroad or an internationalised study in the Netherlands.

As I stated earlier, both the social power over time and the social power over place are related to the upper middle class and the seniority of stay in this highest social echelon. However, it emerged that the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets is less liable to class closure compared to the acquisition of established capital. First, there was no significant effect of occupying an upper middle-class position on the odds of going to an internationalised stream rather than a regular pre-university stream. Second, the highest proportion of social climbers among upper middle-class parents was found in the internationalised streams (compared to both regular pre-university streams and gymnasiums). This is in line with the idea that transnational social trajectories are characterised by a relatively higher degree of openness. But this openness has a price, since it results in fiercer competition. This was reflected in the finding that the more cosmopolitan parents are, the higher their ambitions for their children. Furthermore, the more competitive pupils turned out to be, the more likely they were to be planning to go cosmopolitan after secondary school.

It should be noted that this openness is temporary. In the course of time, stakeholders who possess large amounts of cosmopolitan assets will ‘rig’ (Brown 2000) the transnational arenas in which the struggle is for privileged positions. Ultimately, they will determine how the game should be played and on what assets the competition will be organised, and what the

criteria for competition ranking will be. At that point, the cosmopolitan culture will function as a barrier to close others off (Ultee 1989). As we have seen, the internationalised streams play a role in the intergenerational transfer of cosmopolitan assets. Such a process indicates that a cosmopolitan culture is developing, in which the assets that yield a competitive edge in transnational social arenas for privileged positions are becoming clearer.

One might wonder to what extent the cosmopolitan fraction of the upper middle class would prefer IB streams rather than internationalised streams, if restrictions for entry were to be removed. This question is relevant, given Brown's (idem: 646) suggestion that studying for the IB can be regarded as an exit strategy, to prepare their children for transnational social arenas rather than domestic social arenas. I do not regard the choice for an internationalised stream as an exit strategy. Especially so because the majority of parents whose children attend these internationalised streams are more likely to be instrumental cosmopolitans rather than dedicated cosmopolitans. Probably the latter category would prefer IB education for their children, if they were allowed the opportunity.

Parental social power over time gravitated towards gymnasiums. Parents' power over place was dispersed across both gymnasiums and internationalised streams, but the more dominant it was among parental upper middle-class resources of power, the more it tended to cluster around internationalised streams. I have also explored whether such differentiated clustering of forms of middle-class power around school types could be identified with regard to three assets that underlay middle-class positions: property, organisation, and cultural assets. I expected to find patterns that would comply with the logic of social reproduction: that children from a household in which a certain asset was dominant, would go to a school type that contributed to the strengthening of that asset. Consequently, I predicted that cultural assets would be activated at gymnasiums, that organisation assets would gravitate towards internationalised streams, and that property assets would be clustered around regular pre-university streams. To my surprise, I was able to identify just one such pattern of clustering of middle-class assets: the chance of children whose parents were entrepreneurs attending the culturally most endowed school type, gymnasium, rather than either of the other two school types was higher than the odds of children of both professionals and managers going there. The finding that children of managers did not more often attend internationalised streams, led me to compare the degree of cosmopolitanism between three assets holders. It appeared that managers had more often lived abroad compared to professionals and entrepreneurs, but only the difference between managers and entrepreneurs was significant. With regard to the frequency of current cosmopolitan behaviour, managers, professionals, and entrepreneurs did

not differ significantly from each other. This means that it is not only ‘organisation men’ (Hannerz 2000: 107) who are the carriers of cosmopolitanism; the possession of cosmopolitan assets is equally distributed among professionals, managers, and entrepreneurs.

What about the children of entrepreneurs who more often attended gymnasiums? I proposed that the former pattern complied with a logic of cultural compensation rather than social reproduction: entrepreneurs indeed had the lowest educational level among the middle classes, but why should that mean that they are in need of compensation?

From the interview data it became clear that the possession of educational credentials also functions as a strong moral boundary that cleaves the middle classes. In this imagined middle-class landscape, the higher educated recognise each other as a ‘deserving’ middle class. In their stories, one reprehensible category stood out in particular: those alleged ‘undeserving’ middle class, possessing abundant economic capital but lacking educational credentials. It is against this moral background that I suggest that entrepreneurs, given their lower educational level and their very high incomes, are suspect members of the middle classes. This might lead them to seek cultural compensation at gymnasiums. Given this dual morality of good and bad middle classes, it is hardly surprising that gymnasiums claim to train members of the intellectual elite, who are obviously part of the deserving middle class. Entrepreneurs, I argue, also compensate for their relative cultural deficiency by participating in high-brow cultural activities. It emerged that holding property assets yielded a significant effect on this type of cultural behaviour, while the other assets had non-significant effects (after controlling for their level of education). Entrepreneurs also regarded cultural education at school just as important as holders of cultural assets did. In almost all analyses, the effects of holding cultural or organisation assets were outweighed by the effects of educational level. Apparently, when it comes to differentiation at the highest levels of Dutch secondary education, it does not make a difference whether households base their middle-class position on cultural assets or organisation assets. Their shared high level of education brings them together in matters of education for their offspring.

But why do the ‘deserving’ make such a fuss about explaining how wrong the moneyed middle class is? Such ‘border-patrolling’ helps the deserving to define themselves, it emphasises and displays the central values they embrace, or that they wish others to believe they embrace. It is an empirical question: are the *nouveaux riches* as strongly present in the lives of the deserving as the interviewed parents wanted me to believe, or is their role actually restricted to being a mere marginal phenomenon in their lives. Whatever their presence in everyday middle-class life, the interviewed parents felt it was necessary to distance

themselves from them because they perceived them to be coming too close, threatening to enter the lives of their children at school. This type of moral demarcation is typically a 'narcissism of small differences' (Blok 1997): a form of identity construction by accentuating differences with people who are socially close. A key element of upper middle-class child-rearing practices is the imparting of self-discipline. It is precisely the lack of self-restraint with regard to material issues that causes parents to loathe their economically richer but culturally poorer middle-class counterparts. I suggest that parents know very well how important self-control is for acquiring middle-class positions later in life. Consequently, confrontations with children who are not disciplined and do not display the right amount of self-restraint are regarded as a threat to parents' socialisation goals.

However, the presence of spoilt children of wealthy parents is, in general, preferred to the presence of the wild and reluctant lower-class children who attend lower levels of secondary education. These 'wild elements' are said to have lower educational ambitions and to engage in activities that do not stimulate academic achievement. For some parents, this is a reason to 'send' their children to homogenous education environments that are provided by the gymnasiums and, to a lesser extent, by the internationalised streams. The latter provide non-mixed-ability teaching from the start, but cannot prevent confrontations with lower social classes at school altogether. It should be noted, however, that most middle-class parents take the personalities of their children into account when considering strategies of class closure. Explicit strategies of class closure occur more often in cases where children were considered to be in need of a protective education environment. For example, if they had a history of being bullied, or because they were relatively young and/or 'gifted'.

With regard to educational transitions, I think it is debatable whether the roles of parents and children can be separated altogether. However, it turned out that when educational transitions were subjected to a process of choice that involved deliberate comparing of alternatives (two-thirds of the cases studied), parents and children alike indicated that parents ultimately left the decision on school choice to their children. A social norm such as this is derived from the specifically personal mode of communication in middle-class families, in which negotiating rather than commanding plays a dominant role (Bernstein 1975; Du Bois-Reymond 1995; De Swaan 1984). However, I suggest that such a norm with regard to school choice is only tenable in an education system that provides parents with a pre-structured degree of class closure. If this were not the case, as in Britain, the stakes would be too high to really leave the choice to the children. Moreover, I found that even in the Dutch situation, a minority of parents (ten out of all sixty educational transitions) were inclined to channel the

educational transition of their children into what they regarded as the best option.

The established upper middle class has been able to secure a virtually impregnable educational niche for gymnasiums since the Secondary Education Act of 1968. Although the arguments in favour of gymnasiums have changed, depending on the position this school type occupied in the education arena, its main goal had always been the education of intellectual elites. The increased marketisation of secondary education in the beginning of the 1990s provided room for upper middle-class fractions that possess social power over place to activate their resources in the education arena; internationalised streams were the result. At the same time, the internationalised stream formed a way to create separate education environments within large comprehensive schools.

Driven by market forces, headmasters of both gymnasiums and internationalised streams claim to provide education for excellent pupils. At both school types, the role of social class and class closure is played down when arguments of quality and excellence are deployed in the battle for pupils. Interestingly, the academic selection at internationalised streams has not led to significant differences in social class background between regular pre-university streams and internationalised stream. They differed only with respect to parental educational level. The higher educational level of the parents of children who attended internationalised stream was, in turn, less dependent on grandparental class position, compared to gymnasium parents.

Interestingly, pupils at internationalised streams indicated that they were less inclined to choose an internationalised stream for reasons of educational exclusivity, compared to their peers at the other two school types. I suggest that the pupils in internationalised streams looked up to gymnasiums while assessing their school, while pupils in the regular streams looked down to lower levels of secondary education to evaluate their school. Pupils at gymnasiums, in turn, said that they had a greater inclination to choose a gymnasium for reasons of educational exclusivity than the other pupils.

Note that while gymnasiums have been proclaiming their cultural elitism for some time now, educational elitism has also gained ground, at least partly, at the schools where internationalised streams have been introduced. Given the fierceness of market forces and the harmful consequences of a declining number of pre-university pupils (see chapter 3), deploying strategies to attract middle-class families is about the only solution for schools who want to survive. It is significant that the internationalised streams of some of the ‘threatened’ schools have outgrown the regular pre-university streams at such schools. Unfortunately, the

success of many internationalised streams will mean a still larger loss for regular pre-university streams at schools that do not provide separate educational settings for middle-class pupils.

Suggestions for future research

These results give reason to be elaborated further so as to contribute to sociological knowledge in three areas. First, while globalisation is one of the current buzzwords in the social sciences, there is not much theorizing about concrete consequences of the increasing economic interweaving of societies and the emergence of transnational social arenas for the lives of citizens in (post)industrial nations. So far, many sociological studies in this area deal with theoretically weak conceptualisations of the so-called ‘global elites’. Furthermore, their claim that such global elites exist is often inadequately founded empirically (except for Sklair 2001; Wagner 1998). I propose to develop more specific questions about the possible differences between national and transnational opportunity structures or social arenas, whether these different arenas require different assets and mental dispositions, and what this means for the development of both national and transnational class structures. In my view, the theoretical and empirical elaboration of these relationships could help us to understand better the sociological consequences of processes of globalisation and Europeanisation. For example, this study indicates that there is a relationship between a competitive attitude and the cosmopolitan pathway. I have suggested that this relationship is a consequence of the relatively lower degree of class closure, or in other words, of the relative openness of the cosmopolitan route.

The second area of sociological research concerns social class and educational transitions. There has been a host of sociological research about school choice. But not much is known about the role of class notions in this process. Both sociological class analysis—in which studies into class notions play only a marginal role—as well as the sociology of education, could profit from research that takes class identities and notions and educational transitions as their starting point. It is sometimes said that class is not a meaningful experience in people’s daily lives (Pakulski and Waters 1996). While I doubt this is true, even if class identity turns out to be an ‘ambivalent identity’ (Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst 2001) or a ‘latent identity’ (Bradley 1996; De Regt and Weenink 2003), it certainly becomes manifest when the future of children is at stake. At least the interview data about educational transitions presented in this book were full of references to social class. Even though parents

did not mention differences in terms of 'social class' explicitly, it was clear that they were pointing to differences in socio-economic positions and that they associated these with different kinds of behaviour. I would especially favour a comparative perspective in this respect, so as to find out whether varying education systems have consequences for parents' notions of social class and the different behaviour that might follow from these notions. An example that is provided by this study is the different way in which British and Dutch parents deal with educational transitions. I proposed that Dutch parents were more inclined to leave the ultimate decision to their children because of the degree of class closure that is built into the segregated structure of secondary education. British parents, on the other hand, feel they are responsible for providing their children with a relatively homogenous social class environment in the comprehensive system. Therefore, educational decision-making in British middle-class families is much more channelled by parents and gives rise to more anxiety within the family.

The third area of sociological interest that might benefit from this particular study comprises the position of entrepreneurs in societies where cultural capital has become almost a precondition for achieving middle-class positions. Rather surprisingly, it emerged that children of entrepreneurs had highest chances to attend gymnasiums, even without taking into account their parents' lower educational level and pupils' test score. The children of entrepreneurs that were studied here obviously form a sample of the academically most able pupils. But what about the educational position of children and the cultural status of entrepreneurs in general? To what degree can the strategy of cultural compensation be generalised to all middle-class parents who mainly rely on property assets? And to what extent do entrepreneurs acknowledge the moral cleavage that ruptures the imagined middle-class landscape? Given the importance of cultural capital as a conceptual sociological tool but also because of its increasing importance in social life—at least in its institutionalised form: educational credentials—it is worth inquiring how a fraction of the middle class that is relatively deprived of such cultural capital seeks compensation in conversion strategies. In fact, the role of property in general is an underexposed topic in studies that focus on the process of middle-class social reproduction. What is the role of house ownership and inheritance in this respect, for example? And what is the relationship between property and the anxiety that sometimes surrounds middle-class child-rearing practices?

Now I would like to focus on some conceptual shortcomings of this study. The first weakness concerns the lack of gender analyses in this project. By focusing mainly on social class, the

issue of gender (and ethnicity as well) has been largely passed over in both the conceptual framework and with regard to the analyses and the interpretation of the data. The relationship between cosmopolitan assets and gender in particular seems interesting since girls appeared to be less inclined to follow a study abroad or an internationalised study in the Netherlands, and they also read foreign magazines and newspapers less often. Furthermore, parents valued the appropriation of cosmopolitan assets as being less important for girls. A question that could be addressed in future research could be to what extent and how cosmopolitan trajectories exactly reinforce gender-specific roles (see also Wagner 1998: 163-178). Furthermore, attitudes towards school also varied for boys and girls. Boys viewed themselves as being less self-disciplined than girls. There was also a rather strong effect of gender on parental ambitions: parents were less ambitious with regard to the school work of their sons than for their daughters. This surprised me, given the generation of parents who participated in this research. They must have been aware of the social incorrectness of gender-differentiated levels of ambitions. Yet, gender differences clearly still have a strong impact on child-rearing practices, even among higher educated middle-class parents. I would therefore suggest that further research in this area should focus on gender differences in upper middle-class socialisation processes.

In this kind of study, special attention should be given to possibly conflicting roles of fathers and mothers in this respect. This brings me to another conceptual shortcoming of this study. For much of the time I assumed that households are rather homogenous units made up of people who behaved consistently, because my aim was to explore how households related to school types with respect to their middle-class power resources. But I presume that there is much more variation within households than this research has been able to show. In reality, and this appeared on some occasions in the interviews, various conflicting voices and divergent types of behaviour occur in families (see chapter 6). Within households, variable coalitions are formed, parents and children are played off against one another. This requires a 'micro-politics' (Ball 1987) of the household although this is hard to achieve for researchers (but see Allatt 1993). A small-scale study that takes such micro-politics into account could however contribute much to our understanding of child-rearing practices in general, and educational transitions in particular.

Finally, a major shortcoming is that I have not been able to capture precisely how the different school types contribute to the appropriation of assets by pupils. To what extent have both gymnasiums and internationalised streams left their marks on individuals? This question requires a longitudinal panel study, which was unable to be performed, given the time and

resources available. The second-best alternative would be to trace ex-pupils of the three school types. Although I took some effort to collect these data, it appeared that the resulting number of graduates from internationalised streams would not allow a robust analysis. Apart from the question of what the impact is of schools on the lives of pupils, there is another question in this respect that is not taken up in this study. This is the issue of what actually happens in the classroom. I can only say that I have given priority to measure characteristics of parents and pupils on a large scale instead of focusing on the dynamics within the classroom at a small number of schools. The justification for this decision is related to the aim of the research. I was interested in the ways that different forms of middle-class power were brought into play in the education arena. Although an intensive study of classroom practices could be very illuminating in this respect, it is not an appropriate method for answering my research questions, which required large-scale data collection. Nevertheless, I consider it as a lacuna that this study does not provide insights into what actually happens at school. All the more so because the study of life at school has not been covered widely in the current sociology of education in general.

Concluding reflections

I indicated earlier in this book that the past decade has not only seen the rise of internationalised streams, but also a strong increase in international activities by Dutch secondary schools in general (Oonk 2004). Recently, the town of Rotterdam even stimulated primary schools to spend more time learning English, making use of native speakers, especially recruited for its 'Early Bird' project. Moreover, the introduction of the master-bachelor structure in Dutch higher education, a consequence of the EU's policy for harmonising European higher education systems, has given a further boost to a current trend of an increasing number of English-taught studies in the Netherlands. While the proposal of the Minister for Education at the time, Ritzen, to introduce English as the language of instruction at Dutch university studies was politically and societally untenable in 1989, his idea is now becoming reality.

The spread of English as the language of instruction in Dutch higher education probably surpasses the tempo of the advance of the internationalised streams. Nowadays, nearly every Dutch institution of higher learning, universities and vocational colleges alike, offers several English-taught courses. The interesting thing is that there are nowhere near enough foreign students prepared to come to the Netherlands to follow these studies. This

means that, in the majority of cases, Dutch students attend classes in English taught by Dutch teachers. It is my opinion that, given the average level of fluency in English among students and even among university staff, the result will eventually be that the overall quality of teaching in Dutch higher education will decrease (see also Klaassen 2001). But this is not my main concern.

Many studies taught in English are said to provide a demanding education for a select category of excellent students, a claim that must sound very familiar by now (if not: see chapter 3). In fact, in today's Dutch higher education, excellence is partly defined as the appropriation and, much more so, the actual possession of cosmopolitan assets. I suggest that the same force that led to the emergence of internationalised streams is at work here to achieve differentiation within university education. In the Dutch education arena, institutions are not (yet?) competing in terms of prices. Instead, they compete for real and alleged quality. Market forces encourage institutions to compare and differentiate internally and externally so that excellence can be offered and separated from lesser quality. The neo-liberal spirit of creating markets in areas where the distribution of goods and services was previously considered the responsibility of the state is present today in the minds of policy-makers, university administrators, and politicians. Once such a development has started in a certain social arena, all others involved have to follow suit. Except the ones who have already secured a niche.

It is hard to imagine, given their current strong position in the education arena, but I think gymnasiums cannot rely on their special relationship with the established upper middle class forms of power *only* in order to maintain their position in the coming decades. As the importance of cosmopolitan assets increases—not only as a result of current developments in Dutch higher education but also as a consequence of the increasing interweaving of the global economic system—the cosmopolitan fraction of the upper middle class will grow. Moreover, the importance of the power over place will increase in the total package of powers on which the upper middle class rely, whether they are established members of the upper middle class or newcomers.

Does the future belong to the internationalised streams? From the analyses presented in chapters 4 and 7, it emerged that internationalised streams and gymnasiums actually forced parents to focus on the appropriation of either cosmopolitan assets or established assets for their children. Given their strong links with the upper middle class through their cordon of social capital, and the advantages they provide with regard to class closure, I think gymnasiums will be tempted by upper middle-class parents to provide room for the

appropriation of cosmopolitan assets in their curriculum. Such attempts will be guided by the inspiration of a school in which both power over time and place are clustered and activated, thus providing the best possible educational niche for the offspring of the Dutch upper middle classes. Paradoxically, the classical cultural heritage might provide such attempts with sufficient ideological ammunition. For the word ‘cosmopolitan’ is of Greek origin and the English language contains many words of Latin origin.

Such cosmopolitanisation of the curriculum of the gymnasiums in the future would be the final evidence of the sheer necessity of appropriating cosmopolitan assets for future upper middle-class generations. If such a situation were to emerge, we can conclude that the power over place has been installed as a crucial new dimension of upper middle-class membership overall. Much more than is the case today, cosmopolitan assets will then function as a barrier to close lower classes off. To give a concrete example: the possession of cosmopolitan assets by students, notably their command of English, might become part of the selection procedure of studies taught in English for ‘excellent students’. As a result, pupils at regular pre-university streams will have fewer chances to enter such studies. Consequently, the importance of the power over place will lead to a cleavage in Dutch pre-university education: a local and a cosmopolitan variant. It is obvious which variant will provide the greatest chances of obtaining upper middle-class positions. Upper middle-class households involved will opt for the cosmopolitan variant if possible. The result will be that regular pre-university streams will be more and more confronted with the least unproblematic—not: ‘most problematic’ let’s not exaggerate—and least motivated pre-university pupils. This, in turn, might lead middle-class parents to judge these schools as failing to meet their classed criteria of ‘a quality school’. We saw in chapter 3 the possible consequences of this. Consequently, the Dutch education arena will tend to polarise further.

Notes

¹ Norbert Elias, quoted on the back cover of De Swaan's *Zorg en de Staat* (1993)

² Although all these school types are part of state-funded schools, most parents pay a so-called 'voluntary' financial contribution. On top of the voluntary contribution, internationalised streams require an additional annual tuition fee of about € 500 on average. This tuition fee is not voluntary and serves to fund the extra costs involved. While the tuition fee is relatively low, and many schools provide funding for families that have difficulty in paying these amounts, it is unusual in the current Dutch education system and seems to serve as a symbol of quality and exclusivity (see chapter 3).

³ The majority of pupils who attended regular pre-university education had been given an ambiguous recommendation or an otherwise lower recommendation instead of a straight pre-university recommendation. Ambiguous recommendations indicate that the primary school teacher involved had not been able to decide whether the child was able to follow either the pre-university curriculum or the programme one level below, the five-year senior general secondary education [*havo*].

⁴ There are also gymnasium streams at comprehensive schools. I estimate the market share of the separate gymnasium schools at about sixty per cent for all gymnasium students. Statistics Netherlands [*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*] gives only data on the number of gymnasium pupils from the third form onward (at both comprehensive schools and separate gymnasia) I have estimated the total number of gymnasium pupils in a simple way (source: Statistics Netherlands 2000: 52, Table 2.2.2) by dividing the number of all pupils from the third form onwards by the total number of pupils ($435,400/861,500 = 0.505$) and using this percentage to calculate all the gymnasium pupils ($17,500/0.505 = 34,653$), and dividing the number of pupils attending separate gymnasium schools that year by this number $21,496/34,653 = 62.1\%$. A similar calculation with regard to the year 1990-1992 showed that the separate gymnasia then had a marketshare of about half of all gymnasium pupils (source: Landelijke Ouderraad Zelfstandige Gymnasia 2003: 24).

⁵ They also argue that there are indications that a transnational business community is in the making: the international network of governors and directors was more integrated in 1996 than in 1976. However, as they themselves readily admit, their data can only offer 'very modest' support for this claim.

⁶ Interestingly, the core values that these schools embrace, resemble Hannerz's (2000: 103) rather normative description of 'a more genuine cosmopolitanism': 'an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails an intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity'. Likewise, many internationalised streams invite their pupils to 'celebrate a multi-cultural world without borders'.

⁷ Goldthorpe (1995) acknowledged that the term 'service class' is unfortunately chosen as it bears associations with a specific business area and has therefore proposed to call it the 'salariat'

⁸ See Soerensen (2000: 1540-1545) for an alternative explication of the relationship between rents and exploitation.

⁹ There have been attempts to compare the statistical power of the class schemes of Wright versus that of Goldthorpe. But does the better statistical association between a certain class scheme and other social practices mean that it provides a superior explanation? I agree with Savage et al. that such statistical exercises are not actually testing the value of a class theory. To explain statistical variation is different from explaining causal processes (quoted in Lieberson 1985; Savage, Barlow et al. 1992: 223).

¹⁰ The term public here refers to the historical alternative for private tutoring that these fee-paying and privately administered boarding schools once intended to offer.

¹¹ There are indications that this is changing. See chapter 8.

¹² Interestingly, Power et al. (2001) found that the exception to the rule of the middle class going

private in comprehensive systems actually confirms the underlying logic: British middle-class parents choose for comprehensive education instead of private schools in so far that they feel safe that the school draws its pupils mainly from middle-class neighbourhoods and the perceived quality of the school is secured.

¹³ The number of ten subordinates that distinguishes lower from higher managers is arbitrary, but used by both Wright and Goldthorpe. I use their classifications as much as possible for reasons of comparability.

¹⁴ Although this study is devoted to the middle classes in general, and the upper middle class in particular, I found it interesting to analyse to what extent parents belonged to the apex of society. All the more so, because gymnasiums are considered 'elite schools', an issue I discuss at greater length in chapter 7. I have classified elite as: owners, governors or top managers (more than hundred subordinates) of large companies (more than hundred employees) or state bureaucracies. These families made up 6,5, 5,8 and 5,5% respectively of the gymnasium, internationalised stream and regular pre-university stream parents.

¹⁵ In Table 2-3, I deliberately included non-middle-class parents. The reason for doing so is that I wanted to calculate the proportion of each category of asset holders within the total of respondents of a certain school type. To be sure, if we left the non-middle class out, the differences between the school types would become non-significant since the proportions of assets holders would be more similar across school types. Such a representation however addresses another issue, namely that of the distribution of the assets within the middle class within each school type.

¹⁶ For ease of interpretation, the original number of ten categories that was used in the survey were collapsed into the six categories shown here.

¹⁷ Pupils were also asked to indicate what type of cars their parents possessed. Unfortunately, their answers have not been coded and analysed yet due to time constraints.

¹⁸ In this study, I concentrate on transnational social arenas in which the struggle is for privileged and sought-after positions. There are however also other transnational social arenas. Think of the labour- and marriage markets for people from developing countries who compete for an illegal existence in the western world, or criminal organisations who compete and cooperate on a world wide scale.

¹⁹ The total number of pupils attending pre-university is an estimation. Currently, most Dutch pupils start secondary education in mixed classes with regard educational abilities [*brugklas*]. After the first form and sometimes after the second year, pupils are assigned to various level of secondary education. For this reason, Statistics Netherlands provides only figures on pre-university pupils from the third form onwards. To estimate the proportion of pupils who will follow pre-university education among all pupils who attend the first and second year in secondary education, I calculated the percentage of pre-university pupils of all pupils attending the third year in secondary education. This percentage was then used to estimate the number of potential pre-university pupils among the first and second formers. The proportion of pre-university pupils in the third year of secondary education varied from 22, 25, 26 and 29% in 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2002 respectively (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2004a). For the years 1968/1969 and 1980/1981, the total number of pre-university was calculated differently, as there was no information about third formers available. In these years I calculated the proportion of pre-university pupils by dividing the total number of each educational level by the years of the curriculum minus one (because the data distinguished first formers from all other pupils). The resulting average number of pupils per year was thus weighted for the varying number of years the different curriculums counted. I then used this weighted proportion to calculate the number of potential pre-university pupils in the first form. This percentage was in 1968/1969 24% and in 1980/1981 only 19%. The difference between the two years can be explained by the enormous expansion of secondary education. This growth was stronger at the lower levels of secondary education and had thus led to the growth of the share of pupils at the lower levels of secondary education.

²⁰ The percentage of all gymnasium pupils who went to a categorial gymnasium instead of attending a gymnasium stream at a comprehensive school increased from 28.9% in 1968, to 71.1% in 1999 (see footnote 4 for an explanation of the method of calculation). This picture differs greatly from the

figures that the Lobby for Gymnasium Education (Belangengroepering Gymnasiale Vorming 2002) has produced. However, their method of estimation is doubtful, to say the least. The Lobby group had asked comprehensive schools how many pupils they defined as ‘*gymnasium* pupils’. In total, 167 schools claimed to have 19,560 gymnasium pupils. However, the Lobby group assumed that there were at least 287 schools that offered classical languages. So they extrapolated the average number of pupils they found ($19,560/167=117$) to 287 schools= $33,615$. Together with the categorial gymnasiums, the number of gymnasium pupils would then have amounted to 56,368 (Belangengroepering Gymnasiale Vorming 2002: 6,14).

²¹ The social-democratic alderman of Groningen (Wallage) later became Secretary of State of Education in the early 1990s. In that capacity, he introduced a policy that favoured forced mergers between secondary schools. The gymnasiums again successfully resisted this policy, from which they eventually would benefit since many pupils and parents turned out to prefer categorial schools above the larger merged comprehensives.

²² The number of 56 gymnasiums deviates from the 82 that are mentioned by both Dodde (1980: 118, appendix XI, 119: appendix XII) and (Mandemakers 1996: 62, table 3.9, 69, table 3.8 and 79, table 3.11.). This difference is probably due to the fact that Mandemakers and Dodde include denominational categorial schools as well (like seminaries). The number of 56 only contained gymnasiums that are not part of a denomination.

²³ Even in more recent memorial books, the fanatical tone of cultural capital credentials is striking: ‘Music is important for the Mansvelds [ex-teacher at Vossius Gymnasium Amsterdam, DW]. Today, there is only one grand piano in their house, but there used to be two. Mansveld recalls how he played Brahms’ Haydn variations at the jubilee of 1951 together with the art teacher: “Hard to play, but wonderful music” (Kloek, Polak and Schmidt 2002: 83). Being initiated in the classics and particularly so by quoting classical authors by heart provides the utmost prestige in the status hierarchy of gymnasiums, even today, witness an interview with another ex-teacher, from the same recently published memorial book: ‘the grand piano where they [retired teacher and his wife] played their quaterains, takes up a prominent place amid the spacious bookcases [...]. The classics are always with him in his current, still very active life. There is no need for him to pick them up from the shelves each time; sure he can read them, but to recall them, to let Antigone or Oedipus sing from within, is at least as satisfying’ (Diepenbrock 2002: 62-65). Even in the memorial book of what is sometimes seen as the liberal and progressive counterpart of Vossius gymnasium, the Barlaeus gymnasium, the tone of cultural adoration remains. The authority of a headmaster was based on his ability to ‘support his argument with quotations from the classics’: ‘he was the teacher of the staff room, had a thorough knowledge of the classics but he was equally at home with Dante, Shakespeare, Vondel, Rembrandt, and Leonardo da Vinci. He seldom needed a text: those were stored in his immense memory’. (Kohnhorst 1985: 82). A teacher was commonly regarded as a very strict man, but: ‘he was moved to tears when he explicated the Iliad’ (idem: 75).

²⁴ Secretary of State Ginjaar-Maas was charmed by the initiative. She overruled objections from civil servants who had problems with the proportion of the curriculum that was taught in a foreign language. The schools were therefore able to maintain the proportion of lessons taught in English at fifty percent while civil servants claimed that it should be limited to, at most, twenty percent.

²⁵ An example of the fierce competition and the consequences of the local education markets as a zero sum game is the success story of a school in the town of Nieuwegein (60,000 inhabitants, located in the centre of the Netherlands). The school, which had introduced an internationalised stream, had been endangered and lost many pupils following a merger. The internationalised stream turned out to be a success and attracted more pre-university pupils than ever before. Now, the tide had turned and the local private Catholic school, which had always had a strong and successful pre-university stream, began to lose pupils. After a few years the Catholic school, with a classical curriculum and specific opportunities for creative subjects, failed to put a stop to the declining pupils. Its despair resulted in the introduction of another internationalised stream in town.

²⁶ The OECD blames a combination of falling enrolment and ‘greater discernment by parents no longer so strongly bound by traditional religious ties’ for the intensified competition between schools. My

findings concur with the conclusion of the OECD that large public schools should devote specific attention to the most able pupils. However, the competition between schools in the 1990s is neither the result of ‘falling enrolment’ nor of loosening religious ties due to secularization. The decrease in the number of pupils occurred in the second part of the 1980s, and remained relatively stable in the period thereafter (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 1998: 17, 112; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2000) and the secularization of Dutch society started long before the 1990s.

²⁷ This is measured by the recommendation that they were given by their primary school. The assignment of pupils to the various levels of secondary education is—in addition to their score on a near-nation-wide test [*cito*—arranged by so called ‘school recommendations’ that are given by the teachers of their primary school. The percentage of pupils who were given a lower recommendation than pre-university education was compared to the average percentage of all pre-university streams in the local education arena. To understand the relevance of this indicator, it should be noted here that a substantial number of pupils who attend regular pre-university streams received lower recommendations. Furthermore, a lot of these pupils obtained ambivalent recommendations, e.g. one that leaves room for either a future at a pre-university stream or at a level lower. If a school had a higher percentage of pre-university pupils with such a clear-cut pre-university level recommendation than the average percentage in the region, the school scored one point.

²⁸ Note that the potential for distinction of these activities is much more certain compared to participation in more obscure types of cultural production like avant-garde ‘modern classical’ music, computer games or ‘pseudo-art’ strip cartoons.

²⁹ My interpretation of the finding that the younger generations of highly-educated people are engaging less often in highbrow cultural participation is somewhat different than that of Van Eijck, De Haan and Knulst (2002). They conclude that ‘snobism is no longer needed’ which I find a dubious conclusion with regard to the upper layers of society.

³⁰ Note how I have modelled the direction of this relationship: the direction of the arrows suggests that cultural participation can be predicted from cosmopolitan behaviour and not the other way around. In other words, if people talk and speak English, host and visit foreign friends and make business trips, this has consequences for their cultural activities, while I assume that the reverse relationship—cultural participation ‘causes’ or, better, predicts cosmopolitanism—does not exist in my model. This is a matter of choice and I found this direction of the relationship most plausible. To make sure, I estimated both models in which cultural participation determined cosmopolitanism. It turned out that this change did not lead to substantial differences in outcomes, while the models also yielded slightly less explaining power: $\chi^2=23.45$ compared to $\chi^2=26.25$, while the degrees of freedom obviously remained the same.

³¹ I counted 55 children who attended the third class as first-formers. Without them, the average age of the 459 first-formers is 12.47 (s.d. 0.62).

³² Thus at the schools occupying the cultural pole, students participate in cultural practices, individual activities and consider autonomy as a key value. At the schools occupying the economic pole, students participate in sports, group activities, and consider responsibility as a key value.

³³ The economic models are the result of the backward elimination procedure in SPSS.

³⁴ $\Delta-2 \log\text{likelihood}_{\text{fullmodel}} - \Delta-2 \log\text{likelihood}_{\text{model4}}$; $\chi^2 = 2.07$, $\Delta \text{df} = 3$, $p=0.56$.

³⁵ $\Delta-2 \log\text{likelihood}_{\text{fullmodel}} - \Delta-2 \log\text{likelihood}_{\text{model4}}$; $\chi^2 = 1.24$, $\Delta \text{df} = 3$, $p=0.74$

³⁶ I heard two rather revealing stories on the role of Corps membership during job interviews. The first concerns a befriended doctor who applied for a job as a medical trainee. During the interview, she was asked why she had not joined the Corps as a student and what she thought about the Corps. While my friend felt she had to defend her choice for joining a less traditional students’ association, she also felt the interviewer saw this as a weakness in her curriculum. The other story was told by another friend, a lawyer who applied for a job at a multinational consultancy firm. In his case, the chairman of the committee who had interviewed him accompanied him to the main exit of the building. While standing in the elevator, the man asked him: ‘Are you a member?’ [*Ben jij lid?*]. As my friend the lawyer looked puzzled, the chairman knew he had not been a member of the Corps. Note the way that the

present tense was used ('are you a member?' instead of: 'were you a member?'). One remains a member of the Corps after graduation. In fact, membership of the Corps perhaps provides the biggest advantages when Corps members enter the labour market, after having graduated.

³⁷ I have translated *hockey trutten* into stuck-up bitches instead of, for example, hockey bitches. The latter wording has some sexual or power overtones rather than associations of social class. The Dutch term *hockey trutten* implies a classed perspective, as hockey is commonly regarded as a sport for arrogant snobs and posh.

³⁸ The three clusters of motives for school choice are strongly interrelated, which would lead to convergence problems in Lisrel if I were to treat them as single non-causally dependent observed variables. A solution would be to factor analyse these clusters and introduce latent variables and covariances between them in the model. In fact, this is the heart of the matter for all structural equation models. While such a model would require much more effort to interpret the results, I believe it would not add much more to our understanding. For this reason, I adhere to the more straightforward modelling that multinomial logistic regression provides.

³⁹ These correlations did not lead to problems of multicollinearity, as tolerance levels were all above 0.70, far above the 0.20 that indicate collinearity problems (Menard 1995: 66).

⁴⁰ According to the following calculation: $\Delta-2\loglikelihoodmodel1-\Delta-2\loglikelihoodmodel2=6.36$, $df=4$, $p=0.17$.

⁴¹ One might object to this theoretical argument because empirically, ex-expatriates might earn higher incomes because of their cosmopolitan experience and are consequently in a better position to buy the luxury goods that I have defined as indicators of establishment: antique furniture, yachts, and second homes. I have to admit that this is equally possible. For that reason I estimated a similar model and reversed the relationship between these two variables. Neither model differed with regard to their statistical fit ($\Delta df=1$, $\Delta\chi^2=1.18$, $p=0.28$). Although the overall picture was not changed substantially in the alternative model, some relationships had to be interpreted differently. Thus in the alternative model, the more luxury investments at home, the smaller the chance that pupils planned to go cosmopolitan after secondary school, the less they read foreign magazines and papers, and the smaller the odds of going to an internationalised stream rather than other school types. In the model presented these effects were either non-significant or, with regard to the effect on pupils' reading of foreign magazines and newspapers, very small and positive.

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Appendix I

Procedures of sampling, collecting, and analysing the data

The data on schools: case studies and interviews with headmasters

The selection of the eight schools that participated in the case studies was based on four characteristics I had formulated in advance, in consultation with experts in this area. The four criteria for inclusion in the sample pertained to why the internationalised stream was set up, and the circumstances under which this was done. The aim was to include as much variation as possible on these criteria so as to be able to compare the schools along these lines.

The first criterion was the existence of an IB department at the school. IB departments are restricted to the children of non-Dutch families who are living in the Netherlands temporarily, or to Dutch children who have attended a primary school outside the Netherlands. A school could benefit from such a department if it decided to introduce an internationalised stream, since it would mean that a native English-speaking staff would be available and internationalised teaching material was within reach. In addition, a school with an IB stream could benefit from the accumulated experience of teaching subjects in English to non-English speaking children.

The second criterion for selection was the year in which the internationalised stream had been introduced. I assumed that pioneering schools would have encountered different problems, and perhaps more of them when setting up an internationalised stream.

Third, I considered the degree of urbanisation of the region in which the school was located. The degree of urbanisation could be an important factor since urbanisation means a higher concentration of schools. In 'big' cities there are more competitors and there is more of a need for schools to diversify in order to attract students. The situation in bigger cities is further complicated by the division of schools along the lines of ethnicity: native Dutch parents are less likely to choose a so-called 'black school', where immigrant children are over-represented.

The fourth criterion was the competitive position of the school. I assumed that schools that were losing good students to other schools were more inclined to introduce new types of education (Adnett and Davies 2000). Based on national data on secondary schools collected by the Dutch Inspectorate of Secondary Education in 1997-1998 (Agerbeek 1999), I scored

the competitive position of the regular pre-university stream of all 25 schools that had introduced an internationalised stream in 1999-2000. The score was based on three indicators that assess the degree to which a school was capable of attracting the ‘best’ and least problematic pupils compared to rival schools in the region. The maximum score for the competitive position was three points, which means that the pre-university stream of the school has a very strong position in the region (see also chapter 3). Later, I included eight gymnasiums in the sample and interviewed their headmasters. These gymnasiums were all within a 30-minute cycling radius of the school offering an internationalised stream.

The relation between all 25 schools with an internationalised stream in 1999-2000 and the sample of schools that participated in the case studies is shown below. In addition, the 8 gymnasiums are compared to all 38 gymnasiums.

Table I- 1 characteristics of the schools that participated in the case studies

	All 25 schools with intern. stream '99 – '00	Sample of 8 schools with intern. stream	All 38 gymnasiums	Gymnasiums of 8 interviewed headmasters
IB department available	6	4	n.a.	n.a.
Year of introduction internat. stream				
1989-1992	5	3	n.a.	n.a.
1993-1996	9	3		
1997-2000	11	2		
Competitive position (s.d.)	1.34 (1.08)	1.50 (1.19)	2.79 (0.55)	2.88 (0.35)
Min-max competitive position	0-3	0-3	1-3	2-3
Degree of urbanisation				
City (>200,000 inhabit.)	4	3	9	4
Town (200,000 – 100,000 inhabit.) ^a	11	3	14	4
Small town (<100,000 inhabitants)	11	2	15	-

a) In the cases of Oegstgeest, Landgraaf, and Nieuwegein, I extended the education arena to larger towns/cities within a 30-minute travelling radius that are adjacent to these smaller ones: Leiden, Heerlen, and Utrecht respectively.

The sample indicates the variation of almost all the characteristics. Since the aim of the case studies was to explain the emergence of bilingual streams, there was an over-representation of schools that had started relatively early. As a result, the number of schools with an IB department was relatively high. They were among the first to introduce internationalised streams. This also explains the slightly higher competitive position in the sample compared to all 25 schools, since the pioneering schools occupied better positions in the education arena (see chapter 3).

The 8 gymnasiums included in the sample did not differ much from all 38

gymnasiums with regard to their competitive position. But while 15 of the 38 gymnasiums were located in smaller towns, gymnasiums located in these smaller towns were absent in my sample. This is due to the fact that I had first selected the internationalised streams; it turned out that there were no gymnasiums in the smaller towns in which the internationalised streams in the sample were located. This means that the interviews with the 8 gymnasium headmasters might be biased in this respect. For example, the interviewed headmasters' emphasis on the privileged position of their school might be especially true for gymnasiums in the four larger cities. Possibly, headmasters of gymnasiums in smaller towns might view their competitive position as a more privileged one.

The survey data: sampling procedure and data collection

With regard to the surveys, I intended to include at least all schools that provided a full six-year cohort of internationalised stream pupils (recall that a substantial number of the internationalised streams were still in the development stage at the time of data collection) and to match them with the regular pre-university stream at the same school. I also aimed to include a gymnasium within a 30-minute travelling radius by cycle or public local transport for each internationalised stream. At the time of the survey data collection, there were twelve internationalised streams that provided a full six-year programme. Eventually, eleven of them participated in the study, albeit that at one school, response rates were low due to time-constraints on the side of the school management. One school was willing to cooperate initially but ultimately refused to participate because the school manager considered the questionnaires to be 'too personal' ('the questions you want to ask are the type of questions that the parents of this school don't dare to ask themselves'). This is interesting: questions about the social realm are considered to belong to the personal realm.

At seven of the fourteen research sites, both the gymnasium and the school that provided an internationalised stream participated (in Zwolle, Arnhem, Nijmegen, Utrecht/Nieuwegein, Den Haag/Wassenaar, Rotterdam and Amsterdam). In three towns, there was no gymnasium (Roermond, Ede and Enschede). In these cases, the gymnasium stream of the school that also offered an internationalised stream was treated as a gymnasium in the analysis. At two of these three schools, the gymnasium stream was considered prestigious due to having a history as a former independent gymnasium or because it was a former seminary. In the remaining four research sites, either the internationalised stream (Hilversum) or the locally prestigious gymnasium or gymnasium stream (Leiden and Eindhoven) eventually

refused participation. In one case already mentioned, communication problems led to very low response rates at the internationalised stream, and in another town there was neither a gymnasium nor a gymnasium stream that seemed to play such a role (Venlo). The main point is however that in each research site—Venlo being the only exception—the three school types were present, so that pupils had had real opportunities to choose between the three school types, given a certain test score.

In total, the data were collected at 13 schools that provided an internationalised stream. Of these 13 schools, 11 provided a full six-year curriculum, the other two were included because it turned out that not all internationalised streams that provided a full cohort could be properly matched to the local gymnasium. In addition, 8 categorial gymnasiums and three gymnasium-streams participated.

At most schools, I went to visit the school management before the actual survey data collection took place so as to introduce myself and the research to them. This also provided me with the opportunities to interview them about the competitive position of the school. The questionnaires for both first formers and sixth formers were handed out in the classroom. At most schools, I introduced the research to the pupils, gave them the questionnaires and stayed in the classroom until they had all completed the questionnaires. In a few cases, data were collected by teachers, to whom I had given instructions and explained the aims of the research beforehand by phone or through a written form of communication. This method ensured very high response rates and it also helped to improve the quality of the answers, as I—or in some cases the teacher—could explain questions pupils might have had.

The questionnaires for parents were taken home by pupils or sent by mail via the school's administration department. Parents could return their questionnaire by making use of a stamped addressed envelope. In total, 819 parents returned the questionnaires, a response rate of 53%. I will discuss the consequences of the non-response below.

Issues of non-response with regard to the survey data

Whether non-response affects the quality of survey data depends on the extent to which non-response is non-random, that is, whether the non-responders have specific features in common that correlate with the variables I was interested in. If this is the case, the results are biased.

The overall response rate of the survey of parents equals average response rates of various forms (face-to-face, mail, telephone) of survey research organised by academic research institutions in the Netherlands (Kalfs and Kool 1994). However, a rate of 53% is not

particularly high, given the educational level of the parents (De Leeuw and Hox 1998: 35). Therefore, the question remains of the extent to which the non-responders have features in common that might be of importance for the results of this study. In general, quite a proportion of non-responders had random, non-systematic sources that are not correlated to the variables measured by the questionnaires. Parents might have been too busy, too tired, they might have forgotten about it or they just did not feel like it at a particular time. Such sources of non-response are randomly distributed, so they form a lesser threat to the quality of the data—in so far as non-random non-response does not seriously affect statistical power, but this was not the case in this research.

There is a way to find indications of the extent to which the parental survey data are biased by non-responders. As the survey of the pupils scored a near 100% response, a comparison between key indicators of the parental survey data and that of their children might reveal differences in this respect, assuming that children and parents have similar perceptions of parents' occupations, educational level, etc.

Table I- 2 Parents' and pupils' scores on some key variables

	Survey of parents	Survey of pupils
Percentage of gymnasium pupils	32.1%	33.5%
Percentage of intern. stream pupils	38.1%	31.3%
Percentage of regular stream pupils	29.8%	35.2%
Parental education level (s.d.)	3.30 (1.04)	3.13 (1.16)
Parental upper middle-class position	50.8%	53.2%
Parental cosmopolitan behaviour	2.54 (1.11)	2.27 (0.97)
Parents lived abroad	21.9%	30.0%
Parental ambitions	3.83 (0.03)	3.76 (0.03)
Percentage living in big city	20.5%	24.6%
Percentage living in affluent suburb	20.3%	18.7%
Percentage living in south & east	59.2%	56.8%

There was higher non-response among parents of children who attended a regular stream compared to the proportion of questionnaires their children completed: 29.8% versus 35.2%. This could be a sign of some systematic bias in the sample since completing surveys is correlated with social background and, especially, level of education. As higher educated people are more likely to complete questionnaires, and as we know that parents of regular pre-university pupils are lower educated, this might be the cause of the 'under-representation' of this school type in the parental survey.

However, we also observe that pupils and parents reported the same parental educational level on average. The score of about 3 shown in the table was measured on a 5-

point scale that was used in the questionnaires for both pupils and parents. Pupils and parents also agree on parental membership of the upper middle class: both surveys indicated that somewhat over half of the parents were upper middle class. Therefore, we can conclude that the under-representation of parents of children at regular pre-university streams does not relate to these parents' background.

With regard to the frequency of cosmopolitan behaviour, measured on a 7-point scale in both surveys, we see that parents reported a slightly higher frequency of cosmopolitan behaviour compared to the pupils. This might indicate that the survey of parents is slightly biased in this respect: there might be more non-cosmopolitan parents among the non-responding parents. However, the difference is rather small and does not give us any reasons to worry. Remarkably, the surveys of pupils and parents differed with regard to the extent that parents had been living abroad. This is the only question where the difference between the two surveys is rather large.

Concerning the ambitions of parents regarding the school work of their children, it turned out that parents perceived themselves only slightly less non-ambitious as compared to the pupils. A score of four or lower on this scale indicates that respondents tended to disagree with the propositions that aimed to capture their ambitions.

The distribution of the pupils across places of residence was roughly similar to the sample of parents: about sixty percent (56.8%) lived in towns in the east and the south, about a quarter (24.6%) lived in one of the four bigger cities and nearly one-fifth in one of the older affluent suburbs (18.6%). Nearly sixty percent (59.2%) of parents in the sample lived in towns in the south and east of the country, one-fifth (20.5%) lived in one of the four biggest cities in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Den Haag, Rotterdam or Utrecht) and another one-fifth (20.3%) lived in affluent suburban areas.

All in all, this restricted comparison of both surveys suggests that there is no reason to think that the non-response of the parental survey is related to serious systematic biases.

There is another source of non-response and this concerns the degree to which the questionnaires were completed fully. The questionnaires for parents were rather lengthy and contained detailed questions, so it took parents at least half an hour to complete. With hindsight, this was quite a demanding task for parents and I consider myself rather lucky that about half of the questionnaires were returned. Fortunately also, parents who returned the questionnaire had generally completed it entirely. Missing values were low overall, about 1% on average, and I could not detect any patterns in this respect. Two questions scored

exceptionally high with regard to non-response. The question that left me with the highest number of non-responders was the one about the educational level of the three best friends of the respondent: this one scored a 55.7% non-response. This question was intended as a measure of the parental social network so as to use it as an indicator of establishment. Judging from the comments that some parents had written in the margins of returned questionnaires, they felt that this question was inappropriate and intrusive. I also asked parents about the occupation of their three best friends, which yielded a far lower non-response of 2.9%. Unfortunately, I lacked the time necessary to code these occupations into social class positions so that the social network indicator had to be ignored altogether. The second case of high non-response was the question about income: 9.2% of the parents did not answer this question. In general, if a variable had more than 5% non-response, I replaced the missing values by the mean and used this repaired version of the variable in the analyses. To be on the safe side, I ran two analyses: one model with the missing values replaced and one with the unrepaired variable. Each time it turned out that this did not lead to substantial differences so that I could use the model with the replaced missing values.

Issues of representativeness with regard to the survey data

Another concern that affects the quality of survey data is the degree to which the sample reflects the population. To what degree are my findings representative for the population of all internationalised streams, gymnasiums, and regular pre-university streams? While I have calculated aggregated statistics per school type, it might be the case that individual schools differ considerably in some respects. For example, there might be differences with regard to parental cosmopolitanism within the category of internationalised streams. The design of the analysis is hierarchical: there are school types, schools, and pupils and parents. To analyse such hierarchical data optimally, so-called multi-level analysis should be applied. In an earlier stage of the study, I conducted such analyses, using the ML-win software. However, this type of modelling is best suited for continuous outcome variables. Although the ML-win programme also provides estimation procedures for applying this type of modelling to dichotomous outcome variables, I encountered numerous convergence problems as the models became more complex. I did not try to apply a multi-level design to the path models. Although this was an option, I found that this probably would have led to the models becoming too complex, and to complicated statistical problems. The more simple multi-level models that were ran had parental social class position, parental education level, frequency of

cosmopolitan behaviour and cultural behaviour and income as dependent variable. It turned out that the variance at the level of schools made up at most 14% (intra-class correlation coefficient) of the total variance. According to Maas (personal communication February 4, 2002) the use of multi-level analysis is justified if variance at the higher level (the schools) is above 15% .

The analysis of the survey data

For reasons already explained in chapter 4, I preferred path analyses to conventional linear or logistic regression analyses. The aim of path models or of structural equation modeling in general is to estimate a model of the data that provides the best possible fit of the structure of the relationships between variables. The point is to restrict the total number of possible relationships. The relationships left are the ones that are theoretically derived and that are put to the test. The difference between this restricted, theoretically derived model, and the data without any restriction determines the fit of the model. To assess this fit, the χ^2 measure is used. This measure indicates ‘the magnitude of the discrepancy between the sample and the fitted covariance matrices’ (Hu and Bentler 1995). This outcome is the extent to which the estimated model resembles the data without any modeling, without theoretically derived constraints. Obviously, the theoretical, constrained model gives a lower fit than the unconstrained data, so we could also speak of the ‘badness of fit’ as measured by χ^2 . If χ^2 is significant, this means that the model significantly differs from the unfitted data structure, which indicates too bad a fit.

In addition to χ^2 there are other indicators of model fit. The second indicator is the 90 percent confidence interval for RMSEA (root mean square error). This interval should lie within a lower bound of 0.0, and a higher bound between 0.05 and 0.08. RMSEA is a variant on the χ^2 measure but takes into account the degrees of freedom of the model (the degree to which the model is constrained). The third measure is the adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI). This indicator shows how close the model comes to the observed covariance matrix. Values above 0.9 indicate acceptable fit. All the models presented in this study yielded fit indicators that fell above the critical values mentioned in the literature.

I used the Lisrel WLS-estimation procedure in case the outcome variable was dichotomous. Although this estimation method was originally intended to be used for so-called ‘latent continuous’ variables (for example a cut-off measure of income), it can, according to Muthen (personal communication April, 2003) also be applied to real

dichotomous data: going to an internationalised stream or going to a regular pre-university stream for example (see also Olsson, Foss, Troye and Howell 2000).

For those interested, covariance- and correlation matrices as well as the Lisrel command files used can be requested by sending an email to D.Weenink@law.uu.nl.

The interviews with parents: sampling, data collection and data analysis

The interviewed parents form a sub-sample of parents who completed the questionnaires and filled in a separate sheet that indicated that they were willing to give an interview. About half of the parents who returned the questionnaire indicated that they were willing to participate in the interviews. The number of respondents, 35, is necessarily small due to the fact that both the collection and the analysis of qualitative data is more time-consuming per respondent. While this number is large enough to describe the forms of the narratives and discourses that appear in the stories of the parents, it is too small to enable robust numerical analyses to be performed. So, my sample of interview data is restricted in the sense that it does not allow for making any inferences about the distribution of these discourses.

However, even this small number of interviews turned out to be a rich source of information, showing the possible forms of moral notions and social behaviour that are part of every-day upper middle-class life, and which ultimately lead to large-scale social patterns that were revealed by the survey data. Due to time-constraints, I have chosen to restrict the sample to parents with children who went to either a gymnasium or an internationalised stream at the time of survey data collection.

I used the following procedure to select parents for the interviews. First, I tried to establish an equal distribution of parents according to three places of residence: big cities, affluent suburbs, and towns in the east and south of the country. Second, I tried to strike a balance with regard to school type. So, within each place of residence, about the same number of families with children attending a gymnasium or internationalised streams were selected. Obviously however, there turned out to be more children attending secondary education within the families of the parents interviewed. Moreover, some children had left either the internationalised stream or gymnasium between the moment their parents had completed the questionnaire and the moment of the interview some eighteen months later. In the end, the interviews pertain to 35 families that have 60 children attending pre-university education. Of these 60 children, 25 attended an internationalised stream, 19 a gymnasium or a gymnasium stream (two of these 19) and 16 a regular pre-university stream. There were 32 girls among

them. Of the 35 households, twelve lived in one of the affluent suburbs, 10 in a big city and 13 in the rest of the country. Of these 35 households, 26 belonged to the upper middle class. The following list shows the occupations of the interviewees and their partners, as well as the school type their children attended.

Table I- 3 Occupation of interviewed parents and school type of children

	Father's occupation	Mother's occupation	Children attending pre-university education	Gym/gym stream	Inter.	Regular
1	Account manager at bank	Remedial teacher	1		1	
2	Police Inspector	Primary school teacher	1			1*
3	Higher manager at multinational company	Nursery school teacher	2	1		1
4	Engineer	Policy-maker development aid	1		1	
5	Creative therapist/cameraman	Medical receptionist	1	1		
6	Manager at cluster of vocational schools	Teacher at secondary school	1		1	
7	Policy-maker at a trade union	Housewife	2		2	
8	Owner of pharmaceutical company	Housewife (physiotherapist)	1		1	
9	Public prosecutor	Staff advisor at cluster of vocational schools	3	3		
10	Journalist/documentary maker	PhD student	2	1	1	
11	Policy-maker at a government Ministry	Housewife	2	1		1
12	Alderman of big city	N/A	2		1	1
13	Top manager at large multinational company	Housewife	1			1**
14	Accountant	Administrative worker	2	1		1
15	Top manager at large multinational company	Housewife	1		1	
16	Primary school teacher	Higher manager	2	2		
17	Jobless ICT engineer	Teacher of Spanish	1		1	
18	Consultant at multinational ICT company	Housewife	3		3	
19	Primary school teacher	Housewife	3	1	1	1
20	N/A	General practitioner	2		1	1
21	Policy-maker tax department	N/A.	1	1		
22	Higher manager at ICT company	Therapist	2	1	1	
23	Jobless telecom engineer	Housewife	1			1
24	Social scientist	Social scientist	2			2
25	Manager social work	Educational consultant	2		2	
26	Organisational consultant	Higher manager at university	2	1		1
27	Lawyer	Dentist	2	1	1	
28	Owner of consultancy firm	Medical specialist	1		1	
29	Account manager at a wine business	Work at florists'	2		2	
30	Chief Inspector/Senior accountant at tax department	Stewardess	2			2
31	Top manager at bank	Director of a home for the elderly	2	1		1
32	Owner of a small firm	Violin teacher	2	2		
33	Top level manager at multinational company	Primary school teacher	3		2	1
34	Account manager at industrial firm	Remedial teacher	1	1		
35	Lower technician at multinational firm	Teacher of English	1		1	
			60	19	25	16

* former gymnasium stream pupil ** former internationalised stream pupil

Do the interviewed parents form a representative sample? To answer this question, we must first reconsider the idea of representativeness. Usually, the issue of representativeness is about the question of whether we can rely on the findings being representative of the features of the population, that the results are not random but pertain to systematic patterns in the population. However, such a definition of representativeness is not appropriate for use in qualitative studies. Most qualitative inquiries are not particularly suited to analysing the distribution of variables within a sample. Qualitative methods are more appropriate when the intention is to analyse the various manifestations in which a social phenomenon appears, how people construct meanings of social life, or how social processes precisely work. Instead of providing information on how often such social processes occur, qualitative research provides insights into how certain social processes work. Therefore, numerical representativeness is not a good criterion for assessing the quality of the sample. The problem of representativeness in qualitative research revolves around the question of whether all possible appearances of the phenomenon are included; whether every kind of 'how' has been covered in the research. This is called 'theoretical sampling' (Glaser and Strauss 1967). To assess the representativeness of the sample analysed in this study, we could ask the question: who do we miss and might they have come up with other versions of social reality?

In my view, the sample has not reached the point of 'theoretical saturation' with regard to two issues. First, the sample lacks relatively lower educated entrepreneurs. Their perception of the need of possible cultural compensation would have augmented the analysis presented in chapter 5. Second, there are very few parents in the sample who frame their choice for a gymnasium in terms of a cultural, intellectual or classical education, or who embrace intellectual elitism (chapter 6). This surprised me, given the strong ideology surrounding this school type that invokes these arguments. If such parents exist, their perception and meanings of the specific cultural and intellectual education that a gymnasium offers, as well as the ways in which they view intellectual elitism could have added another dimension to the analysis.

I have used an item list that guided the interviews. Parents were, however, free to say whatever they thought was relevant concerning a certain topic. About school choice for example, I asked parents whether they could tell me 'How it went, choosing a school after primary school'. Where I thought that a topic had not been sufficiently covered, I asked additional questions, but only after the respondent had finished his or her story. Thus if a father whose child went to an internationalised stream did not say anything about the local gymnasium in his story about school choice, I asked him whether he knew of its existence and

what he thought about that gymnasium.

All interviews were typed out verbatim and coded with the help of software (Atlas-ti) that supports the analysis of qualitative data. In general, computer-assisted qualitative analysis provides an easier and more reliable way of selecting and arranging fragments of interviews than doing it manually or using word processing software. Moreover, computer programmes that are specifically designed to support the analysis of qualitative data provide a sounder basis for analysis since the researcher can be certain that all relevant fragments have been included in the analysis, provided that the coding of the fragments is unequivocal. The analysis of the interview data was as follows. First, I read fifteen interviews and coded the fragments. The coding of the interviews was based on the themes that appeared on the topic lists and, after reading the interviews, on themes that were proposed by parents. After this initial coding, I read the rest of the interviews and considered the degree to which the codes of the first fifteen interviews were also applicable to the rest. On the basis of these experiences, I designed a coding scheme. Based on this scheme, the interviews were split into fragments that all received a first, rough code. I then scrutinised these rough codes more closely. This closer analysis was carried out as follows. All codes that I was able to relate to a certain theme or research question were selected. I then refined the first rough coding into sub-codes and added new codes. Gradually, a more detailed picture of various patterns of statements emerged. The assistance of the computer here provided opportunities to look for such patterns as it made searching for combinations of fragments, codes and sub-codes much simpler.

Samenvatting (summary in Dutch)

Onderwerp van deze studie is de relatie tussen de (hogere) middenklassen en verschillende vormen van voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs: zelfstandige gymnasia, tweetalig vwo en reguliere vwo-afdelingen van scholengemeenschappen. In dit proefschrift analyseer ik hoe de machtsbronnen van de middenklassen worden ingezet in het onderwijsveld. Belangrijk uitgangspunt hierbij is het idee van sociale reproductie. Als er sprake is van de werking van machtsbronnen van de middenklassen in het onderwijsveld vindt dit niet zomaar plaats, maar omdat ouders hun kinderen via het onderwijs de beste kansen op toekomstig geluk willen bieden. Hoe toekomstig geluk eruit ziet is klassegebonden. Voor de middenklassen betekent het vooral sociale daling voorkomen.

Elk lid van de middenklasse beschikt over een arsenaal van machtsbronnen, waarop de positie in het systeem van sociaal-economische ongelijkheid, de klassenpositie, is gebaseerd. Er zijn binnen de middenklasse fracties aan te wijzen op grond van de machtsbron die de boventoon voert in het totale pakket aan machtsbronnen. Zo zijn fracties te onderscheiden naar eigendom (ondernemers), organisatie (managers) en kennis/cultuur (professionals). Daarnaast baseert de hogere middenklasse zich op kosmopolitische en/of gevestigde machtsbronnen. De machtsbronnen van de middenklassen voldoen slechts ten dele aan het concept van 'uitbuiting' in de zin van het klassieke marxistische klassenconcept: een deel van de middenklassen zijn een bezittende klasse die zich de opbrengsten toe-eigenen van de arbeid van degenen die deze productiemiddelen niet bezitten. Maar een groot deel van de middenklassen onderhoudt geen economische afhankelijkheidsrelaties met lagere sociale klassen waarin de materiële welvaart van de een direct afhangt van de materiële deprivatie van de ander. De macht van de middenklassen is dan gebaseerd op de mogelijkheden tot uitsluiting van anderen. Paradoxaal genoeg is het uitsluitingsconcept, net als het uitbuitingsconcept, relationeel: het wordt pas de moeite waard anderen uit te sluiten als het gaat om machtsbronnen die schaars en gewild zijn; als anderen deze machtsbronnen nodig hebben en deze zelf ook willen verwerven. Ik neem aan dat de reproductie strategieën van gezinnen vooral zijn gericht op de machtsbron die de boventoon voert in het huishouden. De reproductiestrategie van professionals bijvoorbeeld is er dan vooral op gericht om kinderen culturele machtsbronnen mee te geven.

Ik heb ervoor gekozen de hoogste typen van het voortgezet onderwijs aan een analyse

van het gebruik van middenklassenmachtsbronnen te onderwerpen. Als hoogste vorm van het voortgezet onderwijs is het vwo bij uitstek onderwijs voor de middenklassen. Het vwo biedt, meer dan enig ander Nederlands schooltype, leerlingen de eerste stap op weg naar het bereiken van een hogere middenklassenpositie. Daarnaast biedt de differentiatie naar regulier vwo, gymnasium en tweetalig vwo mogelijkheden om te onderzoeken of er binnen de middenklassen verschillende patronen van sociale reproductie bestaan die samenhangen met verschillende machtsbronnen.

Van de drie schooltypen die ik heb onderzocht heeft hier alleen het tweetalig vwo een introductie. Tweetalig vwo wordt zo genoemd omdat de helft van de lessen in het Engels (op één school in het Duits) gegeven wordt, de andere helft in het Nederlands. Overigens wordt er met wisselend succes maar in toenemende mate ook tweetalig havo aangeboden. Dit onderzoek beperkt zich tot de vwo-scholen. De lessen in het Engels worden verzorgd door Engelstalige docenten en Nederlandstalige docenten. De laatsten volgen ter verbetering van hun Engelse taalvaardigheid een intensieve cursus. De tweetalige opleidingen stellen zich ten doel leerlingen Engels te leren op *near native* niveau. Daarnaast is het doel ze een internationale oriëntatie bij te brengen. Die internationale oriëntatie krijgt vorm door uitwisselingen met buitenlandse partnerscholen, door het contact met Engelstalige docenten en door onderdelen van het vwo-curriculum een meer internationale invulling te geven dan gebruikelijk, bijvoorbeeld bij geschiedenis en aardrijkskunde. De tweetalige scholen selecteren op motivatie en schoolse vaardigheden omdat het programma zwaarder is dan in het reguliere vwo: met name in de eerste jaren krijgen de leerlingen veel lessen in het Engels waardoor ze meer lessen dan in het reguliere vwo volgen. De selectie is gebaseerd op de hoogte van de citoscore, gesprekken die met ouders en leerlingen worden gevoerd en tenslotte ondergaan de aspirant leerlingen uiteenlopende tests.

Het tweetalig vwo is de afgelopen vijftien jaar flink gegroeid. In het schooljaar 2002-2003 waren er circa 5.000 leerlingen die tweetalig onderwijs volgden op 45 scholen. Ter vergelijking: in hetzelfde jaar volgden 23.000 leerlingen onderwijs op één van de 38 zelfstandige gymnasia en ongeveer 220.000 leerlingen volgden vwo aan 434 scholengemeenschappen. Uitgedrukt in marktaandeel: ongeveer 2% van alle vwo-leerlingen volgde tweetalig onderwijs, 9% volgde gymnasium onderwijs op een zelfstandig gymnasium en de overige 89% volgde vwo op een scholengemeenschap. Het aantal tweetalige leerlingen zal in de toekomst nog groeien omdat het aantal scholen dat tweetalig onderwijs aanbiedt stijgt en omdat van een aanzienlijk deel van de tweetalige opleidingen nog niet alle leerjaren van de tweetalige opleiding gevuld zijn.

Dat de middenklassen het onderwijs aanwenden om de kansen op voortzetting van de ouderlijke klassenpositie door hun kinderen te verhogen is bepaald geen nieuw idee. Toch kan deze studie bijdragen aan theorievorming over de middenklassen en de rol van het onderwijs in het proces van sociale reproductie van deze sociale klasse. Zo is nog niet veel bekend over de wijze waarop de verschillende machtsbronnen zich tot elkaar verhouden. Nog minder weten we over het verband tussen deze verschillende machtsbronnen en het onderwijs. Tenslotte is er nog weinig bekend over het proces dat er uiteindelijk toe leidt dat sociale reproductie tot stand komt en welke betekenis sociale reproductie heeft voor ouders en kinderen.

Deze studie is gebaseerd op enquêtes onder 819 ouders en 1.539 leerlingen. In totaal namen 13 scholen met tweetalig afdelingen en reguliere vwo-afdelingen en 11 gymnasia (waaronder drie gymnasiumafdelingen van scholengemeenschappen) deel. Daarnaast zijn 70 interviews afgenomen met ouders, schoolleiders, ambtenaren en docenten. Voorts zijn beleidsdocumenten en brochures bestudeerd. Tenslotte is gebruik gemaakt van statistisch materiaal verzameld door het CBS en de Onderwijsinspectie.

Ik geef hieronder de belangrijkste bevindingen uit het boek weer. Ter afsluiting breng ik deze bevindingen in verband met een aantal recente ontwikkelingen in het onderwijs en waag ik me aan een toekomstvoorspelling.

Concurrentie in de onderwijsarena en differentiatie binnen het vwo

Het gymnasium dankt haar huidige sterke concurrentiepositie aan het onderwijsbeleid. De categoriale status van het gymnasium heeft na 1968, toen de Mammoetwet werd ingevoerd, voortdurend onder druk gestaan door aanvallen van sociaal-democratische zijde. Toch waren deze bedreigingen uiteindelijk minder ernstig dan de strijd die dit schooltype moest voeren vanaf het begin van de twintigste eeuw tot aan de invoering van de Mammoetwet. Gedurende die periode verloor het gymnasium veel leerlingen aan de voorlopers van de huidige vwo-afdelingen van scholengemeenschappen: het lyceum en de hbs. De Mammoetwet bood de gymnasia een afzonderlijke, bijna onneembare positie binnen het onderwijsveld. Politieke initiatieven om de gymnasia deel uit te laten uitmaken van een minder gedifferentieerd stelsel waarin de keuze voor een bepaald niveau van onderwijs werd uitgesteld tot een latere leeftijd, stuitte tegen een cordon van geïnstitutionaliseerd sociaal kapitaal dat de gymnasia hadden opgebouwd vanaf het begin van de twintigste eeuw. Zo kon het gebeuren dat de gymnasia de brugklas niet in hoefden te voeren. Hoewel het aantal gymnasia terugliep in de jaren na de

Mammoetwet, moet deze terugval gezien worden tegen de achtergrond van de veel sterkere afname van de lycea en de hbs. Deze schooltypen gingen op in grotere scholengemeenschappen. Tegenwoordig behoren slechts twee van de 40 categoriale vwo-scholen niet tot de zelfstandige gymnasia. Bovendien steeg het marktaandeel van de gymnasia op het totale aantal leerlingen gestaag.

De afgeschermdde positie van de gymnasia bood de hogere middenklasse een ontsnapping aan de grote scholen die vanaf de jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw door opgelegde fusies ontstonden. De schaalvergrotingsoperatie leidde tot een polariseringstendens in het vwo. Aan de succeskant waren er scholen die alleen de hoogste niveaus van het voortgezet onderwijs aanboden waar het aandeel middenklasse kinderen relatief groot was. Deze scholen stonden van oudsher bekend als ‘goede’ scholen. ‘Kwaliteit is klasse’ zoals De Swaan het kernachtig verwoordde, en dit is zeker ook van toepassing op de wijze waarop ouders scholen beoordelen. De scholen met het grootste aandeel havo- en vwo-leerlingen wonnen leerlingen ten koste van scholen die waren opgegaan in grotere verbanden. Deze verhevigde competitie was overigens geen gevolg van demografische veranderingen: het aantal leerlingen in deze periode bleef tamelijk stabiel. In dezelfde tijd had het neoliberalisme postgevat in de onderwijspolitiek. Het credo was dat marktwerking in het onderwijs uiteindelijk zou leiden tot meer diversiteit in en kwaliteit van het aanbod. Weliswaar hebben Nederlandse gezinnen van oudsher grondwettelijke vrijheid van schoolkeuze, maar dan moesten zij als onderwijsconsumenten wel wat te kiezen hebben. Om die reden kregen scholen meer bestuurlijke en financiële speelruimte.

In die context moet ook de opkomst van de tweetalige scholen worden gezien. Begin jaren negentig startten de eerste scholen met dit type onderwijs. Dit waren eerst vrijwel alleen scholen die een internationale afdeling of *international school* hadden, waar het *International Baccalaureate* (IB) programma werd aangeboden. Het IB-programma wordt wereldwijd onderwezen op *international schools*, die bedoeld zijn voor kinderen van *expatriates*. Het IB-diploma geeft toegang tot vrijwel alle universiteiten ter wereld. In Nederland was het IB-programma tot voor kort voorbehouden aan ‘internationaal mobiele’ gezinnen: ouders die tijdelijk in Nederland verbleven of ouders met kinderen die enige tijd op een basisschool in het buitenland hadden gezeten. Echter, al snel na de oprichting van de internationale afdelingen bleek dat ook ouders die niet aan de criteria van ‘internationale mobiliteit’ voldeden, belangstelling hadden voor het IB-programma. Dit leidde ertoe dat de scholen een mengvorm van het IB-programma en het reguliere vwo gingen aanbieden. Zij noemden dit tweetalig onderwijs. De eerste scholen die tweetalig onderwijs aanboden, hadden bepaald

geen slechte concurrentiepositie maar waren er wel op gespist om hun positie te versterken. Zij werden daarnaast gedreven door de inspiratie die uitging van de inhoudelijke vernieuwingen als gevolg van de internationalisering van het curriculum. Deze eerste ‘ambitieuze’ scholen hebben hun stempel gedrukt op de vormgeving van het tweetalige curriculum. Vanaf de tweede helft van de jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw zorgden ‘bedreigde’ scholen voor een sterke groei van het tweetalige onderwijs. De ‘bedreigde’ scholen zagen tweetalig onderwijs als een uitgelezen (soms laatste) kans om de teloorgang van de vwo-afdeling af te wenden. Het ging daarbij overigens om meer dan het redden van de vwo-afdeling; het verlies van het vwo heeft ook nadelige effecten op de havo-instroom en kan leiden tot vertrek van docenten. Inderdaad heeft de introductie van een tweetalige stroom vele scholen voor afkalving van de havo- en vwo-afdelingen behoed.

Kosmopolitische en gevestigde machtsbronnen

Kosmopolitische machtsbronnen helpen de bezitter ervan vooruit in transnationale arbeids-, en scholingsmarkten waar de strijd wordt gevoerd om bevoorrechte sociale posities. Internationale ervaring, kennis van het vreemde en kennissen in den vreemde leiden de kosmopoliet ertoe vol vertrouwen zijn weg in de wijde wereld te zoeken. Een cruciaal onderdeel van de kosmopolitische macht vormt een uitstekende beheersing van het Engels. Maar ook de bereidheid zich in vreemde culturen te begeven en een vertrouwdheid met de opkomende transnationale (bedrijfs)cultuur zijn elementen van kosmopolitanisme. Er is een transnationale cultuur aan het ontstaan die wordt vormgegeven door de instituties die het leven van *expatriates* omringen. Een belangrijke rol hierbij is weggelegd voor de internationale scholen, waar ouders en kinderen van *expatriates* uit allerlei landen samenkomen. Uiteraard is kosmopolitanisme niet voorbehouden aan de moderne tijd; nationale top-elites zijn altijd in zekere mate kosmopolitisch geweest. Bovendien kent de academische wereld een traditie van transnationale verbanden. Toch verschilt het huidige kosmopolitanisme wezenlijk van het traditionele kosmopolitanisme. Waar kosmopolitanisme voorheen een familieaangelegenheid was, wordt het nu vormgegeven door instituties die verbonden zijn met multinationale bedrijven. De kosmopolitische machtsbronnen zoals ik die heb bestudeerd hangen samen met dit nieuwe, geïnstitutionaliseerde kosmopolitanisme. Ik ben nagegaan met welke frequentie ouders Engels lezen, spreken en schrijven, naar het buitenland gaan voor hun werk, buitenlandse vrienden thuis ontvangen, bij buitenlandse vrienden op bezoek gaan en of zij langer dan een jaar in het buitenland hebben gewoond.

‘Gevestigde’ machtsbronnen dragen bij aan continuïteit van hogere middenklassenposities van generatie op generatie. Het is niet vanzelfsprekend dat kinderen van ouders die een positie in de hoogste regionen van de samenleving bezetten, zelf ook een dergelijke positie zullen verwerven. Om dit te verwezenlijken worden gevestigde machtsbronnen ingezet. Dit kan materieel familiebezit zijn (huizen, antieke meubels, aandelen) maar ook bezit van culturele en sociale aard: het aanleren van ‘goede’ manieren maar dan wel op zo’n manier dat ze ongedwongen worden toegepast, het leren beleven van de hoogst gewaardeerde kunstuitingen, het aanleren van zelfvertrouwen om zich in de hoogste kringen te bewegen, het leren van de benodigde zelfdiscipline om zich bezig te houden met zaken die geen direct praktisch nut lijken te hebben (zoals leren bespelen van een muziekinstrument of het vertalen van een Griekse tekst) en de toegang tot netwerken die van belang zijn voor het verwerven van hoge posities later. Gevestigde machtsbronnen heb ik gedefinieerd als: grootouders die lid waren van de hogere middenklasse, de eigen hogere middenklassenpositie van de ouders en de frequentie van deelname aan de gevestigde, traditionele, hogere kunstvormen door ouders en het lidmaatschap van een traditionele studentenvereniging, het studentencorps.

Ik heb onderzocht of op grond van het bezit van kosmopolitische en gevestigde machtsbronnen van ouders voorspeld kan worden op welk schooltype hun kinderen terechtkomen. Door middel van padanalyses vergeleek ik gymnasia met reguliere vwo-afdelingen, tweetalige afdelingen met reguliere vwo-afdelingen en gymnasia met tweetalige afdelingen. De voor de hand liggende aanname hierbij was dat het tweetalig onderwijs een voorbereiding biedt op een kosmopolitische route naar hogere middenklassenposities en dat het gymnasium staat voor de gevestigde weg naar hogere middenklassenposities.

Hoe meer gevestigde machtsbronnen ouders bezaten, hoe groter de kans dat kinderen het zelfstandig gymnasium in plaats van de beide andere typen van vwo volgden: als grootouders een hogere middenklassenpositie innamen, als ouders lid waren van het studentencorps en als ouders vaker deelnamen aan gevestigde kunstvormen. Opmerkelijk was dat het bezit van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen de kans verkleinde dat een kind naar gymnasium ging. Dit gold voor de vergelijking tussen het gymnasium en het tweetalig onderwijs maar ook voor de vergelijking tussen het gymnasium en het regulier vwo. Uit de analyses kwam ook naar voren dat het gymnasium bijdroeg en onderdeel is van een proces van accumulatie van gevestigde machtsbronnen door ouders. Indien grootouders lid waren van de hogere middenklasse, hadden ouders een grotere kans om op het gymnasium terecht te komen. Deze ouders hadden als oud-gymnasium leerlingen vervolgens een grotere kans lid te

worden van het studentencorps en zij behaalden een hoger opleidingsniveau. Dit gaf hun tenslotte een grotere kans op het verwerven van hogere middenklassenposities.

De kans dat kinderen een tweetalige vwo-afdeling volgen in plaats van een reguliere vwo-afdeling bleek niet samen te hangen met gevestigde machtsbronnen van de ouders. Dit was volgens verwachting: de nieuwe kosmopolitisch route is relatief meer toegankelijk voor lagere sociale klassen - dat wil zeggen: lager dan de hogere middenklasse. Geheel in de lijn van de verwachting was de bevinding dat kinderen van ouders die een jaar of langer in het buitenland hadden gewoond en/of die zich vaker kosmopolitisch gedroegen, meer kans hadden op het tweetalig onderwijs terecht te komen in plaats van zowel het gymnasium als de reguliere vwo-afdelingen. Echter, niet alle ouders van tweetalige leerlingen beschikken over veel kosmopolitische machtsbronnen. Ongeveer de helft van de ouders van tweetalige leerlingen behoort tot de hogere middenklasse. Deze categorie is beduidend kosmopolitischer dan alle andere ouders. De andere helft van de ouders van leerlingen die tweetalig vwo volgen behoort tot een lagere klasse die niet over veel kosmopolitische machtsbronnen beschikt. Deze laatste groep ouders ziet tweetalig onderwijs als een sociale route die hun kinderen met stijngingspotentie meer kansen op het bereiken van hogere middenklassenposities biedt, althans in vergelijking met het meer gesloten gevestigde sociale traject waartoe het gymnasium leidt. Overigens bleek ook dat het tweetalig onderwijs het grootste aandeel sociale stijgers onder de ouders telt.

In een analyse van de mate waarin ouders het verwerven van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen belangrijk vinden voor de toekomst van hun kinderen wordt het beeld van de kosmopolitisch route als stijngingskanaal bevestigd. Het bleek dat als kinderen tweetalig onderwijs volgen, hun ouders vaker vinden dat het verwerven van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen belangrijk is voor de toekomst van hun kind. Deze bevinding is niet zo voor de hand liggend als het op het eerste gezicht lijkt. Het gaat erom dat ouders dat vinden ongeacht of ze wel of niet tot de hogere middenklasse behoren, opleidingsniveau, inkomen, kosmopolitanisme en de leeftijd en de sekse van hun kind.

De kosmopolitische route is, door de relatieve openheid ervan, ook een sociale route die meer concurrentie en daardoor onzekerheid met zich meebrengt. Ik heb ouders gevraagd naar hun ambities voor hun kinderen. Die ambities waren gericht op competitieve en prestatiegerichte aspecten van het schoolwerk. Niet alleen bleek dat naarmate ouders meer ambitieus waren, zij meer belang hechtten aan de verwerving van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen, de kosmopolitische ervaringen van de ouders zelf verhoogden op hun beurt de ambities die zij hadden voor hun kinderen.

Op basis van de interviews met de ouders van leerlingen van de tweetalige afdelingen konden deze ambities nader geanalyseerd worden. Ik heb twee categorieën kosmopolitische ouders onderscheiden. De eerste categorie ouders heb ik toegewijde kosmopolieten genoemd. Zij wilden hun kinderen ervan doordringen dat de wereld er is om door hen te worden geëxploreerd; kinderen moeten leren dat hun toekomst niet noodzakelijkerwijs in Nederland ligt en dat ze over de grens moeten kijken. Daarnaast vonden deze ouders het belangrijk dat hun kinderen worden geconfronteerd met andere culturen. De toewijding van deze kosmopolitische ouders betrof hun geloof in en de intensiteit waarmee zij de boodschap van een wereld zonder grenzen verkondigen. Deze kosmopolitische boodschap was in de eerste plaats aan hun kinderen gericht. De toegewijde kosmopolieten zijn ambitieus omdat zij vinden dat hun kinderen de beste plek moeten zoeken om zich ten volle te ontplooien, waar ter wereld dit ook is. Alle toegewijde kosmopolieten hebben in het buitenland gewoond en hun kinderen volgden het tweetalig onderwijs.

De tweede groep kosmopolitische ouders heb ik instrumentele kosmopolieten genoemd. Ook deze ouders hadden kinderen die tweetalig onderwijs volgden. De instrumentele kosmopolieten benadrukten de praktische voordelen van de verwerving van kosmopolitische competenties, waaronder zij voornamelijk de beheersing van het Engels op een zeer hoog niveau verstaan. Zij deelden echter niet de kosmopolitische ideologie van de toegewijde kosmopolieten. Toch zijn ook de instrumentele kosmopolieten ambitieus. Ik vond het opmerkelijk hoe zeer ouders doordrongen waren van de concurrentie waarin zij hun kinderen nu en later verweekeld zagen. In de ogen van de instrumenteel kosmopolitische ouders biedt een uitstekende beheersing van het Engels hun kinderen een voordeel ten opzichte van tegenstrevers op de universiteit en op de arbeidsmarkt.

Ondernemers, managers en professionals in de onderwijsarena

Naast gevestigden en kosmopolieten kunnen drie andere categorieën binnen de middenklassen worden onderscheiden op grond van de dominante machtsbron waarop zij hun positie baseren. Ondernemers baseren hun middenklassenpositie vooral op het bezit van (bedrijfs)kapitaal. De dominante machtsbron van managers komt voort uit de positie die zij innemen in organisaties. De middenklassenpositie van professionals stoelt vooral op een monopolie op schaarse kennis. Ik ben nagegaan in hoeverre op grond van deze verschillende machtsbronnen kan worden voorspeld op welk schooltype de kinderen van ondernemers, managers en professionals de meeste kans hebben terecht te komen. Uitgaande van het idee van sociale

reproductie verwachtte ik dat kinderen op een schooltype zouden belanden dat het meest aansloot bij de dominante machtsbron in hun ouderlijk gezin. Dit betekent dat kinderen van professionals in vergelijking met zowel managers als ondernemers een grotere kans zouden hebben om op het gymnasium terecht te komen, hetgeen overeenstemt met het imago van dit schooltype als school voor de intellectuele elite. Kinderen van managers zouden dan, gezien de door het bedrijfsleven gedomineerde aard van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen vaker tweetalige leerlingen zijn. Tenslotte verwachtte ik dat ondernemerskinderen in vergelijking met kinderen afkomstig uit huishoudens waarin cultuur en organisatie de dominante machtsbronnen vormen, vaker op het reguliere vwo te vinden zouden zijn. Kinderen uit gezinnen waarin het eigendom van een onderneming de belangrijkste machtsbron is hebben de voordelen van de zwaardere schooltypen zoals het gymnasium en het tweetalig onderwijs minder nodig om de klassenpositie van hun ouders te continueren. Zij kunnen immers terugvallen op het bedrijfskapitaal van hun ouders.

Het idee van sociale reproductie bleek echter niet te passen bij het patroon dat uit de analyses naar voren kwam. Tot mijn verassing bleek dat kinderen van ondernemers een tweemaal grotere kans hebben om op het gymnasium terecht te komen dan kinderen van professionals of managers.

In plaats van sociale reproductie lijkt hier de logica van culturele compensatie aan het werk. Ondernemerskinderen zoeken mogelijk compensatie voor het relatief lagere onderwijsniveau van hun ouders. Het bleek dat ondernemers zelf ook compensatie zochten: zij namen vaker deel aan de gevestigde, hogere vormen van kunst. De interviews met de ouders boden een tweede, zij het indirecte, indicatie voor de aanwezigheid van de culturele compensatiedrang van ondernemers. De geïnterviewde ouders bleken een scherpe sociale indeling te hanteren naar enerzijds een cultureel rijke middenklasse waartoe zijzelf bleken te behoren en anderzijds een economisch rijke middenklasse. De laatste categorie werd zonder uitzondering tot de laagbare groep gerekend. Een diepe kloof blijkt het morele middenklassenlandschap te splijten: geld versus cultuur. De scheidslijn wordt in eerste instantie gevormd door de hogere opleiding van de culturelen. Overigens, over de economische welstand van de cultureel rijken hoeft geen misverstand te bestaan; feitelijk horen culturele rijkdom en materiële welstand bij elkaar. De meeste cultureel rijken ontkennen dit ook niet. Het belang van deze morele dichotomie is veeleer symbolisch: de categorie van de verwerpelijke middenklasse die zich verlustigt aan materiële rijkdom dient om kinderen te wijzen op wie er juist wel en wie eigenlijk niet tot de 'ware' middenklasse behoort. De materieel rijken horen er niet bij omdat ze hun middenklassenpositie niet

verdiend hebben door een hoge opleiding. Daarnaast zouden zij hun kinderen, de typische verwende rijkeluiiskinderen, niet de waarde van geld hebben leren kennen. De economisch rijkere worden aldus opgezadeld met de vermeende zonde van het gebrek aan zelfdiscipline. Dit is een zonde omdat zelfdiscipline een centrale waarde vertegenwoordigt voor de middenklasse. Zonder zelfdiscipline geen hoge opleiding. Daarnaast vraagt het uitoefenen van beroepen die behoren tot het hart van de middenklasse om zelfdiscipline. Voor zowel managers als professionals geldt dat hun werkzaamheden slechts in beperkte mate extern controleerbaar zijn.

Tegen de achtergrond van dit morele middenklasse landschap lijkt het erop dat ondernemers met hun lagere opleiding en zeer hoge inkomens al snel tot de verdachte categorie kunnen worden bestempeld. Hieruit vloeit mogelijk hun drang tot culturele compensatie voort.

Schoolkeuze of niet? De overgang van basisschool naar het vwo

Centraal in neoliberale ideeën over de bevordering van marktwerking in het onderwijs staan de mogelijkheden en de gevolgen van keuzes van gezinnen. Het is echter de vraag of er inderdaad sprake is van een keuzeproses waarbij meerdere alternatieven worden afgewogen. Ik heb 35 interviews met ouders gehouden die betrokken waren geweest bij in totaal 60 overgangen naar het vwo. Van deze 60 overgangen waren er 38 het resultaat van een expliciet afwegingsproces. Opvallend was dat ouders met nadruk lieten weten dat niet zij, maar hun kinderen de school kozen. Dit contrasteert met de wijze waarop schoolkeuze in Britse middenklasse gezinnen verloopt. Britse ouders sturen veel meer, maar proberen wel het kind het gevoel te geven dat het zeggenschap heeft gehad in de keuze omdat ook de Britse ouders gebonden zijn aan de regels van het onderhandelingshuishouden. Maar waarom zijn Britse ouders dominant in het proces van schoolkeuze? De 'goede' school die zij voor hun kinderen willen is een school waar voldoende middenklasse kinderen zijn. Gezien de afwezigheid van sorterende procedures zoals tests en adviezen alsmede de heterogene samenstelling in de eerste leerjaren van het Britse openbare voortgezet onderwijs staat voor de Britse ouders veel meer op het spel dan voor de Nederlandse middenklasse ouders. De structuur van het Nederlandse voortgezet onderwijs biedt ouders een tamelijk risicoloze omgeving om kinderen te leren kiezen: de sorterende werking van de Cito-toets en schooladviezen en de formele segregatie naar onderwijsniveaus biedt Nederlandse middenklasse gezinnen de zekerheid van relatief sociaal homogene klassen, mits het resultaat

van de Cito-toets en het advies van de basisschool voldoende hoog is. Ouders kunnen erop vertrouwen dat hun kinderen niet snel een lager schooltype zullen kiezen dan dat zij op grond van hun citoscore en schooladvies aankunnen.

In 22 van de 60 overgangen is veel minder sprake van een afweging van alternatieven. Voor ongeveer de helft van deze 22 overgangen geldt dat ouders en kinderen simpelweg tevreden waren met de school dichtbij huis of de school waar broers of zussen op zitten. Voor de rest was er niet zozeer sprake van een keuze omdat ouders hetzij het tweetalig onderwijs hetzij het gymnasium als de enige optie zagen voor hun kinderen.

Hoewel dit niets afdoet aan de gevonden statistische verbanden tussen ouderlijke kenmerken en schooltypen, blijkt dat aan het ontstaan van zulke patronen vaak gecompliceerde keuzeprocessen voorafgaan. Zo bleek bijvoorbeeld dat, naast het verwerven van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen, de begaafdheid van kinderen een belangrijke rol speelt bij de keuze voor tweetalig onderwijs. Slechts een enkele ouder noemde de culturele of klassieke vorming van het gymnasium als reden om voor dit schooltype te kiezen; de mate van klassenhomogeniteit die dit schooltype biedt bleek veel belangrijker te zijn. Hierbij moet worden opgemerkt dat ouders het belang van klassenhomogeniteit laten afhangen van de specifieke eigenschappen van hun kind: vooral voor bedeesde, verlegen of jonge kinderen wordt een ‘beschermd omgeving’ een punt om rekening mee te houden.

Voor de helft van de geïnterviewde ouders speelde de angst voor de aanwezigheid van kinderen uit lagere sociale klassen een rol bij de keuze voor een bepaalde school. De wildheid, de onrust en het gebrek aan lichaamscontrole die de ouders zien bij de ‘andere’ kinderen staat haaks op de manier waarop zij hun kinderen proberen op te voeden, waarin zelfdiscipline, die begint met lichaamscontrole, een kernwaarde is. Daarnaast vrezen ouders voor besmetting van hun kinderen met de desinteresse en het gebrek aan motivatie voor school die zij toeschrijven aan de ‘anderen’.

De gedachte dat het aandeel middenklasse leerlingen een indicatie is voor de kwaliteit van een school leeft niet alleen onder ouders maar ook onder leerlingen. Ik heb kinderen gevraagd naar de motieven om voor een bepaald schooltype te kiezen. Het bleek dat de mate van exclusiviteit van de school een reden was om te kiezen voor gymnasium in plaats van tweetalig onderwijs en regulier vwo (gecontroleerd voor citoscore, onderwijsniveau van de ouders en aard van de woonplaats). Verassend was dat leerlingen van tweetalige afdelingen, vergeleken met hun leeftijdgenoten op de reguliere vwo afdeling, van mening waren dat zij hun school juist niet hadden gekozen om redenen van exclusiviteit. Waarschijnlijk vergelijken de tweetalige leerlingen hun school met het gymnasium en beoordelen zij de eigen school als

minder exclusief. Dit komt overeen met de ideeën van hun ouders, die het verschil tussen tweetalig onderwijs op een scholengemeenschap en het gymnasium onder meer verwoorden in termen van de aanwezigheid van ‘anderen’. Opmerkelijk was dat een flink deel (ca. 20%) van de gymnasiumleerlingen de nabijgelegen tweetalige afdeling als alternatief had bezocht in het proces van schoolkeuze. Een zelfde deel van de leerlingen van het tweetalig vwo had het lokale gymnasium een bezoek gebracht.

Elitescholen?

In deze studie laat ik zien dat het gymnasium wat betreft sociale exclusiviteit niet onderdoet voor Britse privé-scholen die kinderen voorbereiden op de toelating voor elite universiteiten; in beide schooltypen bleek dat tweederde van de kinderen afkomstig was uit de hogere middenklasse. De tweetalige scholen zijn wat minder sociaal selectief; zij zijn naar het aandeel kinderen uit de hogere middenklasse vergelijkbaar met de prestigieuze Franse *classes préparatoires*, die leerlingen voorbereiden op de toelatingsexamens voor de *grandes écoles*, de topuniversiteiten. Het belangrijkste verschil tussen de Nederlandse schooltypen enerzijds en de Franse en Engelse instituten anderzijds is natuurlijk dat de laatsten onderdeel uitmaken van een elite-onderwijstraject. Zoiets bestaat in Nederland nog niet.

Frans, Britse, Amerikaanse en Japanse elitescholen kenmerken zich niet alleen door academische en sociale selectie. Ze dragen ook bij aan de verwerving van mentale disposities, competitiviteit en zelfdiscipline, die van belang zijn voor het verwerven en behouden van hogere middenklassenposities. Bovendien vergroten elitescholen de kans op toelating tot prestigieuze universiteiten. Dit laatste is in Nederland niet aan de orde; tot op heden is er nog weinig verschil in prestige tussen universiteiten. Toch zou het kunnen zijn dat leerlingen van gymnasia en tweetalige scholen een grotere kans hebben om hogere middenklasse posities te verwerven dan hun leeftijdgenoten die het reguliere vwo volgen. Mogelijk dragen de tweetalige scholen bij aan de verwerving van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen door leerlingen. Wellicht bieden de gymnasia een omgeving die de kansen op accumulatie van gevestigde machtsbronnen vergroot. Het bezit van zulke machtsbronnen biedt kinderen meer mogelijkheden voor het bereiken van hogere middenklassenposities later.

De verwerving van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen door leerlingen heb ik gedefinieerd als de intentie om in het buitenland te gaan studeren of een geïnternationaliseerde studie in Nederland te volgen, en de frequentie waarmee leerlingen buitenlandse kranten en tijdschriften lezen. De verwerving van gevestigde machtsbronnen is

gemeten aan de hand van de plannen van leerlingen om lid te worden van het studentencorps, dat ik hier zie als het sociale netwerk dat toegang geeft tot de gevestigde hogere middenklasse. Daarnaast heb ik leerlingen gevraagd of en hoe vaak zij een klassiek muziekinstrument bespelen, als indicator voor hun deelname aan traditionele, gevestigde, kunstvormen.

Leerlingen van het tweetalig onderwijs lezen in vergelijking met zowel gymnasium als reguliere vwo leerlingen vaker buitenlandse tijdschriften en kranten. Hoe meer zij zulk kosmopolitisch leesgedrag vertonen, des te meer zij geneigd zijn een studie in het buitenland of een geïnternationaliseerde studie in Nederland te willen volgen. Er is dus een indirect verband tussen het volgen van tweetalig onderwijs en kosmopolitisch georiënteerde studieplannen via kosmopolitisch leesgedrag, maar dit verband is vrij zwak.

Gymnasiumleerlingen willen duidelijk vaker lid worden van het studentencorps en zij bespelen ook vaker een klassiek muziekinstrument dan de andere leerlingen. Het is echter onduidelijk hoe het gymnasium hieraan bijdraagt; ik kan slechts speculeren over de wijze waarop het effect van het gymnasium tot stand komt. Een verklaring zou kunnen zijn dat het gymnasium een sociale omgeving biedt waarin het gewoner is om lid te willen worden van het studentencorps en waarin ruimte en faciliteiten worden geboden die muziekbeoefening bevorderen. Wat betreft het lidmaatschap van traditionele studentenverenigingen moet hieraan worden toegevoegd dat de enquête over de kinderen geen informatie bevatte over het Corpslidmaatschap van de ouders. Ik heb deze vraag wel aan ouders voorgelegd: gymnasiumouders waren beduidend vaker lid van het Corps. Mogelijk is het gevonden effect van het gymnasium een indirect effect van het hogere aantal Corpsleden onder de gymnasiumouders.

Tot besluit

Het bestaan van het tweetalig onderwijs naast de gymnasia dwingt hogere middenklasse gezinnen kleur te bekennen: inzetten op de verwerving van kosmopolitische of op gevestigde machtsbronnen. Hoewel er binnen de hogere middenklasse een fractie bestaat die zich meer op kosmopolitische dan op gevestigde machtsbronnen verlaat, is een bepaalde hoeveelheid kosmopolitanisme bijna noodzakelijk onderdeel geworden van het lidmaatschap van deze klasse. Dit heeft uiteraard te maken met de sterke internationale oriëntatie van de Nederlandse economie. Er zijn ontwikkelingen aan te wijzen die erop duiden dat kosmopolitische machtsbronnen aan belang zullen winnen. Ten eerste zijn dit de toenemende vervlechting van

de wereldeconomie en de Europese integratie. Ten tweede is dit de toenemende internationalisering van het Nederlandse hoger onderwijs. Zo is het aantal Engelstalige studies de afgelopen jaren sterk gegroeid. Maar dit is nog niet alles. Deze Engelstalige studies zijn vaak selectief en bedoeld voor excellente Nederlandse studenten die een uitdaging willen. De selectie vindt deels plaats op grond van het bezit van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen. De verwerving en vooral het bezit van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen wordt aldus een middel voor distinctie, als een indicator voor kwaliteit. Deze zich nu ontvouwende distinctie gaat gepaard met ideologische argumenten tegen de 'egalitaire universiteit voor de massa' waar talent boven het maaiveld zou worden weggesneden.

Als deze ontwikkelingen doorzetten zal het tweetalige vwo dat mogelijkheden biedt voor de verwerving van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen aan belang winnen. De delen van de hogere middenklasse die zich richten op de gevestigde machtsbronnen zullen dit ook inzien. Ik denk echter niet dat ze massaal van het gymnasium naar het tweetalig onderwijs zullen overstappen; de voordelen van de sociale homogeniteit en de aansluiting met de gevestigde machtsbronnen die het gymnasium biedt zijn daarvoor te groot. Ik vermoed dat ouders uit de hogere middenklasse gymnasia onder druk zullen zetten hun curriculum te internationaliseren. De bijbehorende ideologische argumenten daarvoor zijn snel gevonden: 'kosmopolitanisme' is van oorsprong Grieks en het Engels is doorspekt met Latijn.

Onder druk van het toenemende belang van kosmopolitische machtsbronnen en de daarmee gepaarde gaande vorming van selectief geïnternationaliseerd hoger onderwijs, kan ook in Nederland een afgebakend elite onderwijstraject ontstaan. Het tweetalige onderwijs en het toekomstige geïnternationaliseerde gymnasium zullen in dat scenario de meest gemotiveerde leerlingen voorbereiden voor toegang tot de selectieve, prestigieuze Engelstalige studies. Tegelijkertijd zal de druk op deze leerlingen toenemen om zich dan ook te plaatsen voor de eersterangs universitaire opleidingen. Dit betekent dat het belang van het aankweken van zelfdiscipline en competitiviteit een grotere rol zullen gaan spelen in het schoolse leven op de gymnasia en de tweetalige scholen. Een voorbode hiervan is mogelijk de bevinding dat leerlingen van het tweetalig onderwijs minder geneigd waren zichzelf als niet-competitief te zien. Bovendien bleek dat naarmate leerlingen competitiever zijn, zij eerder een studie in het buitenland of een geïnternationaliseerde studie in Nederland willen volgen.

De reguliere vwo-afdelingen zullen in dit scenario in toenemende mate te maken krijgen met minder gemotiveerde leerlingen die zich zullen gaan richten op de minder selectieve studies die het kosmopolitische en excellente aura ontberen. De differentiatie in het hoger onderwijs kan aldus leiden tot een tweedeling in het vwo. Hier zien we de duistere kant van de machtsbronnen van de middenklassen aan het werk: het vermogen groepen mensen uit te sluiten.