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The Causes of Growth of English Education in the Netherlands: class or internationalisation?*

JAAP DRONKERS

Introduction

In December 1989, the newly-appointed Minister of Education and Science announced that he wanted to introduce more teaching in the English language in Dutch universities. Members of the Lower House of all political persuasions rushed to attack the minister. Did he think that universities in the Netherlands ought to start using English as their official language? Did he not believe that the Dutch language had an essential place in Dutch culture, or that education in particular played a crucial role in passing on cultural values? Or was there not the danger that the minister's position might lead to the population of the Netherlands gradually acquiring a cultural elite which would no longer primarily use the language of the land? The minister attempted to calm the commotion by pointing out that he had no wish to introduce English as an official language or as the only official language in the universities of the Netherlands. He also believed that the use of a foreign language must not be allowed to lead to the loss of the national language. Subsequently, the topic of 'English in the Dutch universities' was subjected to extensive criticism in all the daily and weekly newspapers. Most commentators found it a ridiculous idea. After an enquiry into the question by an official committee, the Lower House decided to make use of the Dutch language a legal obligation in Dutch education.

However, there remains the question of how far educational policy directs the extent to which education in the Netherlands becomes internationalised. It is entirely possible that it is not the supply of internationally oriented education, but rather the demand expressed by pupils, students and parents for such education, which determines the degree of internationalisation. In that case, all the commotion about statements made by ministers is unjustified. If the internationalisation of Dutch education is a demand-driven development, attention should be focused on the emergence of this demand, and not on the relatively unimportant supply side. This article will focus on the demand for English-language education in the Netherlands. Greater attention needs to be paid to this question, since the main focus of interest in the Dutch educational debate is almost always on the supply side [1].

To date, the internationalisation of Dutch university education has been given equivocal treatment. On the one hand, there is a massive outcry if a minister makes

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a remark about lectures in the English language, and attempts follow to make the use of the Dutch language in education compulsory. On the other hand, universities, faculties and teachers are bombarded with government and non-government initiatives aiming to increase the international mobility of Dutch students and teachers. The best-known example of this is the ERASMUS programme, the purpose of which is to encourage visits to other universities in Europe. These government initiatives are not criticised; rather, it is anxiously reported that not all the objectives are being met. The attitude of public opinion in the Netherlands towards internationalisation is thus ambiguous; it is simultaneously condemned and encouraged.

There is limited information available about the degree of internationalisation in Dutch universities. Researchers will hunt in vain for scientific studies into the background and effects of initiatives promoting internationalisation, such as the ERASMUS programme. True, it is known that disciplines differ in their degree of international orientation (for example, this is high for theory of functions, and low for social administration science: Nederhof, 1989). These differences give an indication of the extent to which these disciplines and subdisciplines are focused upon the Netherlands, but it is not known whether particular changes can be observed in them. The same applies to the international impact of Dutch research within a discipline or subdiscipline, seen in terms of references in the international specialist journals. This impact also varies between countries, and it changes over time. However, changes in this impact need not necessarily indicate internationalisation of university research, since no checks are made for other changes affecting this research (greater scope, increased productivity, cutbacks, etc.). In short, a great deal is said about the good and bad sides of the internationalisation of Dutch education, but there are almost no reliable analyses of it available.

This also applies to the putative internationalisation of secondary education. Now and then, internationalisation projects appear in the press, but that is the end of the matter. I do not know of any scientific studies into the developments in English-language secondary education in the Netherlands [2]. And yet this lack of scientific studies does not mean that there is a lack of tempestuous developments going on around the internationalisation of secondary education in the Netherlands. On the contrary, since the beginning of the 1980s, a number of schools in the Netherlands have been experimenting with international education, funded by the government [3]. There are three types of English-language educational programmes: ENbo (English/Dutch-language primary education [4]), ENvo (English/Dutch-language secondary education, comparable to the Higher General Secondary Education (HAVO) programme [5]), and IB (International Baccalaureate, a two-year programme comparable with the pre-university education (VWO) programme [6]). According to the official principles, this English-language education is not for 'ordinary' Dutch pupils. It is solely intended for children of foreign nationality, for Dutch children who have lived abroad and gone to school there, and for Dutch children who are living temporarily in the Netherlands. In spite of these limitations on the pupils who can be admitted, the number of schools providing English-language education grew steadily throughout the first half of the 1980s (see Table I). In the view of the government and of the schools which offer education in the English language, the reason for this growth is an increase in the number of Dutch pupils who belong to the target group for English-language education.

TABLE I: The growth of English schools in the Netherlands

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Primary school (ENbo)	-	2	4	6	7	7	7	7
Secondary school (ENvo)	2	5	5	6	7	8	8	8
International Baccalaureate	3	3	4	4	5	6	8	8
Total	5	10	13	16	19	21	23	23

In this paper I shall look at the circumstances of this growth in English-language education by comparing the backgrounds, motives and plans for the future expressed by Dutch-speaking pupils in the International Baccalaureate department with those of pupils in the pre-university education (VWO) department in the same schools. A comparison of this kind can provide more insights into the causes of internationalisation of education in the Netherlands. Furthermore, since the International Baccalaureate is chiefly a pre-university education course, this comparison can also give some insight into the causes of internationalisation in Dutch universities.

Two Viewpoints on the Internationalisation of Education

In analysing the backgrounds, motives and future plans of Dutch-speaking pupils, I have taken my inspiration from two possible viewpoints on the social background of the internationalisation of Dutch education.

The first is taken from Ultee (1989, p. 15), who analyses the consequences of the increased cohesion between the member countries of the European Community in widening cultural differences between the social classes in the smaller EC countries. He points out that the question of whether individual national cultures will disappear because of the EC is not a proper question, since isolated cultures have never existed in Europe. He considers that a better question would be to what extent the cultures of the EC countries will become even more markedly intermingled than they already are as a consequence of economic unification. He then goes on to refine this question by pointing out that in stratified societies (and all European societies are stratified), only *layers* within countries have a culture: besides the dominant culture of the upper layers of a society, subcultures exist which are associated with the lower rungs of the social ladder. Ultee therefore reformulates the question thus: to what extent are the cultures of the upper layers and the subcultures of the lower layers in the member states growing towards each other as a result of the EC? He then points out that the upper layers of societies always possess a more cosmopolitan culture. Most of all, though, these people will have more contact with foreign countries through their work and will acquire a cultural heritage which fits in with this. This means that cosmopolitanism may grow more strongly in the upper layers of the member states than in the lower layers, which would imply that the EC is causing the cultural differences *within* countries to grow more extreme. This will then apply all the more in the EC countries which are not cultural leaders, such as the Netherlands. Ultee also points out that the EC will increase social mobility, by providing both a more attractive opportunity structure and greater relative mobility. This is brought about by the creation of supranational institutions, staffed by officials who have a position above that of the national civil servants, and by the formation of European companies

run by a management which also operates at a level above that of the national companies and their managers. Over time, these European officials and directors will become separated from the national upper layers from which most of them come, developing a cosmopolitan culture. The cultural criterion of these top people is cosmopolitan, while that of the lower layers is non-cosmopolitan in various different ways.

Looked at from this point of view, the growth of English-language education in the Netherlands must primarily be regarded as a consequence of the increased cohesion between the countries of the EC, and the resulting development of a cosmopolitan culture by part of the Dutch elite. From this point of view, education in the English language is both a way to become a member of this cosmopolitan culture, and a symbol that someone already regards themselves as belonging to this cosmopolitan culture. Since we are concerned here with a new differentiation within the top social stratum of the Netherlands, it is not the class of the parents, but the degree of cosmopolitanism which is the decisive factor in choosing English-language education. This also applies to the objective of such education. The key consideration is not the level of education to be achieved, but the opportunity to become a member of the cosmopolitan culture. This leads to my first hypothesis: that the choice between the IB or VWO programmes will be based principally on the degree of cosmopolitanism of the pupil's family, which will in turn be based on the social class to which that family belongs. This also leads to my second hypothesis: that the choice between the IB or VWO programmes will be made first and foremost with a view to joining the cosmopolitan culture, or in other words, with a view to studying outside the Netherlands.

The second viewpoint is taken from Boudon (1973) and Mare (1981). Although they are not concerned with the internationalisation of education, an alternative explanation for the growth of English-language education in the Netherlands can nevertheless be drawn from their analyses of inequality of opportunity in education. Boudon and Mare examine the ways in which educational systems vary in their power to preserve differences in educational opportunities between different social classes. They see educational systems as a series of hurdles or decision points (for example, the transition from secondary education to higher education). At each decision point, children from higher social classes have a better chance of making a more advantageous choice than children from lower social classes. Because of the growth in educational participation, but also because of particular educational reforms (the Mammoth Act), the importance of decision points at the beginning of the school career has diminished, because nearly everyone is able to pass that decision point successfully (Dronkers, 1990; De Graaf & Ganzeboom, 1990). This has meant that the educational advantage enjoyed by children from higher social classes has diminished. One of the ways in which this educational advantage can still be preserved is to create new decision points further along in the school career (for example, the postgraduate stage of university education). The introduction of English-language education can be described as the creation of a new decision point, the aim of which is to preserve the 'educational distance' between the upper and lower classes. Dronkers (1987, p. 53) therefore thought that the interest in English-language education stemmed from a fear of the levelling effect of primary education. This point of view leads to my third hypothesis: that the choice between the IB or VWO programmes will be based principally on the social class of the student's family, and only to a lesser

extent on the family's cosmopolitanism. This also leads to my fourth hypothesis: that the choice between the IB and VWO programmes is made first and foremost with a view to raising the intended level of education, i.e. a university degree course.

Data Used in the Analysis

These four hypotheses were tested using the data collected by Van der Pluijm (1990, 1991). In 1989 he interviewed 237 pupils at four schools which offered both IB and VWO programmes, using a written questionnaire. He confined his study to Dutch pupils [7] in the first class of the IB programme, and to pupils in the fifth class of the VWO programme. In these schools the choice between the IB and VWO programmes must be made at the end of the fourth class of pre-university education. Van der Pluijm collected data about the backgrounds, motives and future plans of these pupils. He concluded from his comparison of the two groups that the foreign background of a pupil's parents was the most important explanation for the choice of English-language education. In turn, their social class influenced the amount of foreign background which the parents had and the social class also had a slight effect on the choice of English-language education. Van der Pluijm's analysis did not convince everyone, because he also included in his analyses the 65 Dutch pupils who spoke no Dutch at home, or who had gone to school in a foreign country in 1988. For 28% of the pupils studied, there was no real choice between the IB and VWO programmes. Because of this, Van der Pluijm may have overestimated the effect of the parents' foreign background on the choice between IB and pre-university education, at the expense of the effect of social class. I shall therefore confine this analysis to the 170 Dutch pupils who speak the Dutch language at home, who attended school in the Netherlands in 1988, and who were in the IB or VWO departments in 1989 [8].

It is true that this analysis involves a small group, but it is specifically in the microcosm of schools with both an IB and VWO department that we can investigate the social background of the putative internationalisation of education in the Netherlands. Macro phenomena, such as the growth of English-language education, must by definition develop as the result of a complicated sum of innumerable individual actions, in this case by comparable parents and pupils in the VWO and IB departments. It is therefore important to study the mechanisms which, in this case, lead to the choice between IB and VWO, irrespective of the size of the group and the extent to which the group is representative of the Dutch school population as a whole.

Analysis

Forty-six Dutch pupils (45%) in the first IB class spoke Dutch at home and attended school in the Netherlands in 1988. The remaining 57 IB pupils (55%) either spoke no Dutch at home, or attended school abroad in 1988. Around half of the pupils taking the IB programme thus had no other choice than education in the English language. This is not to say that the four schools exceed the admission rules, because 96% of the first group, the 'voluntary' IB pupils, had attended school in a foreign country at some time, and 52% had done so for seven years or longer. All the Dutch-speaking 'voluntary' IB pupils had lived abroad at some

TABLE II: The most frequently mentioned reasons for attending or not attending International Baccalaureate (IB)

A. Reasons for not attending IB by pupils attending Dutch pre-university education (VWO) (N = 124)		
1.	I have Dutch nationality; I am Dutch	36%
2/3.	I have an upbringing in the Dutch language	22%
2/3.	I have a Dutch previous education	22%
4.	Never thought about IB	16%
5/6.	English language is too difficult for education	11%
5/6.	I master English language insufficiently	11%
B. Reasons for attending IB by pupils attending IB (N = 46)		
1.	I have an English previous education	72%
2.	I master Dutch language insufficiently	33%
3.	I lived abroad	26%
4.	I want to study abroad	17%
5.	English education gives more opportunities abroad	15%
6.	Switch from English to Dutch language too difficult	13%
7.	IB gives a better international orientation	11%

point, and 72% had done so for five years or more. This does not mean that the VWO programme is only taken by pupils who do not have a foreign background: 10% of the VWO pupils had gone to school in a foreign country at one time, and 12% of them had lived abroad. However, the relationship between the VWO and IB pupils is clear: the latter have a more international background than the former, despite using Dutch as their language at home and having been in the Netherlands in 1988.

This difference in international orientation can also be clearly seen from the reasons most frequently cited by the IB pupils for following education in the English language rather than in Dutch, and from the reasons most frequently cited by VWO pupils for following education in Dutch rather than in English. Table II presents a summary of the reasons given most frequently by the pupils [9].

Despite the fact that the VWO and IB pupils studied were Dutch-speaking and were in the Netherlands in 1988, their preliminary education—in the Dutch or English language—was the reason most frequently cited for choosing one programme or the other. In other words: the international orientation of their home background was the most important reason. However, IB pupils also mentioned reasons which relate to their international plans for the future. This supports the two first hypotheses, based on the viewpoint put forward by Ultee (degree of cosmopolitanism is an important factor in the choice of IB or VWO). It is noteworthy that the IB pupils hardly mention issues of quality as a reason for their choice, which conflicts with the third and fourth hypotheses, based on the viewpoint of Boudon and Mare (choice of IB with an eye to a higher future level of education).

This is, however, not the only difference between the 'voluntary' IB and VWO pupils. Table III shows a number of further differences.

It can clearly be seen from Table III that the cultural capital of the parents of IB pupils (as measured by the parents' education and the books they own) is significantly greater than that of the parents of VWO pupils. However, it also

TABLE III: Characteristics of Dutch-speaking pupils in International Baccalaureate (IB) and pre-university education (VWO) departments of four Dutch schools offering both options

	IB			VWO		
	mean	st.dev.	N	mean	st.dev.	N
SOCIAL BACKGROUND						
Gender pupil ^a	1.40	0.50	45	1.49	0.50	123
Social status father's occupation ^b	1.51	1.16	46	1.45	1.24	123
Social status mother's occupation ^c	0.64	2.01	46	0.92	2.10	124
Father's educational level ^d	<u>5.70</u>	0.63	44	<u>4.68</u>	1.50	112
Mother's educational level ^c	<u>4.41</u>	1.48	44	<u>3.90</u>	1.32	113
Number of books at home ^f	<u>4.39</u>	0.81	44	<u>3.43</u>	1.15	122
INTERNATIONAL ORIENTATION						
Number holidays abroad ^g	<u>5.02</u>	1.60	46	<u>4.19</u>	1.56	124
Father's foreign trips ^h	<u>4.58</u>	1.70	43	<u>2.60</u>	1.66	119
Time father working abroad ⁱ	<u>4.88</u>	1.74	42	<u>2.86</u>	1.23	70
Number of visits foreign friends ^j	<u>2.33</u>	0.63	46	<u>1.97</u>	0.66	119
Siblings in English education ^k	<u>1.50</u>	0.51	46	<u>1.01</u>	0.09	124
FUTURE PLANS						
Further education ^l	2.00	0.00	45	1.97	0.17	104
University education ^m	<u>1.87</u>	0.34	39	<u>1.69</u>	0.47	74
Education abroad ⁿ	1.15	0.36	40	1.04	0.33	81
English-speaking education ^o	<u>1.21</u>	0.41	39	<u>1.03</u>	0.16	79

Legend: Underlined mean values show a significant difference between the two groups (two-tailed T-test, $p < .05$). Differences in totals are caused by missing values for some questions.

^a 1 = boy, 2 = girl.

^b The professions of the fathers were translated into Bakker's social distance scale for men (1990). This social distance scale closely resembles the better known scales classifying professional prestige, but has a number of significant advantages (it distinguishes between men and women; scores are included for non-working people).

^c The professions of the mothers were translated into Bakker's social distance scale for women (1990). This social distance scale closely correlates with the better-known scales classifying professional prestige, but has a number of significant advantages; (its own scoring system for women's professions and for non-working people).

^d The highest educational programme completed by the father was categorised according to the CBS standard educational classification.

^e The highest educational programme completed by the mother was categorised according to the CBS standard educational classification.

^f Categories varied from none to few (one to two) to a room or library (501 or more).

^g Categories varied from never to 21 times or more.

^h The number of times that the father has to go abroad for the purposes of his work, classified in categories varying from never to 11 or more times per year.

ⁱ The amount of time that the father spends abroad for the purposes of his work, classified in categories varying from one day per year to more than three months per year.

^j The number of times that foreign friends, acquaintances or relatives come to visit, varying from never to often (ten or more times per year).

^k Brother(s) and/or sister(s) following English-language education: 1 = no, 2 = yes.

^l 1 = work after secondary education, 2 = study after secondary education.

^m Choice of a university degree course instead of higher vocational education.

ⁿ Further education abroad rather than in the Netherlands.

^o Official language at the educational institution where the student wants to continue studying: 1 = Dutch, 2 = English.

appears from this table that both groups of pupils belong to the same social class: their parents do not differ significantly on Bakker's social distance scale, which is a good indicator of class differences between professions (Bakker, 1990). One could thus say that the difference between IB and VWO pupils is primarily a difference within the same class which is related to education and international orientation. Table III shows this difference clearly: IB pupils and their parents maintain more contacts with foreign countries than do VWO pupils. The clearest difference between the VWO and IB pupils in terms of their plans for the future is that the latter already know more clearly what they want. Their level of ambition is also higher, and they more often want to follow an English-language course of study. These findings completely support the viewpoint of Ultee, and only partially support the viewpoint of Boudon and Mare. The first and second hypotheses (that the degree of cosmopolitanism is important in the choice between IB and VWO) can be accepted, along with the fourth hypothesis (choice of IB with a view to a higher future level of education).

Nevertheless, these results are not yet definitive. It is of course possible that a large part of the international orientation of the IB pupils is the result of their parents' cultural capital, and that therefore the choice between IB and VWO is based more upon this cultural capital than upon international orientation. It is also possible that, after taking into account the parents' international orientation, the social class of the parents may still affect the choice. The following path analysis takes these possible phantom effects into account. In these analyses, the international orientation of the pupil's family is made up of a combination of seven characteristics: the total number of years spent at school in a foreign country, the total number of years lived abroad, the number of times the family goes on holiday abroad, the number of times the father goes abroad for his work, how long he spends abroad for his work, the number of times that foreign friends, acquaintances or family members come to visit, and whether brother(s) and/or sister(s) are receiving education in the English language. This combination of characteristics was calculated using the PRINCALS method [10]. The following characteristics were found to be the most important indicators of an international orientation in the pupil's family: number of years spent at school in a foreign country, number of years lived abroad, number of times that the pupil's father goes abroad for his work, and how long he spends abroad [11].

Figure 1 shows the causal model with which the four hypotheses can be tested.

Table IV gives the significant standardised regression coefficients which were calculated on the basis of this causal model, using multivariate regression analysis [12].

The first column of Table IV clearly shows that the international orientation of the pupil's family is dependent on the professional and educational level of the parents, and particularly that of the father. This result confirms the first part of the first hypothesis: that the cosmopolitanism of the pupil's family is a consequence of the social class to which the family belongs. This explanation of the variation may be described as satisfactory.

The second column of Table IV clearly shows that the choice between the IB and VWO programmes is exclusively predicted by the international orientation of the pupil's family. This confirms the second part of the first hypothesis: that the choice between the two programmes is chiefly based on the degree of cosmopolitanism of the pupil's family. The absence of a significant effect for the parents'

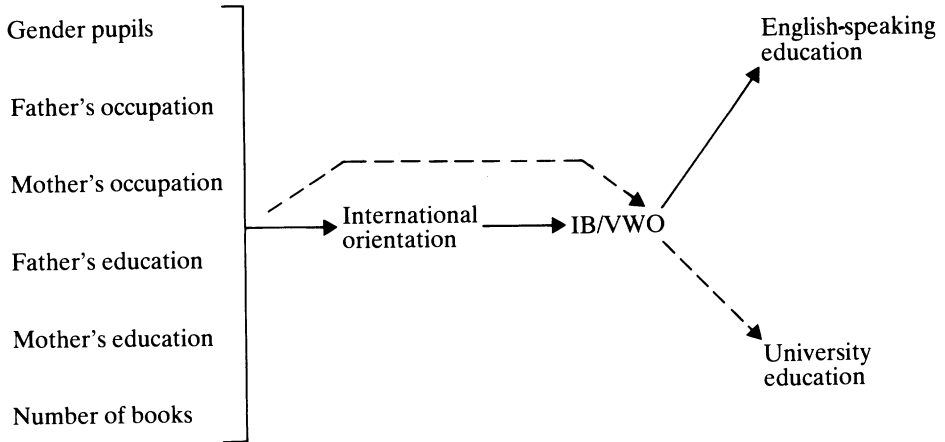


FIG. 1: The causal model of the relations between social background, international orientation, attending International Baccalaureate (IB) or pre-university education (VWO) and future plans. Dotted lines supposed by perspective of Mare and Boudon; undotted lines supposed by perspective of Ultee.

professional or educational level confirms the rejection of the third hypothesis: that the choice between the two programmes is principally based on social class.

The fourth column of Table IV clearly shows that the choice of the IB programme is not related to a greater preference for a university education. This preference is based purely on the cultural background of the pupil's family. The fourth hypothesis, which proposed that the choice of the IB programme is made first and foremost with the aim of taking a university degree course, is thus rejected.

Finally, the third column of Table IV shows that the choice of the IB

TABLE IV: Significant standardised regression effects, based on the causal model of the relations between social background, international orientation, attending IB or VWO, and future plans

	International Orientation	IB/VWO	English education	University education
Gender pupils	—	—	—	—
Father's occupation	0.17	—	—	—
Mother's occupation	—	—	—	—
Father's education	0.19	—	—	—
Mother's education	—	—	—	—
Number of books	0.29	—	—	0.34
International orientation		0.77	—	—
IB/VWO		0.32	—	
Adjusted R ²	0.22	0.59	0.10	0.10

programme is associated with a greater preference for secondary education in the English language. The second hypothesis is confirmed by this finding: the choice between the IB and VWO programmes is made first and foremost with an eye to joining the cosmopolitan culture.

Discussion

The two hypotheses based on the first viewpoint regarding the social background to the internationalisation of education in the Netherlands, which interprets the growth of English-language education in the Netherlands primarily as a consequence of the European Community and the consequent development of a cosmopolitan culture among a section of the Dutch elite, are confirmed by comparing the backgrounds, motives and future plans of Dutch pupils in the IB departments with those of pupils in the VWO departments of the same schools.

The two hypotheses based on the second perspective, which primarily interpret the growth of English-language education in the Netherlands as stemming from the desire to maintain the 'educational distance' between the upper and lower classes, are rejected on the basis of the same comparison [13]. This means that the growth of English-language education in the Netherlands is a consequence of demand by particular groups of Dutch parents and pupils. This demand is not increased by circumstances internal to the Netherlands, but is determined solely by developments outside the Netherlands. The increasing cohesion between the economies of Europe is leading to an increasingly strong international orientation among a section of the Dutch elite abroad. In this context, it is useful to recall that working abroad is in itself one of the most important indicators of the international orientation of the pupil's family. At the same time, the close relationship between international orientation and social class means that, for the moment, the entire Dutch educational system will not go over to using the English language. Education in English will only form a realistic alternative for a particular segment of Dutch parents. However, this segment will be made up of a growing number of Dutch parents, since the increase in mobility in Europe will result in increasing numbers of parents and their children meeting the admission requirements for English-language education. With the government-funded experiments in international education, the government has created an opportunity for English-language education to grow, but the question remains whether the government of the Netherlands should be able to reject this possibility, or whether it can still close it again [14]. However, the growth itself appears to stem primarily from the demand from internationally oriented Dutch parents, and it is questionable whether this demand will stabilise.

Seen from this point of view, the uproar occasioned by the education minister's comments is hypocritical, because it is not he who determines the pressure to internationalise education in the Netherlands. From this study, it would seem rather that the internationalisation of one sector of education in the Netherlands results from demand by parents and pupils. This demand does not stem from considerations of social classes or differences, but from the increased cohesion between the economies of Europe, which give parents and pupils an international orientation, despite their use of the Dutch language at home. Members of parliament and commentators must therefore not address their questions to the Minister of Education and Science, but to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and

Economic Affairs. It is much more their policies which are gradually causing the population of the Netherlands to acquire an upper crust who no longer primarily use the language of the land.

The 'Latinising' of the church and lay elite of the Celts and the invading Germans was not produced by the broad range of education offered in the Roman language, but by the demand from people wanting to become members of an international elite.

NOTES

- [1] This one-sided interest is probably the result of the centralised nature of the Dutch educational establishment, which creates the illusion that education can be managed by legislation and policy making.
- [2] A possible explanation for the lack of scientific studies into the internationalisation of education in the Netherlands is the fact that the bodies responsible for research into the workings of Dutch education are dominated by the established educational organisations. Just as these organisations have no real interest in research into the origins and consequences of the continuing compartmentalisation of education, so too the internationalisation of education in the Netherlands is outside their area of interest.
- [3] In the following paragraphs I shall make use of the overview offered by Van der Pluijm, 1990.
- [4] The ENbo is linked to a normal Dutch primary school as a department, and it can best be characterised as the English/Dutch-language counterpart of Dutch primary education: the areas of education and training covered do not differ in content from those in the Dutch programme, and 30% of the lessons are taught in Dutch. The ENbo departments are funded in the same way as the Dutch primary schools and the same rules apply to the staff and material facilities as for Dutch primary schools.
- [5] The ENvo is a five-year programme of study. Although 30% of the classes must be taught in Dutch, the ENvo programme is different from that of Dutch secondary education. Schools are free to develop their own curriculum, under certain conditions. The funding of the ENvo programme is also different. A pupil in an ENvo department is not allowed to cost the government more than a pupil enrolled at a HAVO or VWO school. This amounts to 50% of the costs. In principle, the remainder of the costs must be covered by third parties.
- [6] The International Baccalaureate is an international form of education offered by 350 schools in 52 countries. The IB certificate is recognised by 600 universities throughout the world, including those in the Netherlands. The IB programme lasts two years, and the final level reached is comparable with the Dutch pre-university education (VWO) programme. Examinations are taken in seven subjects. Besides philosophy, pupils must choose three subjects at a high level (somewhat above the VWO level), and three subjects at a low level (somewhat below the VWO level). It is compulsory to choose two languages, mathematics, one social subject and one natural sciences subject. The examining office of the International Baccalaureate Organisation in Geneva prepares the examinations and awards the certificate. Schools pay for the right to take the examinations. The IB is funded in the same way as regular

Dutch education. The extra funds needed for the IB programme must be provided by interested third parties.

- [7] Van der Pluijm (1990) defines Dutch pupils as pupils with Dutch nationality.
- [8] It is possible to object to this selection on the grounds that 88% of the VWO pupils were not eligible for admission to the IB programme because they had never lived abroad, let alone gone to school in a foreign country. Because of this admission rule, there was no real choice for these 109 VWO pupils between education in English or in Dutch. However, this objection is not valid because this article is concerned with the differences between comparable IB and VWO pupils. Furthermore, examination of the differences between the characteristics of the VWO pupils who had never lived abroad, the VWO pupils who had lived abroad and the Dutch-speaking IB pupils revealed that the second group occupies a position between the first and third groups. This reinforces my argument that the VWO pupils and the IB pupils are comparable groups.
- [9] This question was posed as an open question; all the VWO pupils could give a maximum of three reasons for not taking the IB programme, and all the IB pupils could give a maximum of three reasons for taking it. These reasons were categorised and subsequently added up.
- [10] PRINCALS (principal component analysis by means of alternating least squares) can be used where the variables have no interval level and the relationship between these variables is non-linear. In the present PRINCALS analysis, all the variables were ordinal with the exception of the variable, 'how much time does the father spend abroad for his work', which was treated as a nominal variable. This was done to cope with the much-used category 'not applicable', which does not automatically fit into an ordinal arrangement. However, with PRINCALS it is possible to calculate coordinators for all categories of a nominal variable.
- [11] The first dimension used for the PRINCALS analysis has a value of 0.52, while this figure is 0.16 for the unused second dimension. The factor loadings for the seven variables on the first dimension are: total number of years spent at school abroad (0.88), total number of years lived abroad (0.87), number of times family goes on holiday abroad (0.46), number of times father goes abroad for his work (0.81), how long father spends abroad for his work (0.82), number of times that foreign friends, acquaintances or family come to visit (0.43), whether brother(s) and/or sister(s) follow English-language education (0.64). The results of the PRINCALS analysis clearly show that all the variables do indeed have an ordinal level, including the variable 'amount of time fathers worked abroad', if the category 'not applicable' is classified under the category 'approx. 1 day per year'.
- [12] Calculated by 'stepwise forward' method, with $p < .05$ as the stop criterion. All variables which appear to the right of the dependent variable concerned in the causal model are treated as independent variables which may possibly have a significant effect on the dependent variable.
- [13] This result does not differ greatly from that found by Van der Pluijm (1991). The most important difference is the fact that Van der Pluijm also found a small significant effect of the professional level of the father on the choice of the IB programme. The more stringent selection of the pupil population used here results in the disappearance of this effect.

- [14] An interesting parallel will probably be found here between the media establishment and the educational establishment. Foreign broadcasters appear to be able to undermine the bastion of the media establishment, on the basis of European legislation among other things. With the aid of this same European legislation, it will probably be impossible for the government to oppose partly funded English-language education in the Netherlands.

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