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A Global-Local Paradox: The Influence of International Schools on Egyptian Students

by

Ericka L. Galegher

Presented to the Graduate and Research Committee

of Lehigh University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Comparative and International Education

Lehigh University

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2018

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Abstract

This study seeks to understand the influence of global-local connections in the context of international schools in Egypt. Specifically, how does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society? Quantitative subquestions explored include: What is the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt? What global and local inputs have the greatest significant influence on this process? Qualitative questions include: What role do international schools play in legitimizing and cultivating cosmpolitanism in these privileged students? How do privileged students interpret and use the skills and dispositions acquired and refined in their international schools? The goal of this study is to examine social and cultural processes in elite, international schools in Egypt that reinforce and reproduce distinction and privilege.

Unraveling this process is done using a mixed methods, vertical case study framed by the work of Pierre Bourdieu through the perspectives of school alumni. International schools are unique and exclusive sites where global inputs–teachers, curriculum, language–flow largely unfiltered into these local schools. Yet, little research exists that analyzes the influence of these global inputs in local school contexts, if any adaptation or inclusion of the local context transpires, or the subsequent long term influence this field has on students (re)positioning into society.

Quantitative results indicate that global-local connections in international schools persistantly focus on internationalization at the expense of localization. The lack of localization subsequently increases differentiation within Egypt's society. Qualitative results support these quantitative findings that perceptions of differentiation are largely related to the cultivation of global rather than local connections. As a result, these schools act as exclusive vectors of cosmpolitanism, subsequently, deepening social class divides while simaltaneously reinforcing students' privilege and distinction. However, this distinction, cultivated and legitimized by elite, international schools, provides both advantages and disadvantages depending on the orientation of the field in which they are participating and individuals' abilities to operationalize legitimatized local and transnational capital.

Keywords: international schools, elite schools, localization, internationalization, Egypt, foreign-language instruction, curriculum, host country nationals, habitus, field, cosmopolitanism

Chapter One: Introduction

Localization and internationalization are current buzzwords in the field of education with internationalization often encouraged as best practice and localization assumed to be appropriated by local actors. However, the rising demand and popularity of private, international schools in Egypt, and around the world, has created a phenomenon where the adaptation of educational policies and practices is largely undertaken by foreign educators in these institutions or through the use of foreign curricula and foreign language instruction. However, little is known about the influence these unique global-local educational spaces have on Egyptian students.

It is impossible to say for certain how many international schools exist worldwide because of the debate over definitions and the lack of a regulatory body (Hayden & Thompson, 2008). However, according to the most general definition of an international school offered by the World Education Services (Clark, 2014a), an international school is one that offers a curriculum, either national or international, other than the curriculum of the host country. Research by the International School Consultancy Group (ISC) found English language international schools educate nearly 3.5 million students throughout the world making US$34.4 billion in 2013 (Clark, 2014a). These numbers are forecasted to increase drastically by providing education to 8.75 million students through 16,000 schools worldwide by 2026 (ISC, 2016). According to Table 1, Egypt is ranked 8th in the listing of top host countries for international schools by enrollment in 2017/2018.

Table 1

Top Host Countries for International Schools by Enrollment, 2017/18

Country	Total Enrollment
UAE	642,179
China	489,258
Saudi Arabia	320,520

India	296,446
Pakistan	180,158
Netherlands	152,686
Qatar	132,033
Egypt	**128,350**
Mexico	119,268

Note. Data obtained from ISC Research (2016).

Table 2 provides information on the types of international and national curricula offered in these schools. Originally, international schools were established to provide education, usually British or American, to the children of diplomats and expatriates working overseas (Hayden & Thompson, 2008). However, the makeup of these schools has dramatically changed to privileged, host country nationals (Hayden & Thompson, 2008) who now comprise nearly 80% of enrollment in these schools (Clark, 2014a). In the midst of the increasing supply and demand for international schools worldwide, case studies on host country nationals are needed to unravel the influence of such international systems within local and national contexts.

Table 2

Top English Language Curricula

Curriculum	Number of schools
English National Curriculum	2,929
International Baccalaureate	2,313
Bilingual	1,966
US National Curriculum	1,685
International Primary	325
Cambridge (CIPP)	313

Note. Data obtained from Clark (2014b).

Reflecting historical and recent trends seen globally (Hayden, 2012; Hayden & Thompson, 2000), international schools in Egypt traditionally catered to the most privileged families. However, this market is becoming more diverse in recent years with an increasing number of international schools catering to families from less affluent backgrounds.

Nevertheless, the average tuition rate for Egypt's top international schools is US$10,530 while Egypt's average household income according to the government's most recent statistics was approximately US$5,022 in 2015; yet, 27.8% of the population continues to live below the poverty line with an annual individual income of US$657 or less (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, 2016).

According to Peterson (2011), the cosmopolitan class, or those with varying degrees of access to international schools in Egypt, make up approximately three to six percent of the population, or around two to four million people. This is still a significant number of people, and as Peterson points out, "as large as the population of Kuwait or Dubai" (p. 115). However, only a small percentage of what he defines as the cosmopolitan class has access to the most elite, international schools. This study postulates that what differentiates this class, and creates within-group classifications, is significantly related to the international schools they attend.

Despite the diversity that exists today in the field of international schools worldwide, four main characteristics set them apart from national schools: first, a curriculum different from that offered by host country, national schools; second, teachers and administrators who are largely expatriates; third, students are both non-nationals and increasingly privileged[1] host country nationals; and fourth, the management, leadership, and governance is faced with unique issues, such as mitigating potential diverging demands of ministries of education and accreditation bodies, which results from the interaction of each school's unique local context with their diverse curricula and teaching staff (Hayden & Thompson, 2008, p. 28). Although not all of these characteristics apply equally to Egypt's international schools, little is known about the orientation of these elite schools and the subsequent societal implications of the field of international schools as a whole (van Zanten, Ball, & Darchy-Koechlin, 2015).

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[1] I have borrowed the term *privileged class* from research by Barsoum (2004) and Fahey, Prosser, and Shaw (2015). The term encompasses more than just economic or material wealth as indicated by the more popular term *socioeconomic status*. Instead, privileged class also refers to

Statement of the Problem

This research investigates the relationship between the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt, and the subsequent orientation of Egyptian international school alumni towards cosmopolitanism. By orientation, I refer to the focus or positioning of the school on an axis of internationalization and localization. Internationalization and localization are neither mutually exclusive nor contrasting concepts. Policy and practice can potentially focus on both international and local knowledge and skill development (Gustafson, 2009). By definition, orientation insinuates a degree of adjustment to a school's surroundings. However, little is known if the local context and local needs of Egyptian students are taken into account in the orientation of international schools, a process which is largely led by foreign teachers,

---

the ability to possess and accumulate many forms of capital and benefit from this system in interactions with societal institutions.

administrators, curricula, and languages. As a result, these schools are often seen to have international orientations (Brooks & Waters, 2015; Hayden, 2012).

The study further analyzes the influence of this relationship on alumni perceptions of the self, others, and the broader society. “Schools are not just ‘in society’ but help to *create* society, and this is as true for elite and exclusive schools, as it is for [public schools]” (Brooks & Waters, 2015, p. 2843). Little is known about the socializing influence elite, international schools have on privileged, Egyptian students. Research has already identified the link between elite schools (Kenway & Fahey, 2014; Kenway, Langmead, & Epstein, 2015; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2014) and international schools (Hayden, 2012; Igarashi & Saito, 2014) in developing cosmopolitanism in students. This issue is important because these schools are a space where students are exposed to both global and local forces, which together help maintain their privileged positions (Fahey, Prosser, & Shaw, 2015; Peterson, 2011). These experiences are foundational to the development of cosmopolitanism and students’ subsequent abilities to navigate global and local localities.

Elite, international schools in Egypt are an important site where global and local flows intersect and can themselves construct an imagined world and sense of belonging. As students’ relational experiences expand beyond traditional nation-state boundaries and as their means of framing are increasingly international, concepts and expressions of belonging are often fluid and ever-changing (Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1996; McCarthy, Greenhalgh-Spencer, Goel, Lin, Sanya, & Bulut, 2014; Rizvi, 2014). Regarding the broader, Egyptian society, these relationships have the potential to deepen differentiation, reinforcing barriers to social mobility (Igarashi & Saito, 2014). These educational spaces provide the capital and orientations that shape students and their experiences when (re)positioning into the broader society. Therefore, the aim of this study is to see what orientations are reflected in these schools, how those orientations are similarly reflected in alumni, and what influence this relationship between international schools' orientation and students' orientation has on social stratification and identity formation in the context of Egypt's privileged class.

Significance of the Study

The connections in this study are of particular importance because students in these schools hold privileged and powerful positions in Egyptian society (Mehrez, 2010; Mitchell, 2002; Peterson, 2011). They have the potential to be important shapers of Egypt's future. Thus, their experiences in elite educational environments (Kenway & Fahey, 2014; Kenway et al., 2015; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2014) and international schools (Hayden, 2012; Igarashi & Saito, 2014;) are significant to how they see the world, their country and their place in it (van Zanten & Ball, 2015). As vectors not only of global flows, elite, international schools also play a role in class reproduction by reinforcing cosmopolitan lifestyles (Hayden, 2013) and the spatially segregated lives these students are predisposed to (Kenway & Prosser, 2015). As elite schools, and international schools in particular, have a "strong international orientation" (Brooks & Waters, 2015, p. 2809), it is necessary to also understand the potential negative side effects of this phenomenon.

The results of this study are useful for multiple stakeholders in the field of comparative and international education. Not only does this study set up a framework for researchers in the field to undertake case studies in other country contexts but it also provides important results for international schools and administrators to consider in school policies and practices. The results provide evidence and recommendations for how these schools can better adapt school contexts to fit the needs of host country nationals navigating local, national, or global contexts. As we prepare students for our increasingly globalized world, understanding how local contexts can be better included in elite, international schools is necessary (Allen, 2000; Brooks & Waters, 2015). Both schools and individual students will benefit from greater adaptation of the schooling experience to reflect their local communities and home country, culture, and language (Allen, 2000).

Finally, finding measurable ways of understanding these processes at the microlevel is greatly lacking. The field of comparative and international education is fraught with cross-national studies of the ways in which global forces lead to homogenization as well as loose coupling at the policy level and in subsequent local implementation (Bromley, Meyer, & Ramirez, 2011; Kamens, 2013; Wiseman & Al-Bakr, 2013). However, studies need to move the research focus away from the nation-state as the main level of analysis (Ball, 2015; Beck, 2012).

This study is significant in its “view from the top” analysis of Egypt’s privileged class and the unique global-local context of the educational vehicles used in their social class reproduction (Ball, 2015; Gaztambide-Fernández & Howard, 2010). Understanding these processes could have potentially far-reaching implications as educational institutions shift the narrative of shaping national citizens to shaping global citizens (Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Meyer, 2007). Thus, elite, international schools are unique socializing organizations (Meyer, 1970), mediating local and global contexts and value systems in the process of socialization. The specific focus in this research is how elite, international schools within Egypt’s national context influence the way privileged students view themselves, others, and society at large through “sustaining and driving the development of particular cultural practices that may best characterise what is elite about the elites” (Maxwell, 2015, p. 22).

Research Questions

This section will provide an overview of the research question and sub-questions. This study seeks to understand the influence of global-local connections in the context of international schools in Egypt. Specifically, how does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society? The goal of this study is to examine social and cultural processes in schooling that reinforce and reproduce distinction and privilege in Egyptian society.

Unraveling this process is done using a mixed methods, vertical case study framed by the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1973; 1984; 1990a; 1990b; 1996) through the perspectives of school alumni. International schools, by definition, focus on internationalization by utilizing foreign curricula, foreign languages of instruction, and often foreign teachers (Brooks & Waters, 2015; Hayden, 2012). Yet, little research exists that analyzes the influence of these global inputs in local school contexts, if any adaptation or inclusion of the local context transpires, or the subsequent long term influence this field has on students when (re)positioning into local and national contexts.

Quantitative sub-questions. The quantitative analysis focuses on the orientation of schools and the influence of global inputs moving from the macrolevel into the microlevel, with an unknown degree of local contextualization. Quantitative data analyses use descriptive statistics to determine the institutional orientation of international schools and multiple linear regression analyses to determine the inputs with the greatest significant influence on schools' orientations and students' (re)positioning into society.

RQ1. What is the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt? This question largely focuses on the flow of educational agents and scripts–foreign curricula, language, and teachers–from macro to microlevels largely bypassing the mesolevel, most often a prerequisite for policy adaptation or contextualization within national contexts. The mesolevel is bypassed as a result of limited government influence in the educational policies and practices within elite, international schools. Further examination and evidence for the lack of national level input is presented in the historical background in Chapter Two.

These inputs are then contextualized within schools shaping international schools' orientation, identified as internationalization and localization and students' cosmopolitan orientations. Literature (Brooks & Waters, 2015; Hayden, 2012) already indicates an assumed orientation towards internationalization in schools as a result of these inputs as well as cosmopolitanism in privilege students who attend elite, international schools (Igarisho & Saito, 2014; Kenway & Fahey, 2014; Kenway et al., 2015; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2014; Hayden, 2012; Peterson, 2011). The quantitative analysis will test these claims by answering this research question: what is the orientation of Egypt's elite, international schools in regards to internationalization and localization?

RQ2. What global and local inputs have the greatest significant influence on this process? The second quantitative research question focuses on both global and local inputs to identify which have the greatest significant influence on the orientation of international schools and the subsequent (re)positioning of students. Together these results identify factors, macro and micro, which significantly influence school and student orientations. Regarding school orientations, literature that connects international schools with cosmopolitanism in students indicates that global inputs would have the most significant influence on international school orientations. The second process predicted in this question regards the influence of inputs and orientations on the (re)positioning of students into society. (Re)positioning students into

Egyptian society is identified as differentiation on the microlevel and social stratification on the mesolevel. An in-depth examination of the definition and measures of all variables is presented in Chapter Three. The goal of this analysis is to understand the connections between socialization processes in elite, international schools and social stratification in Egyptian society. It is predicted that these inputs as well as an internationalized orientation significantly influence students' relational experiences in Egyptian society, which deepen social stratification.

Qualitative sub-questions. The qualitative sub-questions focus on the influence of the processes analyzed in the quantitative analysis. Specifically, qualitative sub-question focus on internatioanl schools as a field (Bourdieu, 1996; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell & James, 2005) through examining the influence of school orientations on the cultivation and legitimization of cosmopolitanism in students and subsequent advantages and disadvantages which shape students' experiences in local and national contexts.

Complementing the quantitative analysis which utilizes larger data sets to provide evidence of the institutional and student orientations and inputs, the qualitative analysis balances the research design by utilizing narratives and perceptions of the students influenced by this phenomenon. These narratives focus on students' schooling experience and experiences of transition after schooling through semi-structured interviews. The goal is to identify the influence of schooling on (re)positioning in society. Specifically, the qualitative questions investigate students' (re)positioning into the national level of society, the global-local tensions that arise in this process, and how this tension shapes students' sense of local and national belonging within Egypt's society.

RQ3. What role do international schools play in legitimizing and cultivating

cosmopolitanism in these privileged students? To support the quantitative results, mapping the relationship between socialization in elite, international schools and the influence of this process on the cultivation of cosmopolitanism in students is explored. Specifically, the role of the field of international schools in legitimizing exclusive forms of privilege and cultural distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) related to cosmopolitanism and availability of global forms of capital. Legitimization is related to the dominance behind international models of education identified in this study as foreign curricula, foreign teachers, and foreign languages of instruction. Demand from global labor markets, colonial legacies, and their juxtaposition with local models all play a role in the legitimization process which is explored. Therefore, the goal is to ascertain students' acquisition and preceptions of global and local inputs in their schooling experiences as a reflection of the evaluative schema present in both schools and students as a result.

It is within this sub-question that the focus on cosmpolitanism as embedded dispositions–habitus, or skills–capital, is explored. Approaching cosmopolitanism as capital or habitus is an important area of concern in literature (Maxwell & Aggleton, 2014). For this study in particular, this differentiation highlights the degree of influence elite, international schools have in the socialization of privileged students. Unraveling these advantages and disadvantages of this phenomenon is done through narratives provided by graduates of these schools describing their transitions and experiences after schooling in local contexts.

RQ4. How do privileged students interpret and use the skills and dispositions acquired and refined in their international schools? This question explores the benefits students gain related to privilege and cultural distinction. The focus on cosmopolitanism is important as families are often looking for the accumulation of cosmopolitan capital, such as transnational linguistic abilities and dispositions sought after in the private, globalized labor market, available in these schools (Dronkers, 1993; Song, 2013). Students' ability to operationalize these acquired forms of cosmopolitanism in local contexts is explored along with the influence these experiences have on students' sense of belonging and identitification in Egyptian society.

Key Factors

The key factors in this study include: Orientations–internationalization, localization cosmopolitanism; inputs–teachers, curricula, language; influence–differentiation, social stratification. However, the fluidity and multidirectionality of the processes understudy require a research model to guide this study. The model is built upon in three stages. The first global-local model in Figure 1 illustrates the levels of the phenomenon understudy. The second global-local model in Figure 2 illustrates and identifies the processes in this study. The third global-local model in Figure 4 incorporates the influences of this phenomenon.

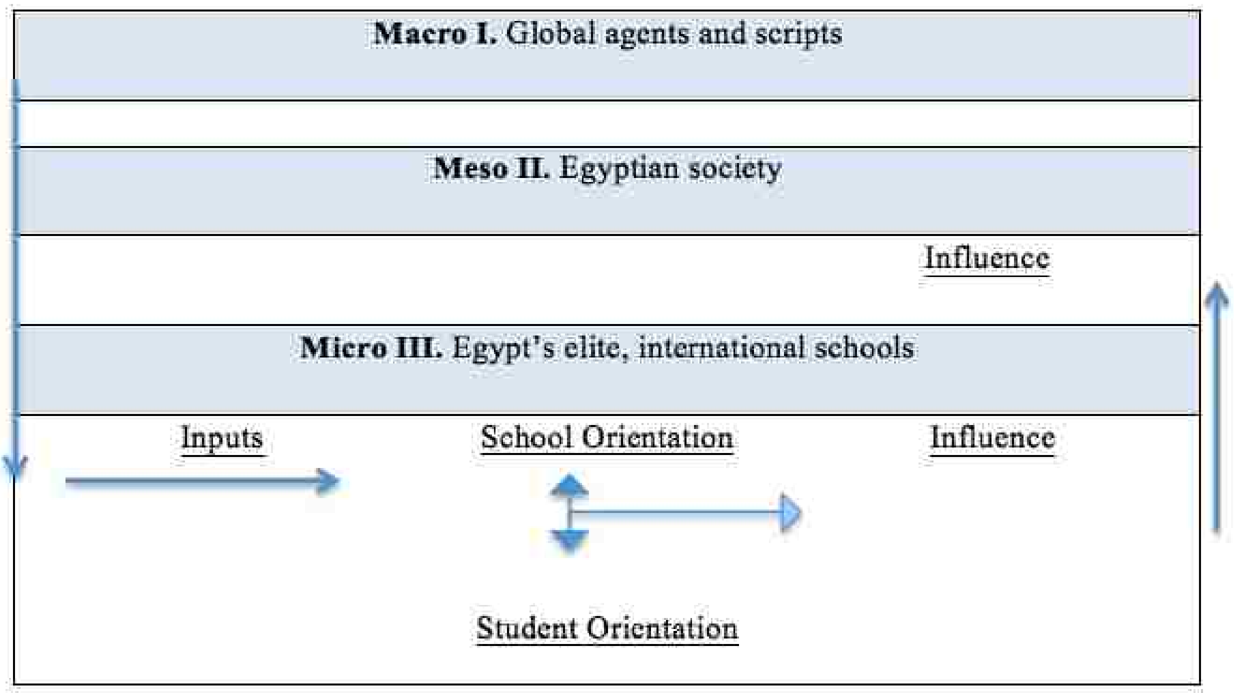

Macro I. Global agents and scripts
Meso II. Egyptian society
Influence
Micro III. Egypt's elite, international schools
Inputs
School Orientation
Influence
Student Orientation

Figure 1. Global-local model: levels

The model, which I call the global-local model in Figure 1, highlights the macro to microlevels across which this phenomenon takes place. The model focuses on microlevel processes at the school level and directional flows of factors and outcomes. Figure 1 above illustrates the multiple levels which frame the context of elite, international schools in Egypt and process understudy. There are three main stages in this process identified by the arrows in Figure 1: first, the relationship between global and local connections; second, the contextualization of these connections at the microlevel; third, the outcome this process has most prominently on the micro and mesolevels. Additionally, the stages of this process are identified–inputs, orientations, influences–across the macro to microlevels. Orientations represent the process that take place in the school context as well as the socialization process within students. The influences are synonymous with outcomes of these processes. The following sections identify the key factors as I map their role in the global-local model.

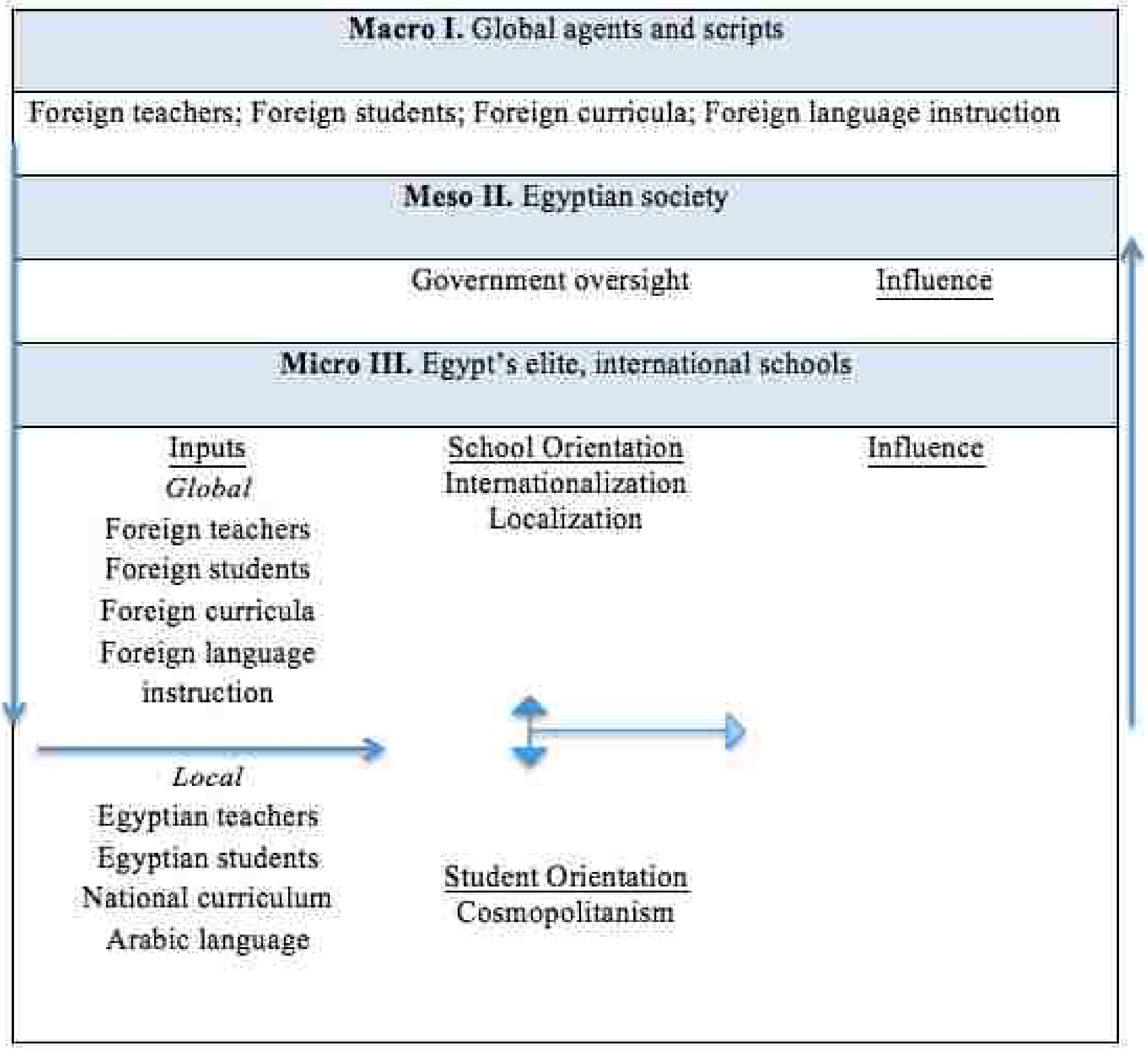

Macro I. Global agents and scripts
Foreign teachers; Foreign students; Foreign curricula; Foreign language instruction
Meso II. Egyptian society
Government oversight
Influence
Micro III. Egypt's elite, international schools
Inputs
Global
Foreign teachers
Foreign students
Foreign curricula
Foreign language instruction
Local
Egyptian teachers
Egyptian students
National curriculum
Arabic language
School Orientation
Internationalization
Localization
Student Orientation
Cosmopolitanism
Influence

Figure 2. Global-local model: process

Inputs. The inputs in this study include both global and local inputs: teachers, curricula, languages, and students. The global inputs are listed in Figure 2 above in the macro and microlevels as foreign educators, foreign students, foreign curricula, and foreign languages of instruction. Literature indicates the significant influence of curricula (Cambridge, 1998; Jimes, Weiss, & Keep, 2013; Tamatea, 2008), languages (Bray & Koo, 2004; Kedzierski, 2016; Song, 2013; Wettewa, 2016; Zakharia, 2009;), and teachers (Hayden, 2006; Hayden & Thompson, 2010; Savva, 2013; Tarc & Tarc, 2015; Walling, 2016) in international schools. Foreign students are also present but they are only present in significant numbers in a portion of Egypt's elite, international schools, whereas the remaining inputs are present in all. Juxtaposed with the global inputs, local inputs include Egyptian teachers, Egyptian students, the national curriculum, and the Arabic language. Little research exists that analyzes the influence of these global and local inputs in local school contexts, the influence and valuation of local inputs, and if any localization transpires. Therefore, the goal of using these factors is to identify which global and local inputs have the most influence in the orientation of international schools.

School orientation. School orientation is identified in the middle column of Figure 2. Orientation is the focus or positioning of the school on an axis of internationalization and localization. An example of this axis is presented below in Figure 3. The illustration of orientation as an axis is important because localization and internationalization are neither mutually exclusive nor contrasting concepts (Gustafson, 2009) but can be combined or balanced to meet the needs of the internal and external school context. By definition, orientation insinuates a degree of adjustment to a school's surroundings. However, little is known if the local context and local needs of Egyptian students are taken into account in the orientation of schools.

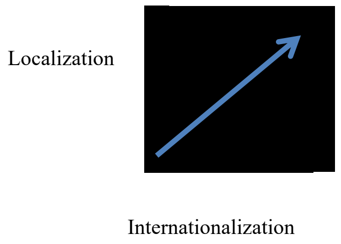


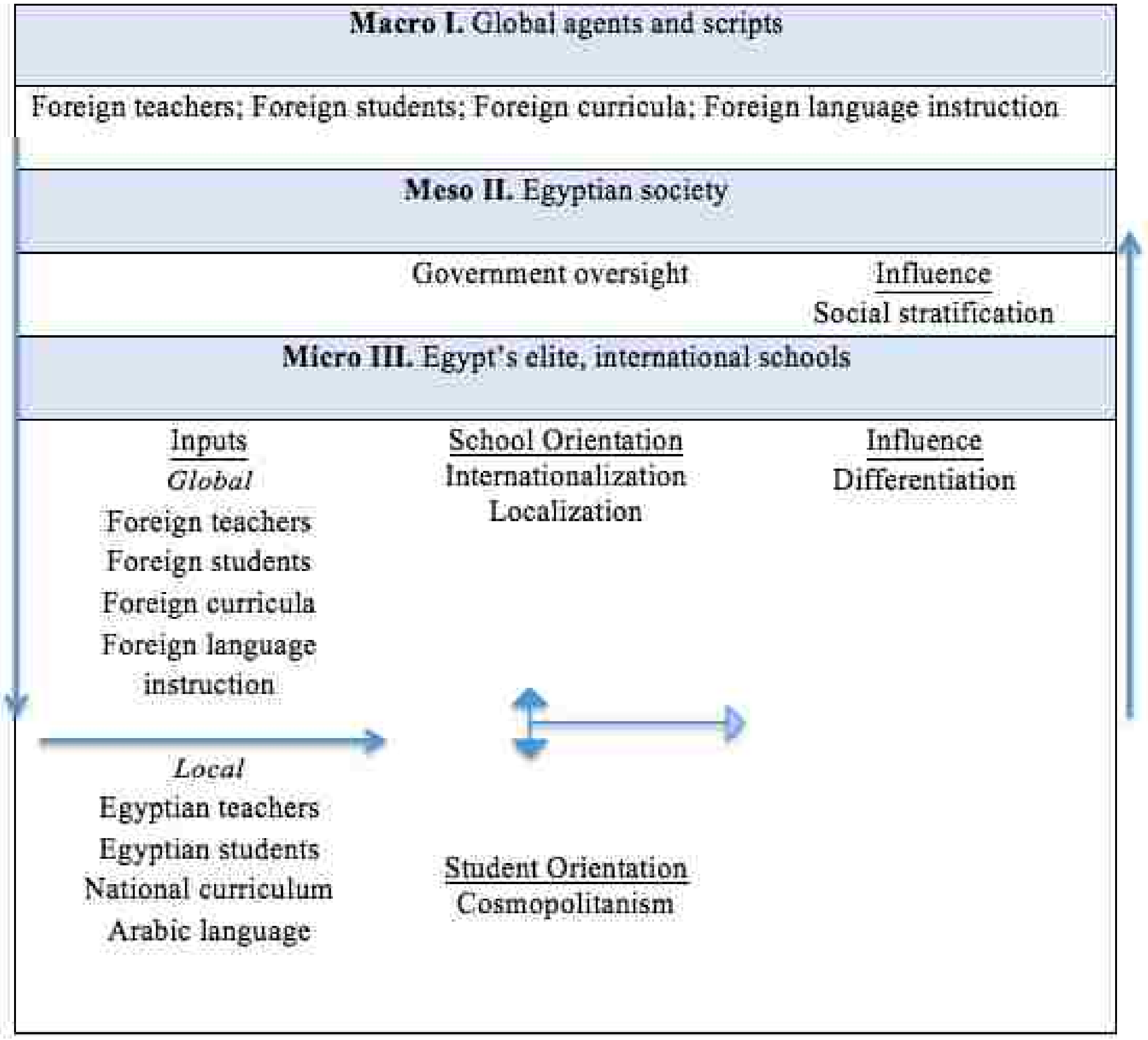
Figure 3. School orientation axis

Internationalization and localization. Internationalization is defined as educational policy and practices that transcend the nation by focusing on intercultural and international aspects in the mission, function, and delivery of education (Knight, 1996). However, literature generally focuses on internationalization in higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Deardorff, 2006; Jindal-Snape & Rienties, 2016; Knight, 2004, 2006) rather than primary and secondary schools (Wang & Ho, 2012; Yemini, 2013).

Localization most often refers to the contextualization of international trends in education within local schools and communities in ways that are relevant to the social values, knowledge, and norms of the community (Cheng, 2005). Localization is encouraged as a way to increase relevance of learning to local contexts and strengthen the connections between schools, communities, and students. However, limited research on localization in international schools indicates an increased need for government regulations to ensure localization takes place (Law, 2003; Lin & Chen, 2014; Nukaga, 2003; Wang & Ho, 2012; Yang, 2001) and the failure of international schools themselves in this process (Allen, 2000; Richards, 2000).

Student orientation. The analysis of the relationship between student orientation and school orientation is neither causal nor linear. External socialization processes at home and in other external contexts are also important factors (Lareau, 2011; Maxwell, 2015; Reay, 1998). However, the focus of this study is on the students' orientation towards cosmopolitanism developed as a result of socialization in elite, international schools. Student orientation is identified in Figure 2 by the middle column. The socialization process in elite, international schools is defined by the interplay between the orientation of the schools and the degree of cosmopolitan orientation of students. It is through this interplay that students acquire legitimized skills and dispositions and refine their ability to operationalization these skills in local and national level fields.

Cosmopolitanism. The most simplified definition of cosmopolitanism is an openness to foreign others, cultures, and localities (Igarisho & Saito, 2014). In this study, I begin by approaching cosmopolitanism as an orientation that students are predisposed to through their home environments (Peterson, 2011) and that is enculturated further as a result of their international school experience. Literature on cosmopolitanism already finds a significant relationship between cosmopolitanism and elite schools (Kenway & Fahey, 2014; Kenway et al., 2015; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2014) and international schools (Hayden, 2012; Igarisho & Saito, 2014). What is missing is the link between these two, particularly in post-colonial societies like Egypt. The interconnection between international schools and elite schools is foundational to the acquisition of cosmopolitanism and subsequent elite distinction and privilege (Igarisho & Saito, 2014; Song, 2013). However, what literature on cosmopolitanism has yet to establish is if cosmopolitanism in these sites is a deeply embedded disposition or simply skills, which can be operationalized for benefits in global localities. This study seeks to address this gap and analyze the usefulness of a cosmopolitan orientation in local contexts.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Foreign teachers; Foreign students; Foreign curricula; Foreign language instruction
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National curriculum
Arabic language
School Orientation
Internationalization
Localization
Student Orientation
Cosmopolitanism
Influence
Differentiation

Figure 4. Global-local model: influence.

Influence: Differentiation and social stratification. The influences of this phenomenon are identified as two interrelated factors, differentiation and social stratification. They are interrelated because differentiation is largely the means through which social stratification within societies is reproduced. Differentiation is acquired through status indicators such as cosmopolitanism and spatial positions related to belonging. These microlevel outcomes help determine the formation of social stratification in Egypt's society at the mesolevel. Influences follow from the micro to mesosocietal levels as indicated in Figure 4.

Literature indicates differentiation as a result of elite schooling can be expressed through the embodiment of cosmopolitanism and patterns of social belonging (Kenway & Koh, 2015; Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005; van Zanten, 2009). Belonging in this study is understood as follows:

> Belonging should be seen neither in existential terms (as primordial attachment to some kind of face-to-face community), nor as discursively constructed, but as a socially constructed, embedded process in which people reflexively judge the suitability of a given site as appropriate given their social trajectory and their position in other fields. (Savage, et al., 2005, p. 12)

Belonging is performative. Individuals and groups perform self-censorship or selective choice in interacting and participating with other social classes. Together, cosmopolitanism and belonging play key roles in reproducing indicators of status and subsequently class-making through differentiation.

Results of the socialization process in elite, international schools has a significant role in the final stage of the model above which is (re)positioning students into the macrolevel of society as indicated by the upward arrow on the right side of the model in Figure 4. It is in this stage that long-term influences are analyzed and the roles of elite schools in reinforcing and reproducing social stratification (Ball, 2015; Bourdieu, 1996; Gaztambide-Fernández & Howard, 2010; Hayden, 2012; Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Kenway & Fahey, 2014; Kenway et al., 2015; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2014; Meyer, 1967) is addressed in the context of Egypt's international schools. The research gap on elite, international schools has potentially far-reaching implications as a socializing mechanism of Egypt's most powerful and privileged (Mehrez, 2010; Mitchell, 2002; Peterson, 2011).

In conclusion, this study intends to fill the gap in literature on the connection between elite, international schools, and cosmopolitanism in reproducing inequalities. The second goal is to present results that identify both advantages and disadvantages of this unique socialization process, despite the distinction and privilege these students possess. Identifying advantages and disadvantages of elite, international schooling highlights the changing conditions surrounding the purpose of schooling. Schools were traditionally established within national contexts to meet the needs and aims of nations (Baker & LeTendre, 2015; Meyer, 1980). Elite, international schools in Egypt, however, are unique educational contexts which are not necessarily designed to meet the needs and goals of the Egyptian nation. Rather, they represent what Baker and LeTendre (2015) describe as the influence of globalization on changing expectations and ideas around schooling as a national project.

Traditionally, "the vision also assumes that schooling is organized to educate and socialize children in a specific way that is directly linked to the future welfare of a particular nation. For example, German schools are thought to produce German adults with the technical skills, linguistic capabilities, and cultural awareness necessary to carry forth the entity of Germany into the future" (Baker and LeTendre, 2015, p. 259). However, what image or vision is produced when Egyptians are being socialized and educated in a German school, by German teachers, through a German curriculum? Do they still acquire the technical skills, linguistic capabilities, and cultural awareness require to participate fully in Egyptian society?

The following two chapters further deconstruct this unique schooling phenomenon and map the relevant literature and research design to unravel the influence of elite, international schools on Egyptian students. The final two chapters present and interpret the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Chapter Two starts with a sociohistorical analysis of the development of Egypt's field of elite, international education. The goal is to provide the necessary contextualization of the privilege and historically embedded global component in Egypt's unequal education system (Loveluck, 2012) as well as identify the legitimization of the field of international education, cosmopolitanism, and its gatekeepers (Bourdieu, 1996).

The chapter then identifies existing literature on the following concepts: elite, international schools—curriculum, language, teachers; and orientations—localization, internationalization, cosmopolitanism. The chapter concludes with the conceptual framework, a Bourdieusian theoretical framework and qualitative methodology. The concepts of habitus and field are the focus of both the theory presented and methods used and are operationalized in this section. Chapter Three details the quantitative methods and further explores the mixed methods research design. Chapter Four presents the quantitative and qualitative results and Chapter Five presents the discussion of the findings.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section one presents the historical background surrounding the field of elite, international education in Egypt. This discussion highlights two important processes in the development of this field. First, it highlights the parallel and thus unequal nature of education in Egypt, which developed a track for privileged Egyptians largely defined by foreign models of education. Second, the relationship between the unequal structure of Egypt's parallel education system and the development of a privileged class in Egypt through which cosmopolitanism was an exclusive and legitimizing feature is examined.

Section two is a review of relevant literature for the main variables: elite, international schools; inputs–curricula, language, teachers; orientations–localization; internationalization and cosmopolitanism. Section three provides an overview of the use of Pierre Bourdieu's work as the theoretical framework. The discussion focuses on Bourdieu's work on social class reproduction through education, other scholars' use of Bourdieu in educational contexts outside of France, and finally, the use of Bourdieu by scholars in Egypt. The chapter closes with a subsection focused on the operationalization of the Bourdieusian concepts that are used as theory and method as well as the practical implementation of these concepts within the study according to the global-local model.

The goal of this chapter is twofold. The first goal is to contextualize this phenomenon within the sociohistorical development of Egypt's modern education system to highlight processes of legitimization. This is a necessary requisite for utilizing Bourdieu's field in identifying relationships and processes between education and reproduction of privilege and cultural distinction. The second goal is to identify the links in academic research that tie this process together in Egypt, specifically, the international orientation of elite schools in Egypt, the role of foreign curricula, languages, and teachers in reinforcing and legitimizing this link, and the repercussions related to social stratification.

Historical Background

Any attempt to understand the development of a parallel education system in Egypt and its relationship with Egypt's privileged class must appropriately fit such developments within the complex relationship between Egypt and external forces: largely, the connection between education, national development amidst economic burdens, and social mobility (Ryzova, 2014). The parallel structure of Egypt's education system is described as one exclusive track for Egypt's privileged and an overburdened public school track for a majority of Egyptians (Loveluck, 2012). The development of this privileged class began largely during the reign of Muhammed Ali and his state-building campaign.

Education and state-building. The necessity to build a modern education system took off during the reign of Muhammed Ali who became the Ottoman Governor of Egypt in 1805. However, this process coincided with significant economic and social transformations such as a weakening central government and encroachment by European powers (Owens, 2004) which put Egypt in direct contact with the technological superiority of military science in Europe. To acquire the knowledge needed for his goals of expansion, Muhammed Ali began sending educational missions to Europe in 1809. He wanted to utilize and exploit the knowledge from Europe without having to create cultural ties by focusing on the science needed to create factories and industries to supply his growing military (Heyworth-Dunne, 1968).

The impact of these educational missions was vast. "It was these missions that provided the officials for governmental posts and so created a new stratum in society which might be called, whatever may be its quality, the cultured aristocracy. It was through their training that they were enabled to take over posts that led to high salaries, gifts of lands and titles" (Heyworth-Dunne, 1968, p. 170). Soon western education became a symbol of privilege and a means of social class reproduction with European languages a vital signifier. Children of these high-ranking civil servants took advantage of the new educational opportunities. This would have a profound impact on the ideological formation of this class:

> [T]his generation was provided with limitless educational opportunities, a few going to France and Britain, sometimes at the state's expense through educational missions, if not their parents' expense. An even greater number studied in the European schools in Cairo, Alexandria, and the provincial capitals. Thus, in one way or another, most came into contact with the culture of European liberalism, and those who did were often influenced by it, which created another internal bond among them. (Abbas & El-Dessoukey, 2012, p. 188)

This newly developed class was often referred to as the *effendiya. Effendiya* is largely a sociocultural category and is defined in the work of Ryzova (2005) as follows:

> In one sense it was a conceptual category, a label for people who outwardly manifested certain diacritics of dress or manner. In this sense an effendi was closely related to status, and was defined by culture, often the result of formal (western) education, and, often but not necessarily, by position in the state bureaucracy. The other sense of the term was the sociological group associated with it. The social group of effendis, the *effendiya,* changed considerably over time, as did the perception of what it signified in cultural terms. (p. 124)

Effendiya became “organically linked to the building of a modern state, and related to both the emergence of a modern bureaucracy as well as the secular and Egyptian character of its elite” (Ryzova, 2005, p. 127). They were often at the forefront of disseminating “legitimate” forms of progress, development, and enlightenment in Egypt’s nation building campaigns (Ryzova, 2014). Today’s privileged elite similarly hold powerful and profitable positions as technocrats and businessmen (Mitchell, 2002). Like today’s demand for foreign education (Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Song, 2013), career advancement and participation in this social group was determined largely by “learning subject matter imported from the West [which] was believed to lead automatically to modernism, prosperity, and freedom” (Radwan, 1951, p. 123).

Ryzova (2014) undertakes the most comprehensive examination of the origin of this sociocultural group and the strategies they employed in defining modernity in Egypt through a process of localization (Peterson, 2011; Ryzova, 2014). She introduces this process by referencing a 1944 Egyptian novel *The Saint’s Lamp*: “For the modern Egyptian man, [...], who has had access to both [tradition and modernity] simply by a combination of his (local, ‘authentic’) origin and his (modern, western) education, the imperative is to be proficient in both, to be able to claim both ‘authenticity’ and ‘modernity’ (quoted in Ryzova, 2014, p. 3). The challenge for western-educated, cosmopolitan elites was balancing their Egyptian origin and local connections while maintaining the cultural distinction they have acquired as a result of their educational experiences (Ryzova, 2014).

This balancing act is similarly present today (Peterson, 2011). However, the intense and accelerated connectivity today’s elite have as a result of globalization (Appadurai, 1996) creates unique challenges to both the desire and ability to balance global and local positionality. These challenges are compounded by the orientation of elite, international schools today. Historically, cultural distinction, largely in the form of cosmopolitan practices and dispositions, was largely acquired through education abroad or in select schools in Egypt that provided a pathway to working in Egypt's bureaucracy (Heyworth-Dunne, 1968; Radwan, 1951; Ryzova, 2014). Such opportunities enabled them to transform this cultural capital into economic capital (Abbas & El-Dessoukey, 2012). These opportunities, however, became ever more restricted during British colonial rule.

British rule. During colonization, European established private schools would later serve the new cadre of Egyptian elite whose education through this parallel system was requisite (Ryzova, 2014). As a result, this class increasingly began adopting a European-inspired lifestyle which in turn deepened their presumed cultural superiority and legitimate knowledge of modernity and progress. It was "liberalism [which] gave all these preferences a certain rationale. It reinforced [...] the belief that they were modern and rational, whereas others were not" (Abbas & El-Dessouky, 2012, p. 189). The cultural distinction of the *effendiya* and its connection to cosmopolitanism meant access to this social class was particularly exclusive, with education playing a central role.

A look at the educational background of Egypt's nationalist leaders provides evidence of the social influence education played. The burgeoning French private schools produced three prime ministers: Adli Yakan, Ismail Sidqi, and Ahmed Ziwar (Reid, 1983). The prestigious state school track also produced a plethora of influential Egyptians. Three secondary schools in particular, the Tawfiqiyya, Khidiwiyaa, and Ra's al-Tin schools, produced some of the most influential nationalist leaders. This included four prime ministers, influential political party leaders such as Mustafa al-Nahhas and Mohamed Farid, government ministers, nationalist leader Mustafa Kamil, future president and revolutionary leader Gamal Abdel Nasser, scholars, jurists, parliamentary leaders, and influential industrialists. The purpose of these schools was not simply educational but to "bring together the sons of prosperous merchants, landed aristocrats, and religious leaders at an impressionable age and to mold them into partisans of the status quo" (Reid, 1983, p. 376).

From 1883 to 1906 Lord Cromer, as a representative of the British colonial powers, controlled Egypt. His main educational policies were to prevent the creation of an educated class of Egyptian dissidents by suppressing the expansion of higher education and anglicizing the curriculum (Barsoum, 2004). The parallel structure of Egypt's education system served the colonizer's needs to keep the Egyptian masses in a subordinate position. The British controlled graduates' access and transition from state schools to privileged positions within the state. Furthermore, the need for the English language in order to serve in the British-run government created another mode of exclusion. In 1902, only three state schools existed, and cumulatively only 100 students graduated from them each year (Reid, 1990). The British outlawed free education in 1907. Private, foreign schools serviced the rest of the demand for education amongst the small segment of the population who could afford tuition.

Although these unequal policies were imposed by the British colonial government, some of these policies were supported by influential and powerful Egyptians. It in fact served their interests in two ways. First, these policies prevented the mixing of members of different social classes, thus protecting their control over dictating appropriate moral standards (Russell, 2001). Second, the fees helped ensure a restricted and exclusive path to advantageous and prosperous government positions.

Post-colonial Egypt. The parallel nature of Egypt's education system prior to implementing mass education after 1922, Egypt's semi-independence, both hindered full adaptation of a democratic mass education system as well as reproduced the social class which took charge of its implementation (Reid, 1983). There existed a lack of serious concern by many parlimentarians for overcoming social inequalities (Ikeda, 2005). A fear remained among many of Egypt's ruling elite that expanding education, particularly to rural Egypt, might awaken people's minds to the inequalities in which they lived, as many believed children of laborers should only study subjects related to their lifestyles (Abbas & El-Dessouky, 2012).

After the 1952 Revolution which overthrew Egypt's monarchy, the expansion of educational opportunities to the masses was a necessary component of Nasser's wide-ranging goals. As a pillar of Nasser's broader socialist agenda, education at all levels from primary through higher education was provided free of charge. In 1961, Nasser passed a law that guaranteed public sector employment for all graduates of secondary and post-secondary education institutions, firmly linking the education sector with Egypt's labor markets (Assaad, 1997). As a result, higher education and enrollment skyrocketed to meet the socialist goals for industrialization (Hyde, 1978). Although these socialist reforms theoretically addressed inequalities within Egyptian society, in reality, they merely shrouded pre-existing structural inequalities (Sell, 1990).

Nasser used models and rhetoric of socialism and Arab and Egyptian nationalism to inspire, socialize, and integrate students in the lower levels of education (Cook, 2000). This was part of an attempt to challenge the social cleavages that existed between the differing classes in Egypt (Cook, 2000). Although at first the decreased enrollment in foreign and private schools reflected a positive trend (Cochran, 1986), the loss of the 1967 war with Israel caused a significant decline in morale as well as depletion of the country's resources.

Notwithstanding Nasser's emphasis on equity, this social contract failed to sufficiently provide a path for upward mobility through Egypt's education system. Social cleavages became even more pronounced as a result of Nasser's socialist policies (Al-Harthi, 2011; Cupito & Langsten, 2011). The expansion of free public education at all levels and the simultaneous lack of finances meant the only way to ensure quality education was generally through private education. Furthermore, due to the guarantee of public sector employment, the bureaucracy soon became bloated and inefficient. Caught in a quagmire of debt, policy leaders began looking for an alternative (Waterbury, 1978). This alternative was found in the United States and a shift towards neoliberalism.

Instituting an economic policy shift called the *Infitah*, or the Opening, Egypt's education system would undergo another radical shift towards free market capitalism. One of the main goals of the Opening was the privatization of formerly state-operated industries that were nationalized under former President Nasser. As a result of the Opening, a new entrepreneurial class emerged and expanded as opportunities for private businesses and multinational corporations drastically increased (Mitchell, 2002). However, despite shifting economic and social contexts, the domination of a privileged field of education remained, and "the foreign, private schools once again became the means of attaining higher economic and social status" (Cochran, 1986, p. 55).

Privatization and education. Prior to the Opening, private schools were largely religious missionary schools, schools established by embassies, and a few by foreign nationals before the military coup in 1952. However, starting in 1957, Egyptians were not allowed to attend non-Egyptian schools. During this period, some of these foreign schools were taken over by the government and nationalized. Starting in 1973, with the Opening policy under President

Sadat, Egyptians were once again allowed to enroll in non-Egyptian schools. Private schools slowly increased in number throughout this period and a significant boom followed in the 1990s during the government's focus on privatization and free market capitalist policies (Mitchell, 2002). The push towards encouraging private investment was not only eagerly accepted by a vastly overstretched government but also a small class of Egyptians who not only demanded an alternative to Egypt's national curriculum but were willing and able to pay.

Increased flow and demand for global skills including foreign languages and a demand for foreign curricula by Egypt's privileged class followed. The skills acquired in these international schools provided access not only to jobs and universities abroad but also to much more lucrative private sector employment (Igarashi & Saito, 2014). Lack of access to such cosmopolitan skills and dispositions remains a major challenge to those from public schools (Barsoum, 2004). In fact, the Egyptian government specifically states that the necessity for international schools is to meet the needs of Egyptians returning from abroad or seeking to continue their education outside Egypt (Ministry of Education [MOE], 1985). However, with growth in demand and buying power, consumers of international schools have increased dramatically since the 1990s now serving over 8 percent of the population (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development [OECD], 2015).

Currently, both private and public schools exist in Egypt. Within the private sector, there exist religious schools, international schools, and language schools. An important turning point in understanding the change in private education is the allowance by Ministerial Decree No. 306 (1993) for students in these schools to graduate with a foreign diploma. Decree no. 306 drastically expanded the supply by legalizing for-profit, private international schools and the use of international curricula. Until this point all private schools were still required to follow the

Ministry of Education (MOE) curriculum. The MOE still requires all students in international schools to take the national curriculum classes for Arabic, religion, and national history. This is required by the Egyptian constitution under Article 24 for all pre-university public and private schools (Arab Republic of Egypt [ARE], 2014). The only students exempt from this requirement are those who attend the embassy affiliated schools and schools registered as cultural centers in a unique bid to avoid MOE authority. Egyptian students must receive permission to attend these schools which often requires families to have a social connection at high levels in Egypt's government.

Elite, international schools, like the students who enroll, are spatially and socially segregated, functioning rather autonomously from the rest of society. This is in stark contrast to the pyramidal and centralized nature of public education (Naguib, 2006). The intense demand for foreign credentials and the skills, largely cosmopolitan in orientation, necessary for access to lucrative job markets (Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Rizvi, 2015; Song, 2013) significantly increases the number of powerful students who desire access to these educational institutions. However, what remains unknown is the orientation of these schools and their relationship with students' orientation to cosmopolitanism. The MOE states its main objectives are "deepening the child's affiliation to his homeland and its history and civilization, and affirmation and upholding of national loyalty" as well as "acquiring the basic skills of reading, writing, and counting in a way conducive to the attainment of a simple and effective communication, carried through the national language between citizens" (Sayed, 2006). Yet, whether or not these objectives can be accomplished within Egypt's elite, international schools are unknown.

Summary. The field of education has long been a pathway for social class reproduction. The role of education in this process was identified in two ways: first, by examining the role of education in the sociohistorical process of legitimation of the structure and cosmopolitan practices that have come to signify and define Egypt's privileged class and second, by analyzing the parallel structure of Egypt's education system highlighted the global and local forces at play in the process of legitimation. Although this process was neither linear nor rapid, it supports an understanding and mapping of this field. As a pillar of any society, the culture and structure of the institution of education has far-reaching consequences. Inequalities built into an education system will inevitably permeate society (Grenfell & James, 2005).

As the historical background highlights, cosmopolitanism has long been a cornerstone of Egypt's elite educational track. It characterizes the cultural distinction of Egypt's past *effendiya* and today's privileged class. What remains unclear, however, is the degree to which the international orientation of elite, international schools today influences Egyptian students' orientation towards cosmopolitanism. Unraveling this connection is vital to understanding how these students view themselves, others, and their place in broader society.

Review of Empirical Literature

Section two is a review of relevant literature for the main variables. First, research on elite, international schools is presented followed by a synthesis of research relevant to the defining components of international schools–teachers; curriculum; language. The analysis then examines research related to the orientation of elite, international schools–localization and internationalization. The literature review concludes with a discussion of students' orientation–cosmopolitanism–within the context of this study.

Elite, international schools. I begin the review of elite, international schools with an examination of literature on elite schools and international schools. The purpose is twofold. First, this split highlights the disconnect between research on elite schools and international schools.

This disconnect has significant implications for analyzing how the international orientation of these schools, which results from the use of foreign curricula and foreign languages of instruction, influences the orientation of students and the connection between this socialization process and privilege. Second, it highlights the theme of cosmopolitanism within both areas of research, a theme that research cites as a powerful characteristic of the privileged position of elites in non-western contexts.

Elite schools. The social and cultural processes of elite schooling that (re)produce social class privilege (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; van Zanten, 2009) and elite distinctions (Bourdieu, 1984; Forbes & Lingard, 2013; Reay, 2013) have a long history of examination in North America (Cookson, Jr. & Persell, 1985; Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009; Gaztambide-Fernández & Howard, 2010; Howard, 2008; Khan, 2015, 2011; LeTandre, Gonalez, & Nomi, 2006; Maxwell & Maxwell, 1995; Weinberg, 1968), France (Bourdieu, 1996), the Netherlands (Weenink, 2008), the United Kingdom (Brooks & Waters, 2015; Lingard, Forbes, Maxwell, & Aggleton, 2010; Wakeling & Savage, 2015; Weiner, & Horne, 2012), Germany (Deppe, Helsper, Kreckel, Krüger, & Stock, 2015) and North American and/or European comparative studies of elite educational institutions (Mangset, 2015; Naudet, 2015). However, scholarship on elite schools has recently begun to analyze the peculiarities of elite schooling in contexts outside of Europe and North America (Brown, Lauder, & Sung, 2015; Fahey, & Kenway, 2015; Gessaghi & Méndez, 2015; Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Kenway & Fahey, 2014; Kenway & Koh, 2013; Rizvi, 2015).

At the forefront of this shift is the five-year study by Epstein, Fahey, and Kenway (2010-2014) *Elite independent schools in globalizing circumstances: a multi-sited global ethnography.* These case studies examined one elite school, modeled after British “public” schools, in

England, Australia, Barbados, Hong Kong, India, Singapore, South Africa, and Cyprus. The aim was to explore the interplay between globalization and post-colonial histories and the resulting implications on educating elites.

Utilizing Bourdieu and cultural capital theory, these case studies provide useful examples of how to implement Bourdieusian frameworks to study elite education in non-western contexts (Kenway & Koh, 2015). Of particular importance is the way in which class belonging is negotiated and fluid in relation to changing local and global audiences and circumstances depending on the ways in which students strategize their capital. For example, Greenhalgh-Spencer et al. (2015) found in their examination of a post-colonial elite school in Barbados that social class in these educational contexts is fluid and changing in relation to the flow of local and global markets. Within the variety of single and comparative case studies, this project highlights the importance of students' cosmopolitan orientation in non-western elite school contexts (Maxwell, 2015).

Literature on elite schools highlights three important connections for the purpose of this study. First is the need to focus on elite schools in non-western contexts. As the previous literature suggests, post-colonial histories and globalization often influence these institutions and social classes differently than in traditional elite educational settings in the United States and Europe. Second is the use of cosmopolitanism in the formation of global elites is of particular importance in non-western contexts (Beck, 2006; Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Kenway & Fahey, 2014). Third, cosmopolitanism and foreign credentials are seen as vital to accessing global labor markets and universities in the United States and Europe (Brown et al., 2015; Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Lowe, 2000). A social trajectory that researchers are studying exists which consists of elite schools, international credentials, cosmopolitanism, and global labor markets.

What are often overlooked within this trajectory are the complementary orientations of schools and privileged families and the influence socialization in internationalized educational environments have on students' local connections. Additionally, an important characteristic of elite schooling is often overlooked. Many elite schools in non-western contexts are international schools—schools that teach in a foreign language, use a curriculum different from the host country, and often employ foreign teachers.

A key approach to unraveling this phenomenon is looking at the international characteristics of elite schools in local contexts. The emphasis on international was a theme throughout case studies (Kenway & Koh, 2015); however, further investigation of the interplay between these two characteristics, elite schools and international schools, is largely overlooked. I argue, however, that these two characteristics and an understanding of the way in which "international" shapes "elite" through acquisition of cosmopolitanism is essential to further understanding how privileged students view themselves, others, and society as a result of their educational environments. It is vital as the field of international schools is greatly increasing, and the repercussions this may have on national education systems and society must be explored (Bray & Yamoto, 2003).

International schools. Research on international schools is slowly increasing with their increased popularity worldwide. Literature focuses on five main areas of inquiry: the history of international schools (Brummitt, 2007; Hayden & Thompson, 2008; Leach, 1969; Sylvester, 2002; Terwilliger, 1972), definitions of international schools and international education (Bunnell, Fertig, & James, 2016; Hayden, 2006; Hayden, Rancic, & Thompson, 2000; Hayden & Thompson, 1995; 2000; Jonietz & Harris, 1991; Matthews, 1989; Preston, 2001; Sylvester, 1998), parental school choice (Ezra, 2007; MacKenzie, 2010; MacKenzie, Hayden, &

Thompson, 2001, 2003; Potter & Hayden, 2004; Wettewa, 2009, 2016), experiences of transnational teachers (Hayden, 2006; Hayden & Thompson, 2010; Savva, 2013), and transnational students (Gerner, M., Perry, F., Moselle M., & Archibald, M., 1991; Langford, 1998; Pollack & Van Reken, 1999, 2009; Schaetti, 1998; Useem, 1966, 1973; Willis, 1992).

A significant gap exists in the literature regarding host country nationals, specifically the privileged societal positions of many host country nationals and their perspectives on their schooling experiences. In research on international schools, host country nationals are most often described as being from affluent or socioeconomically advantaged backgrounds due to the high fees these schools demand (Hayden, 2012). Thus, most literature on international schools inherently includes host country elites but often does not inquire further into the topic of elites or educational advantage on a local or national level. Investigating international schools is necessary as research suggests international school systems can be analyzed as a microcosm of society, elucidating the effects of globalization in local contexts (Bray & Yamato, 2003) and identifying social inequality through the reproduction of advantageous capital (Song, 2013).

Rather than focusing on host country nationals, studies often focus on host country culture and the importance of local community connections (Allen, 2000). They highlight the types of interactions with local communities as potentially overcoming or reinforcing cultural chauvinism (Heyward, 2002). Jackson (2005) investigates the role Dutch host culture plays in the development of intercultural understanding by forging links with the local community. Jackson's use of contact theory highlights the need to understand international schools' approaches to connections with the local community and the influence the host country can have on cultivating local ties. Richards (1998) explores the importance of host country culture through examining the differences between local and foreign hires in international schools. He finds that lower perceptions of the host country are perpetuated and reinforced through inferior perceptions and treatment of locally hired teachers in comparison to foreign hires. Bailey (2015), however, does focus on host country nationals' experience in a case study on international schools in Malaysia. Bailey provides an important comparison to transnational students for why their experiences must also be studied:

> Host country national children may be experiencing only one transition, but that does not mean that the transition is either insignificant or easy. Entering an international school differentiates such children from their peers who remain in the national system of education, and opens up a sheaf of alternative forms of belonging as they come into contact with the so-called Third Culture Kids. International education is about both continuity and change; for children travelling between nations, it is about offering educational continuity while their cultural context is changing, whereas for host country nationals it is about educational change while the cultural setting beyond the school remains unaltered. (p. 87)

Studies on host country culture and nationals identify two important characteristics of international schools for the purpose of this study. First is the importance of forging local connections to avoid devaluing local cultures and communities amidst the international focus of these schools. Second are the paradoxical experiences of host country nationals transitioning between the international contexts of their schools and the local contexts of their homes and country.

However, these schools are often in high demand not because of their ability to cultivate local connections but rather through their orientation to internationalization (Aguiar & Nogueira, 2012; Lowe, 2000; Rizvi, 2015), ability to cultivate cosmopolitanism through dispositions and language skills (Hayden, 2012; Song, 2013; Weenink, 2008; Windle & Nogueira, 2015), and connections globally (Gilbertson, 2014; Igarashi & Saito, 2014). Hayden's study of 67 mission statements from international schools worldwide provides a unique insight into how these schools not only encourage academic development related to cosmopolitanism but also attitudes and "cosmopolitan ways of being" (2012, p. 5). The purpose of Hayden's study was to gain an "entry into the 'mind' of the schools to ascertain what these schools envisioned their purpose to be" (p. 7). The results indicate that most of these schools see their purpose as producing global and cosmopolitan students. However, such normative statements as mission statements do not necessitate actual practice. Research into the actual processes that take place in these schools is necessary as well as consideration of whether such processes are compatible with promoting local and national interests.

The cosmopolitan dispositions and international credentials available in international schools are often demanded by families even for those from less affluent backgrounds. Gilbertson (2014) uses cultural capital theory to understand the ways in which international schools are used as a path for upward mobility in post-colonial societies. These schools provide the "exposure" needed for new middle-class families to access the appropriate capital needed for upward mobility. International examinations and credentialism through international schools is two ways elites and the upwardly mobile from the global south obtain entrance into advantageous opportunities in the United States and Europe (Lowe, 2000; Rizvi, 2015).

Together, this research indicates a gap and need to understand the influence of what many now term "fourth culture" kids (Deveney, 2005). Similar to third culture kids, fourth culture kids are host country nationals who find themselves in a cultural environment in international schools which does not necessarily represent the host country culture and beliefs.

Deveney (2005) asks, “If, as argued, children’s basic value systems are firmly in place by the age of 10, then perhaps younger children are still able to function comfortably when moving between their home culture and the culture of the classroom. If children have attended an international school from a very young age, does this create a permanent change in their value system or do they still develop and retain the manifestations of their home culture?” (p. 161).

Foreign language instruction, curricula, and foreign teachers, often with little understanding of the host culture, will undoubtedly create an environment that does not necessarily reflect dominant norms of the host country. This research aims to understand what influence these unique educational environments have on evaluative schemes[2] of host country nationals as a result of their experiences in Egyptian international schools. As vital inputs into the internationalized or localized orientations of elite, international schools, I next examine research on curriculum, language, and teachers within international school environments to highlight the importance of such inputs to the socialization process.

Teachers. Research on teachers in international schools focuses largely on their unique teaching experiences (Hayden, 2006; Hayden & Thompson, 2010; Savva, 2013), changes to their professional development working in international schools in Malaysia (Bailey, 2015), reasons for working overseas (Chandler, 2010), teachers position as a “middling” global class (Tarc &

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[2] Schemes are acquired systems that structure thoughts, perception, and actions but in a preconditioned way (Weininger, 2004).

Tarc, 2015), and their perceptions of international schools and the international teaching market (Hrycak, 2015). What these studies have in common is their emphasis on the importance of foreign teachers to creating an international school environment (Hayden & Thompson, 2008) and positionality in the transnational space of class and identity formation (Tarc & Tarc, 2015) in these local school contexts.

A few studies analyze foreign teachers as dominating actors in international schools. Through the work of Bourdieu and other sociologists, Pearce (1998) explores the cultural complexities of international school and the role teachers play in students' acquisition of culture through interactionism and social constructivism. Pearce highlights the influence adults and teachers play in creating hierarchical schemes that children use to perceive the world in the formation of their cultural identity as well as the legitimation and validation of capital in their learning environment in international schools. Similarly, Zsebik (2000) describes international schools as creating a "hybrid of cultural silence" through the interactions between foreign teachers as the dominant depositors of education, international school students, and the hidden curricula of international schools (p. 64).

One study focuses on the bidirectional benefits between the local and international components. Deveney (2005) finds that Thai culture influences Thai students' learning in international schools through culturally responsive teaching as a means to improve learning and understanding in culturally diverse classrooms. These results identify the need for localization to create a more effective and balanced learning environment for host country nationals. The studies emphasize the need for equity in hiring and treatment of foreign and local teachers (Richards, 1998); teacher reflexivity (Pearce, 1998; Powell, 2000); and intercultural (Deveney, 2005; Zsebik, 2000), inclusive (Bradley, 2000), and multicultural (Walling, 2016) teaching methods in international schools. By definition, these teaching methods also necessitate a need for localization or adaptation to local contexts and inclusion of local knowledge, culture, language, and events into the classroom. Localization in such an environment could potentially be tenuous as educators often arrive with their "suitcase" of practices, ideas, and methods from previous international postings (Hayden, 2012). However, whether or not this is done in international school classrooms remains largely unknown.

Curriculum. International schools are domains of diverse cultural interactions and potential cultural tensions (Cambridge, 1998). Curriculum is one such area where tenuous differences may arise in overt and covert ways as the following discussion explores. It is commonly argued that creating relevance and local connections through the curriculum creates a productive learning environment (Cheng, 2005). A locally developed and culturally appropriate curriculum creates "relevance and meaning for students as it fosters recognition of their social and cultural values" (Jimes et al., 2013, p. 82). However, in international schools, curricula are usually not locally developed or culturally relevant "as curricular and pedagogical styles are borrowed and transferred from school to school, country to country, through the movement of teachers, administrators, and students, especially when one considers that it is not only the students who are highly mobile in the international schools system" (Hayden, 2012, p. 17). Thus, the use of a foreign curriculum in a setting outside the national context in which it was initially designed could be problematic. As Cambridge (2000) argues, there will likely be lack of relevance for such students, and schools must determine the curriculum's usefulness in schools outside the original setting. It remains unclear to what extent educators adapt curricula to local contexts as well as to what extent students become assimilated into the international culture of the schools in this process.

Arguments remain whether curricula in international schools create a diversity of learning or represent a form of cultural invasion (Al Farra, 2000) or cultural chauvinism (Richards, 1998). Al Farra (2000) argues that international education has the potential of becoming "Western education" if those from other cultures do not participate in the decision making and adaptation process regarding curriculum development. In a study on students' perspectives of their educational experiences in an international school, a student suggested that it was not international but "a western education, because everything I was taught was delivered in a western point of view, since all the teachers were from the west" (Richards, 1998, p. 176). One way to address this issue is to hire a more diverse teaching staff. However, "as long as schools are solely driven by a formal curriculum [...], then staffing policies must be dominated by the need for staff with experience of both the curriculum itself and the educational culture out of which the curriculum was developed" (Richards, 1998, p. 177).

On a more fundamental level, the curriculum represents the body of knowledge transmitted to students throughout their socialization in schooling. "Education is a social process, and as such the content of school textbooks convey more than facts or curricula; they convey cultural and social assumptions, expectations, and perspectives as well" (Wiseman, 2014, p. 319). Curricula and textbooks will always reflect the political and ideological perspectives, through what is and is not written or depicted, of the location in which they were produced (Wiseman, 2014). Textbooks, curricula, and languages of instruction are largely disseminated from the developed core to the lesser developed periphery in countries like Egypt, with varying degrees of contextualization (Arnove & Griffiths, 2014).

Much of the curricula used in international schools is created in the United States and Europe having a particular philosophical perspective. Tamatea (2008) explores the use of the liberal-humanist philosophical framework, a European philosophy most often used in international schools. Despite critiques that this philosophical framework is a form of westernization and may not be appropriate in non-western contexts, Tamatea finds this curricular framework particularly useful in multicultural educational settings like those found in Malaysia and Brunei. Tamatea's research, however, specifically avoids discussing how such curricular frameworks may reproduce or transmit unequal power relations regarding cultural values and knowledge between the "western" teachers, the curriculum, and local students. Exploring this possibility is necessary as research on international school curricula often finds the pursuit of internationalism is at the exclusion of the local in curriculum development (Richards, 1998).

Contextualization is also encouraged at the national level by national governments, as curriculum development is a vital component to the process of creating citizens through education (Meyer, 1980, 2007). The importance of curriculum to the creation of citizens is found in many government policies that mandate host country nationals take national curriculum classes if attending international schools. In South Korea (Song, 2013), Sri Lanka (Wettewa, 2016), Thailand (Hanchanlash, 2004), and Egypt (A.R.E. Const. art. XIX), governments require host country nationals take the government mandated language and social studies. However, the delivery of the national curriculum classes in comparison to the foreign curriculum classes is largely unexplored. The valuing or devaluing of national and foreign curricula is important as these exemplify covert forms of legitimization and cultural tension.

When research in Taiwan showed that students learned more about mainland China than about Taiwan (Law, 2003), the government encouraged a policy of Taiwanization in their national curriculum. Although international schools are not allowed to recruit local students in Taiwan, the government felt the need to emphasize Taiwan's unique culture, language, geography, and history in response to the growing focus on mainland China. In contrast, due to lack of government regulation, international schools in Sri Lanka were criticized for not teaching Sri Lankan history, geography, language, or religion, thereby "producing a newer generation of Sri Lankans who didn't really fit in to their immediate surroundings" (Wettewa, 2016, p. 76). Sri Lankan history, religion, and language became compulsory subjects in international school curricula starting in 2014. Tensions arise with "the focus of international schools to produce global citizens with national priorities" by focusing on intercultural education and global citizenship at the expense of a local language, history, and heritage (Wettewa, 2016, p. 78).

Literature on curriculum in international schools highlights three important themes. First, foreign curricula in international schools are often critiqued for the lack of relevance and contextualization to national and local contexts, as a result of their focus on internationalization. Second, the lack of contextualization in curriculum development largely results in the reproduction of knowledge hierarchies and potentially diverging expectations between international schools and national governments. Third, the lack of localization in the development of curricula in international schools often results in tensions, which are exacerbated by desires to use foreign teachers familiar with and certified in teaching the foreign curricula and the language of the curricula.

Language. Language is a form of social distinction and significantly impacts identity formation and sense of belonging (Bourdieu, 1991). Therefore, the language of instruction in these international schools will undoubtedly have a significant influence on students' sense of belonging and social imaginaries (Kedzierski, 2016; Willis, 1992). Today, the rise of English language education (Hayden & Thompson, 2008) is largely associated with the global economy (Song, 2013; Windle & Nogueira, 2015) and social distinction (Gilbertson, 2014; Kedzierski, 2016). International schools are important sites where such negotiation takes place. Understanding what role these institutions play in the process by which students negotiate and contest their sense of belonging as a result is necessary.

Local language loss is the most common result identified in research on international schools (Bailey, 2015; Ezra, 2007; Mehrez, 2010; Wettewa, 2016). Local language loss is inextricably linked to the domination of English in global labor markets and post-colonialism. The influence of language on post-colonial societies has been explored extensively in research as a vital site for contestation and negotiation (Pennycook, 1998). English language education in postcolonial societies impacts continuity and change within education systems (Bray & Koo, 2004) and students' abilities to create and maintain local connections (Wettewa, 2016). It can also create emotional associations or language loyalty amongst privileged users (Fernando, 1977).

In post-colonial contexts like Egypt, national level governments emphasize the importance of the Arabic language in creating national identity and social cohesion (Bassiouney, 2014; Suleiman, 2003; Zakharia, 2009). The Arabic language has often been used as a vehicle to encourage state-sponsored nationalism and pan-Arabism (see Suleiman, 2003; Zakharia, 2009) and shares a vital relationship with the formation of a collective Egyptian identity (see Bassiouney, 2014). Yet the positive or negative role and responsibilities of international schools within the broader aims of national governments is lacking. Research by Mehrez (2010) indicates a loss of Arabic language skills amongst graduates of international schools; the implications of this trend on identity formation and national social cohesion are unknown.

A useful example of research regarding state language policies in local school contexts is a vertical case study by Zakharia (2009). She explores the Lebanese state's attempt to create a cohesive national identity through their Arabic education policies. By positioning Arabic historically as well as within the context of political and economic instability which engulfed Lebanon between 2005 and 2007, Zakharia hypothesizes that rather than creating a collective national identity as intended, the government's Arabic language policy in schools was undermined by a variety of factors which result from the friction between and within local, regional, and global actors. Her work highlights the use of language in creating national cohesion and identity formation as well as the tensions that arise from global actors, all important characteristics of the current study.

Literature on language in international schools focuses on the global market demand for English language education and post-colonial contexts that create a social schism between privileged local speakers of foreign languages and those who lack such language skills. These skills are often supplied by international schools and demanded by the global market and privileged elites or upwardly mobile families. This study delves further into the examination of language as a form of distinction in a post-colonial context with significant connections to the global labor market amongst Egypt's privileged class (Mitchell, 2002). As a result, linguistic distinction as acquired through elite, international schools in Egypt is examined through its role in creating legitimized notions of within-group classifications for Egypt's privileged class and reproducing social stratification in Egypt's broader society. Thus, further synthesis of research to support the expanding use of English and its indicator of a privileged class is necessary.

Historical accounts describe the importance of foreign languages as a form of social class distinction in Egypt (Abbas & El-Dessouky, 2012; Hinnebusch, 1983; Radwan, 1951; Ryzova, 2014). Contemporary studies also identify the important role of foreign languages and education in Egypt's society. Specifically studies often look at the role of foreign languages, inequality in

Egypt's education system, and subsequent challenges to social mobility (Barsoum, 2004; Peterson, 2011). Schaub (2000) and Said, Warschauer, and Zohry (2002) acknowledge the expanding role and usage of the English language in Egyptian society. Importantly, both authors associate English language use with foreign language, private schools, and the increasingly dominant role English plays in society. However, deeper implications of foreign language education, or specifically international schools, are not further studied in regard to English language in Egyptian society.

In conclusion, research on language in international schools highlights the global forces that influence the use of language at the microlevel. Schooling is one site where the acquisition of linguistic resources and skills is an important aspect of creating a sense of belonging and accessing global markets. However, what is less understood is how the orientation of elite, international schools influences the linguistic practices and orientation of privileged Egyptian students. This process will undoubtedly have a profound influence on students as they leave these schools and enter Egyptian society.

Summary. Literature on international schools highlights their orientation towards internationalization present in research on the curriculum, language, and teachers, which comprise the internal structures of these educational environments. As a result, tensions arise between local and global expectations and needs surrounding the inputs, processes, and goals that define elite, international schools. Woodward (2001) presents an important argument for understanding the tensions that arise as a result of macro- and microlevel forces in educational borrowing. He argues that

> …on a macro-level, the dialectic between culture and learning presents problems in that different societies (often unwittingly) misunderstand each other. On the micro-level, it

> can create a mismatch between local subculture, and that of the wider society within which that subculture exists, leading individual learners to a sense of dissonance and classroom unease. (p. 6)

This study seeks to understand if a mismatch is indeed present in Egypt and what role internationalization and localization in international schools might play in this outcome. In pursuit of this goal, literature related to localization and internationalization is examined next.

Localization. Localization most often refers to the contextualization of international trends in education within local schools and communities in ways that are relevant to the social values, knowledge, and norms of the community (Cheng, 2005). Localization is encouraged as a way to increase relevance of learning to local contexts and strengthen the connections between schools, communities, and students. Literature on localization at the mircrolevel, rather than policy level (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Bjork, 2003; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006) is significantly sparse.

Much of the work concerning localization focuses on East Asian countries. These studies find that internationalization is emphasized at the expense of localization (Lin & Chen, 2014; Nukaga, 2003; Wang & Ho, 2012; Yang, 2001). What these studies have in common is their understanding of the need to balance internationalization with localization in the face of increasing globalization. This balance is determined by the contextual needs of each school or region (Yemini, 2013), and most studies support the need for greater government intervention in ensuring local language, history, and culture is preserved through the curriculum of these schools (Law, 2003; Wang & Ho, 2012). These findings support the presumed focus of international schools on internationalization as a result of the lack of national level contextualization in Egypt.

This study will highlight further how local inputs are balance or valued in this internationalization orientation.

Focusing on East Asia, Law (2003) analyzes the conflict between globalization and localization in Taiwan's education system. Although the analysis focuses largely on policy changes, it is important to note the importance the Taiwanese government gave to local languages, Taiwan's history and geography, as well as art and culture in their Taiwanization process. This focus lends support to the importance of languages and history in nurturing local and national identities. Law's analysis of previously used textbooks showed that Taiwanese students were learning more about mainland China and western countries than about Taiwan. As a result, the government took steps towards localization of its curriculum to emphasize Taiwanese history, culture, and geography.

Focusing on primary schools in Taiwan, Wang and Ho (2012) developed internationalization and localization factors, analyzed teachers' perceptions of the importance of these factors, and students' abilities in each factor. Their work is unique as few studies focus on both localization and internationalization. Wang and Ho (2012) find that a focus on internationalization and lack of localization has the potential to cause loss of local language and cultural colonization.

It is clear that research into localization is lacking and largely focused on the Far East, mainly for national school systems and at the national policy level. Further research is vital as a school's attempt to modify global models to local contexts shows a sensitivity and importance to the local culture necessary for developing the cultural identity of host country nationals, the focus of this study (Pearce, 1998). Additionally, research is necessary to highlight and create a consensus on what factors, such as language and curriculum, constitute localization so a model can be established for studying phenomena related to localization.

Internationalization. Most research on internationalization focuses on higher education and the discourse behind its definition and motivations (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Deardorff, 2006; Jindal-Snape & Rienties, 2016; Knight, 2004, 2006). At the macrolevel, the impact of internationalization on national identity is often postulated (Lincicome, 1993; Suarez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). At the microlevel, studies assess internationalization's influence on intercultural competence at the level of higher education (Deardorff, 2006), student identity formation (Chapman & Pyvis, 2006), student mobility (Knight, 2012), and global citizenship (Caruana, 2014). The global spread of internationalization is an oft studied topic, which includes the definition and policies of internationalization in higher education (Knight, 2004).

Some studies do exist that explore internationalization at the secondary level. Yemini, Bar-Nissan, and Shavit (2014) highlight the contradictions that manifest in these processes between the global and local levels. Despite using the terms cosmopolitanism and nationalism, these terms closely represent the same processes and ideas behind internationalization and localization in education. The study explores the global and local pressures on history curriculum in Israeli schools. Yemini (2013) makes the link between cosmopolitanism and internationalization in Palestinian-Arab secondary schools. Most importantly, Yemini approaches internationalization and cosmopolitanism as processes. Yemini finds that the international orientation of these schools is closely associated with the national conditions. Again, this research highlights the link between internationalization and cosmopolitanism and the importance of national level contexts in the adaptation of international and local school orientations.

Problems associated with internationalization also exist, such as lack of research on its influence on pedagogy and curriculum (Beck, 2012), changing economic conditions creating demand for internationalized education (Dronkers, 1993), and its role in reproducing social class (Weenink, 2009). Analyzing social groups, elite higher education institutions, and the state in France, van Zanten and Maxwell (2015) employed Weber and Bourdieu to assess how internationalization and its processes in elite higher education tracks has affected these relationships through the imposition of global norms in contrast to national principles. Research on internationalization's impact in local contexts is significantly lacking. Although some studies (Wang & Ho, 2012) juxtapose internationalization and localization, whether localization and internationalization are mutually exclusive or complementary factors remains largely unaddressed.

A research gap on internationalization exists in level of study (primary and secondary schools) and analysis of the influence of internationalization, positive and negative, in the unique educational contexts of international schools. The connection between internationalization as the schools' orientation, subsequent delivery and practice of this orientation, and its connection to cosmopolitanism is needed. Some studies have made this connection explicit (Weenink, 2009; Yemini, 2013; Yemini et al., 2014). Yet most overlook this connection, perhaps as a result of the persistent focus on internationalization in higher education rather than the influences of education's socializing power prior to higher education. Additionally, internationalization is often approached today as a global best practice (Hayden & Thompson, 1998). However, very little attention is given to the relationship between localization and internationalization. Are they mutually exclusive? Does internationalization demand localization? Thus, it is necessary to focus on both internationalization and localization orientations in international schools and how or if these factors co-exist in such contexts.

Cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is a system of dispositions characterized by openness towards cultural diversity, international experiences, intercultural learning, and foreign language competencies (Weenink, 2008). Cosmopolitanism is a vastly studied concept, a review of which is beyond the scope of this study. However, the aim of this synthesis is to identify the connection between cosmopolitanism and elite social class in existing literature as well as the internationalization of curriculum and language in fostering cosmopolitanism. Within the context of existing literature, the literature review ends with a discussion of cosmopolitanism in Egypt.

Cosmopolitanism and elites. As a result of uneven access to acquiring cosmopolitanism (Igarashi & Saito, 2014), studies often identify the relationship between cosmopolitanism and privilege. Rizvi (2005) identified this characteristic in his study on the development of cosmopolitan identities in international students enrolled in Australian higher education institutions. The study's participants arrived with already developed cosmopolitan sensibilities. Similarly, Kenway et al. (2013) describe the elite families with access to the globalizing elite school market in Hong Kong in cosmopolitan terms.

Elite families are already predisposed to cosmopolitan distinctions as a result of family reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984). For elite families these distinctions are often maintained through elite schools (Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2009). For the upwardly mobile, elite schools are a way to refine and accumulate cosmopolitanism (Hayde, 2011; Rizvi, 2015). This is exemplified by Windle and Noguiera (2015) in their examination of the differing strategies employed by privileged class fractions in Brazil to (re)produce social class positions through international education. Weenink (2008) found, however, that cosmopolitanism is best understood as agency, which guides cosmopolitan Dutch parents to seek cosmopolitanism for their own children through Dutch-English, internationalized streams of education. The theme amongst these studies is the fact that cosmopolitanism is largely reproduced through families, a process in which elite, international schools play a central role.

However, unlike cosmopolitanism and elite schools in the United States (Gaztambide-Fernandéz, 2009) and England (Maxwell and Aggleton, 2014), privileged students in non-western contexts face unique pressures around contextualizing cosmopolitanism locally. Peterson (2011) describes this process as localization. These challenges are examined by Peterson (2011) in Egypt and Kenway et al. (2015) in South Africa where the expectation is to be cosmopolitan in traditional or authentic ways. This pressure is exacerbated by the institutionalization of cosmopolitanism through the globalization of education. Igarashi and Saito (2014) analyze this process, and found that although the legitimization of cosmopolitanism is a global phenomenon, access to cosmopolitanism and subsequent benefits are significantly and problematically unequal. They acknowledge that access in most of the developing world is often through exclusive and costly international schools.

Cosmopolitanism and internationalization. The global-local tensions that privileged students face in elite, international school contexts are similarly present in the policies and practices of these schools. The fostering of cosmopolitanism is also identified in the international orientation of these schools, delivered through curriculum, language, and teachers. Research has identified a connection between cosmopolitanism and internationalization (Aguair & Nogueira, 2012; Hayden, 2012; Rizvi, 2015); English curricula (De Costa, 2014), English language instruction (Block, 2010), language and literacy practices (De Costa, 2014); and the role of international teachers (Tarc & Tarc, 2015). These inputs are seen as important carriers of legitimized forms of cosmopolitanism. Yet, national and local contexts as examined by Yemini et al. (2014) and Yemini (2012) in Israel highlight the importance of contextual particularities to its development. Contextual particularities will always shape the interplay between internationalization and cosmopolitanism in national and local contexts.

Cosmopolitanism in Egypt. The importance of cosmopolitanism to Egypt's privileged class and the role education played in its acquisition was previously discussed in the section on Egypt's historical background. This discussion highlighted the importance of cosmopolitanism, social class reproduction, and elite education. A significant body of scholarship on cosmopolitanism in Egypt focuses largely on the "cosmopolitanism from below" approach by Singerman and Amar (2006) and other scholars of Cairo.[3] Two contemporary examinations of cosmopolitanism today are useful for this study. These two studies examine the legitimized forms of cosmopolitanism, which define social class through Egypt's privileged cosmopolitans (Peterson, 2011) and less privileged female university graduates (Barsoum, 2004).

In Connected in Cairo: Growing up cosmopolitan, Peterson (2011) examined the influence of globalization on Egyptian society, and specifically, students' abilities to balance transnational forms of capital or goods through a process of localization. He specifically examined students with access to Egypt's elite educational track and their struggle to balance cosmopolitanism in local “authentic” ways. Barsoum (2004), on the other hand, focused on the convergence of home, work, and education in order to uncover how capital accumulation negatively influences female graduates’ participation in Egypt’s private labor force. Her findings indicate that employers determined what forms of capital were desired, namely, cosmopolitan dispositions that reflected the privileged class such as foreign language ability. Cultural and social capital rather than educational attainment were more influential in securing a job for female graduates. The evaluative criteria surrounding social class belonging in Egypt found by both Peterson (2011) and Barsoum (2004) is largely determined by transnational forms of capital or goods that persons can largely only acquire and refine through access to Egypt’s elite, international schools.

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[3] For a detailed discussion of the Cairo school of urban studies approach to cosmopolitanism, see Peterson (2011, Chapter 1, Section 6, Connecting in Cairo.).

Summary. Barsoum (2004) and Peterson’s (2011) findings in Egypt echo themes identified at the start of this discussion—the legitimizing power of the privileged class in determining and reproducing privileged group membership through cosmopolitanism. Complementing this process is the central and necessary role of elite, international schools and their orientation towards internationalization. What research has yet to determine, however, is how to define cosmopolitanism’s form. Contestations in research largely converge around understanding cosmopolitanism as capital or cosmopolitanism as habitus (Maxwell & Aggleton, 2014). To address this gap, however, an introduction to the study’s theoretical framework must be provided.

Theoretical Framework

The main research question driving this study—how does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students’ orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society—focuses on two main processes: socialization in elite schools and subsequent social stratification. Research on education highlights the usefulness of cultural capital theory to investigate the connections between elite educational institutions and covert and overt strategies surrounding social reproduction needed for this study (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Additionally, the complex socialization process, which constitutes actors and agents across micro to macrolevels, necessitates a theory that focuses on the values and struggles that take place within elite, international schools. A Bourdieusian framework has been utilized by many scholars to examine globalization forces in local contexts (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016; Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Kenway & Koh, 2015; Peterson, 2011; van Zanten et al., 2016; Weenink 2008, 2009).

Bourdieu's theories create an excellent global-local framework for connecting language, curriculum, education, and resulting social stratification. Specifically, he provides a model for investigating domination and reproduction of values and schemes associated with capital and habitus that influence, overtly and covertly, the ways in which we hierarchically structure and evaluate the world. As the literature review highlighted, elite, international schools, their orientation to internationalization, and ability to foster cosmopolitanism as a result will inevitably influence the connections privileged students have to local and global imaginaries and social reproduction.

Cultural capital theory. Cultural capital theory, and Bourdieu in particular, is often used to explore the reproduction of social class within elite education institutions. Bourdieu (1973, 1986, 1996), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Grenfell and James (2005), and other cultural capital theorists (Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Lareau & Weininger, 2003) provide a plethora of work connecting education and social structures. Through Bourdieu's extensive empirical research, he argues that the education system plays a key role in providing the means, as well as acting as a vehicle, for legitimizing the distribution of capital in society (1973). Although much of his research is in the French context, sociologists of education from around the world have employed his theories to frame their own research in local contexts (Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Lareau, 2011). Such work indicates the adaptability of these theories in differing cultural contexts including Egypt.

Other theories often overlook one or more of the variables under study. For example, human capital theory fails to take culture into consideration, focusing mainly on skills, academic achievement, and economic growth (Hanushek & Woessmann, 2012; Ramirez, Luo, & Schofer, 2006; Schultz, 1993; Sobel, 1978). World culture theory and neo-institutionalism are helpful for their focus on the spread of culture and transnational trends globally. However, excluding power as a main component of the theory makes it less useful for my purposes as it is necessary to understand the power relations between global and local forces at the microlevel.

Bourdieu's work. Bourdieu's sociological research changed the way in which many researchers approached society, education, and reproduction. In *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu breaks from traditional class analysis by analyzing status through both economic and symbolic systems and the way in which status manifests itself as social class differences (Weiniger, 2004). In relation to education, Bourdieu found that the education system legitimizes social practices of the elite by valuing and valorizing those who possess these forms of capital. In *The State Nobility* (1996), he expanded upon this and found that education systems validate and misrecognize the cultural capital of the dominant class, thus playing a vital role in reproducing and controlling scarce positions in society, a process approved and perpetuated by the relationship between the state and elite.

In *Foundations of a Theory of Symbolic Violence*, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) present their theoretical framework regarding how education in its totality maintains and reproduces the evaluative and cultural criteria based on power and the dominant class. They develop a theoretical framework for further research into the relationship between power, culture, and education through case studies in multiple disciplines including education outside of the French context. Bourdieu's work provides an important approach to uncovering not only educational inequality but inequality in the macrosociety, which has roots in education systems.

Finally, Bourdieu also brings the variable of language into his theories, which is of significance in post-colonial societies like Egypt where global and local demand for linguistic distinction exists. His most influential book on this subject, *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991), provides an important framework for the analysis of language, social class, and education that exists in Egypt. Bourdieu finds that linguistic exchanges disguise complex relations between the producer and consumer who determine the power and value given to linguistic practices and exchanges based on rules and values defined by micro- and macro-structures in relation to power:

> For Bourdieu, words are never just words, language is never just a vehicle to express ideas. Rather it comes as the product and process of social activity which is differentiating and differentiated; and thus, differentially valued within fields of social activity. Language is value-laden and culturally expressive according to standards of legitimacy and opposition to them [...] Bourdieu argues that language should be examined in terms of the relationships from which it is generated. 'No one acquires a language', he states 'without acquiring a relation to language.' (Grenfell, 2005, p. 72)

In conclusion, Bourdieu's research on the reproduction and legitimization of social structures frames the complex microlevel interactions. Social class reproduction, value judgments, and capital are vital to framing how these educational institutions provide advantages and disadvantages to privileged students depending on their positions in the field or audience they confront (Bourdieu, 1984). In this regard, Bourdieu's theories provide important insights into microlevel interactions and the role these institutions play in (re)positioning students in Egypt's society.

Operationalization. This section identifies the Bourdieusian concepts used to frame this study and describes in greater detail how they will be used as theory and qualitative method. Field and habitus are the pillars of Bourdieu's theory and practice. Previous research has often argued for the importance of analyzing field and the often understudied concept of habitus (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Mills, 2008), particularly in attempts to link micro and macro processes (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Bourdieu meant them as "conceptual tool[s] to be used in empirical research rather than an idea to be debated in texts" (Reay, 2004). However, in practice most researchers utilize Bourdieu's concepts theoretically rather than methodologically. The focus is often on capital rather than the systems of (re)production. Thus, field and habitus are fundamental to this study as indicated by Bourdieu:

> The relation between habitus and field operates in two ways. On the one side, it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of immanent necessity of a field (or of a hierarchically intersecting sets of fields). On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction: habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one's practice. (quoted in Grenfell, 1996, p. 44)

Field. Bourdieu's concept of field is more fluid, broad, and complex than traditional concepts of institutions. Field (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1990a; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) is largely the objective structure in Bourdieu's methodology which structures social space and represents caveats of social institutions. Field indicates social contexts where individuals act and obtain agency to act. These abilities are greatly influenced by an individual's habitus, which inculcates individuals with capital. Within the structured social space of fields, positions are determined by the distribution of different kinds of capital and participants' abilities to profit from differing forms of capital. Fields are fluid, interacting and intersecting with a variety of other fields. Field in relation to education can be understood as follows:

> A *field* site [is] the structurally identifiable space which marks out the sphere of social activity. [...] Education is a *field,* made up of identifiable interconnecting relations. It also involves 'gifts', [...]. It is governed by overarching principles; for example those to do with its purposes, or equality of access. These principles possess power which arises from the interplay between individual authorities who articulate them in an explicit manner (in this case, educational agents and agencies designated by the state) and the resultant acceptance and recognition conferred on them by educationalists both within and outside of the field. But no field ever exists in isolation, and there is the sense of fields within fields within fields. (Grenfell & James, 2005, p. 20)

Habitus. Habitus is the agency upon which individuals can activate, consciously or unconsciously, dispositions, capital, or modes of behavior upon which advantages or disadvantages can be ascertained. It encompasses dispositions, which are acquired, practiced, and a result of the possibilities and impossibilities of one's early life experiences (Reay, 2004). Habitus provides individuals with dispositions that reflect the social conditions in which they were acquired. These dispositions are generally inculcated at home and are often misrecognized as being legitimate competencies or abilities. Because such dispositions are acquired in childhood, individuals embody a feeling of comfort with early-acquired dispositions that can reap higher or lower rewards in institutional encounters as adults. Habitus is at times described as a system or machine:

> The habitus, as a system of dispositions to a certain practice, is an objective basis for regular modes of behavior, and thus for the regularity of modes of practice, and if practices can be predicted...this is because the effect of the habitus is that agents who are equipped with it will behave in a certain way in certain circumstances. (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 77)

Habitus is a subjective-objective tool meant to analyze both the individual agency and experiences of individuals and "also the objective structures which make this experience possible (Bourdieu quoted in Reay, 2004, p. 439). Most importantly for this discussion, Bourdieu envisioned habitus to be multilayered—from society, to collective classes, and individuals (Reay, 2004). The structured layers of habitus are largely objective and represent the logic of social class reproduction. This is an important component of the following study as it focuses on a particular privileged social group which is able to reproduce its social class position largely through the development of a cosmopolitan habitus which this field plays a significant role in producing.

Collective habitus. Understanding the collective habitus is necessary for examining individual habitus because it provides an understanding of the structured structures within this process and the interplay between past and present. The collective habitus identifies practices shared by members of the same group, the embodiment of which is often most distinctive to fellow members. Participants are often “better harmonised than the agents know or wish” (Bourdieu, 1990b).

> Habitus then ‘ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the ‘correctness’ of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms...habitus makes possible the free production of all the thoughts, perceptions and actions inherent in the particular conditions of its production—and only those.’ (Bourdieu quoted by Harker, 1992 p. 16)

Pedagogic habitus. It is necessary to analyze pedagogic habitus as it is postulated that the habitus at home, the foundation of an individual’s habitus, and the habitus at schools often interlink (Lareau, 2001; Lee & Bowen, 2006). Bourdieu stated that “in highly differentiated societies, two social agencies are primarily responsible for ‘inculcating’ cultural capital: the family and the school” (Weininger, 2004, p. 186).

The concept of pedagogic habitus represents knowledge reproduction as a value system reflective of the field. The pedagogic habitus is what defines legitimization of schemes in these schools. The pedagogic habitus within fields “generates knowledge that is valuable and valuing. Such a value system implies specific relations to knowledge and is inherently structured” (Grenfell, 2005).

The pedagogic habitus and field structure the qualitative analysis of students’ encounters inside and outside the field of international schools. Figure 5 as adapted from Bourdieu (1984), Grenfell (1996), and Grenfell and James (2005) describes the encounters between a student’s habitus and teacher’s pedagogic habitus. The dyad indicates an encounter by two individuals in the context of a field. They enter into these encounters with their own particular habitus which frames perceptions of legitimate knowledge and is culturally derived (Grenfell & James, 2005). In Figure 5, (1) indicates the objective structures (rules of the game) or fields within fields which comprise the structured system of an individual's habitus; (2) indicates the fact that habitus is structured and structuring, illustrated as generating systems and perceptions; (3) indicates systems produce and distinguish according to recongized values; (4) is the field or fluid space where activity takes place, which in turn conditions the individuals thoughts and practices expressed in (5) (Grenfell & James, 2005, p. 163).

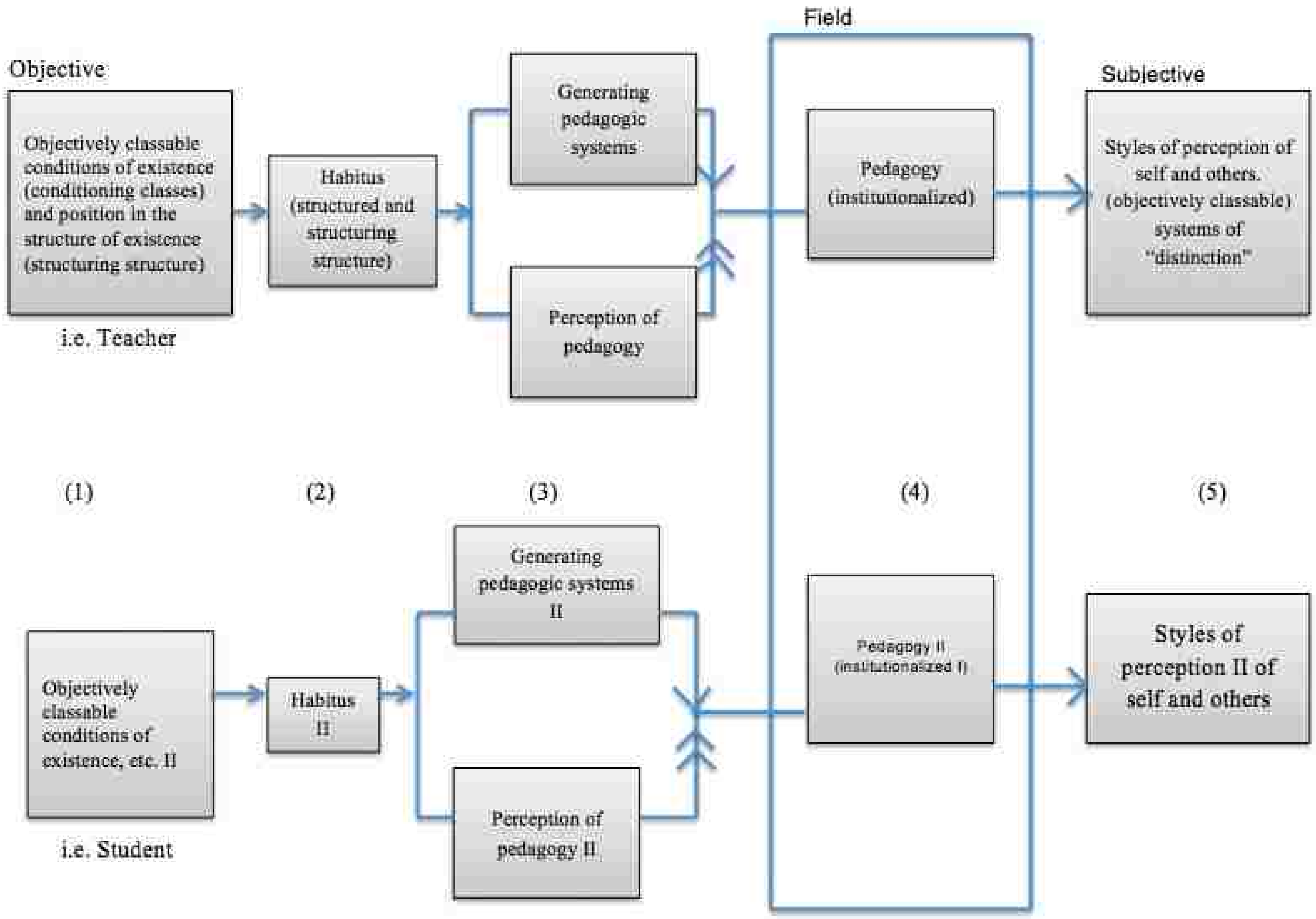
Field
Objective
Objectively classable conditions of existence (conditioning classes) and position in the structure of existence (structuring structure)
i.e. Teacher
Habitus (structured and structuring structure)
Generating pedagogic systems
Perception of pedagogy
Pedagogy (institutionalized)
Subjective
Styles of perception of self and others. (objectively classable) systems of "distinction"
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
(5)
Objectively classable conditions of existence, etc. II
i.e. Student
Habitus II
Generating pedagogic systems II
Perception of pedagogy II
Pedagogy II (institutionalized II)
Styles of perception II of self and others

Figure 5. Pedagogic habitus dyad. Adapted from Bourdieu (1984), Grenfell (1996), and Grenfell and James (2005).

Capital. Bourdieu identifies four different forms of capital: social capital (interpersonal relationships), economic capital (material wealth), symbolic capital (prestige, honor), and cultural capital (inherited skills, cultural goods, academic qualifications). This study utilizes two overarching categories to identify capital: transnational capital and local capital.

Transnational capital is a deterritorialized form of distinction and practices valued and beneficial in globalized settings and fields. The term transnational, rather than cosmopolitan, capital was chosen very purposefully. Not all capital coming from locations outside Egypt is necessarily open to foreign others, cultures, or localities as the definition of cosmopolitanism necessitates. By definition, transnational describes movement across *–scapes* (Appadurai, 1996), which reduces the presumption that these forms of capital indicate an “openness” to others. These forms of distinction are linguistic capital (foreign language abilities); educational capital (knowledge of foreign cultures, history, events); social capital (connections to foreign networks); and cultural capital (legitimate forms of “western” dress).

Transnational capital is juxtaposed with local forms of capital, such as Arabic linguistic capital; cultural capital related to religiosity and more traditional forms of dress; and educational capital such as knowledge of Egyptian heritage, culture, and history. The creation of these categories is also supported by the qualitative interviews and hierarchies which students themselves described.

This study does not simply identify manifestations of these forms of capital but analyzes the role schools play as a result of their orientations in enculturating an evaluative scheme that reflects the orientation of the school. Literature suggests that the orientation of schools towards internationalization would reinforce and reproduce a cosmopolitan habitus in students through their valorization of international language abilities, knowledge, and competencies. What influence this has on students' acquisition of local capital is unknown and further analyzed in the qualitative analysis.

Cosmopolitanism: Capital or habitus? In this study, cosmopolitanism is analyzed as an orientation deeply imbedded within students as a disposition and predisposition, or what Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) identifies as habitus. Although Igarashi and Saito (2014) and Weenink (2008) identified cosmopolitanism as capital, Maxwell and Aggleton (2014) point out the definitions and operationalization of cosmopolitanism in their research as much more similar to habitus. The necessity for approaching cosmopolitanism within the concept of habitus is identified by Maxwell and Aggleton (2014) in their work *Creating Cosmopolitan Subjects*:

> Thinking about cosmopolitanism as embedded within the habitus of certain classes or class fractions shifts our understanding of the term from a resource that is collected and used strategically, to a conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism as more deeply ingrained in the practices and identity narratives of specific subjects in the context of globalisation. (p. 4)

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) identify habitus as a system of dispositions. Since this study approaches cosmopolitanism as an orientation, habitus and its connection to a system of dispositions is appropriate. This approach is central to the qualitative analysis and utilizing Bourdieu as theory and method. The study thus postulates that although privileged students' frames of belonging are fluid, they are predisposed to a cosmopolitan orientation, which is refined as a result of elite, international schools' orientation towards internationalization. Understanding cosmopolitanism as an orientation in need of refinement is described by Weenink (2008) and here by Hannerz (1990):

> A more genuine cosmopolitanism is first of all an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It is an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural

> experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity. To become acquainted with more cultures is to turn into an aficionado, to view them as art works. At the same time, however, cosmopolitanism can be a matter of competence, and competence of both a generalized and a more specialized kind. There is the aspect of a state of readiness, a personal ability to make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting. And there is cultural competence in the stricter sense of the term, a built-up skill in maneuvering more or less expertly with a particular system of meanings and meaningful forms. (p. 487)

Hannerz described cosmopolitanism as a "state of readiness," an "aficionado." These are perceptions and potential actions which cosmopolitanism has structured into individuals, which organize their perception of the world. Cosmopolitanism as habitus helps analyze the advantages and disadvantages privileged students face when encountering fields guided by differing rules, or logic of practice, which determine values. In these encounters, fields differ greatly from the field of international schools. Thus, understanding the logic of practice in these encounters is necessary. The negotiations that take place in this process are undoubtedly different as a result of the different social spaces and subsequent value schemes recognized by each participant. The concepts framing this process are described next.

Connaissance, reconnaissance, meconnaissance. The analysis of values and exchange in markets is illustrated in Figure 6. This figure, adapted from Grenfell (1996), focuses on Bourdieu's terms *connaissance*, which is productive schemes of thought, and *reconnaissance*, or interpretive schemes of thought. Connaissance reflects the dominant and legitimized knowledge. Reconnaissance represents acceptance of this knowledge as dominant and legitimate and the ability to exchange this knowledge for benefits.

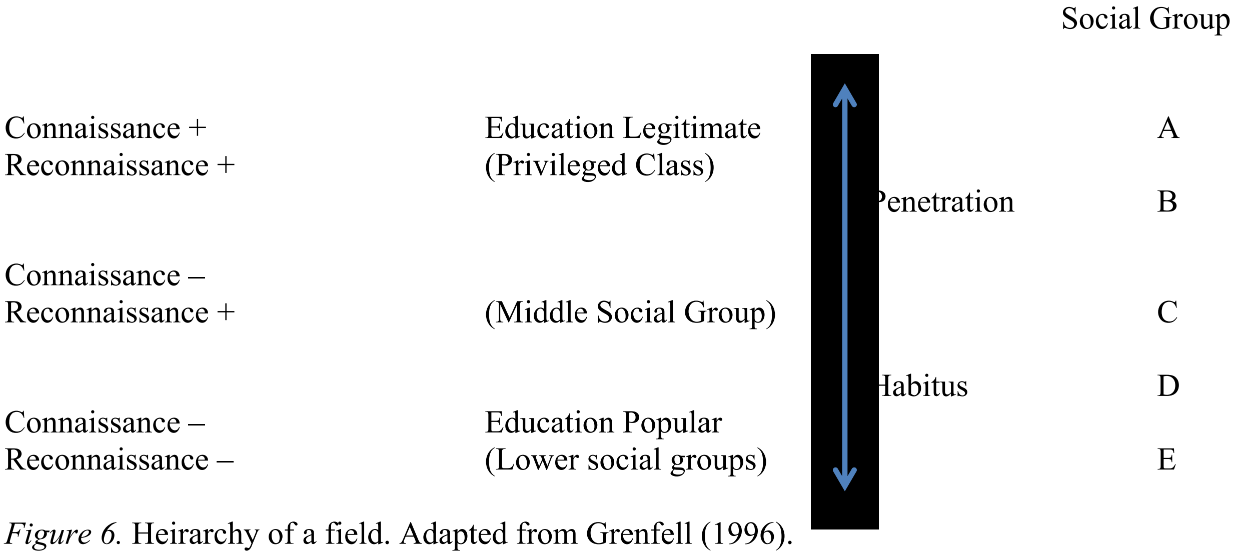
Social Group
Connaissance +
Reconnaissance +
Education Legitimate
(Privileged Class)
A
Penetration
B
Connaissance –
Reconnaissance +
(Middle Social Group)
C
Habitus
D
Connaissance –
Reconnaissance –
Education Popular
(Lower social groups)
E

Figure 6. Heirarchy of a field. Adapted from Grenfell (1996).

Figure 6 illustrates the hierarchy that exists in a field. At the top is the privilege class, which have the greatest volume of transnational capital. This is a result of their productive power, *connaissance,* and operationalizing such capital, *reconnaissance.* Habitus is central to this process, because the agency to produce, interpret, and act in legitimate ways comes from habitus. Those in the middle groups do not produce legitimate forms of transnational capital but accept the legitimate forms through their use of transnational capital. For the "popular" class at the bottom of the hierarchy, they lack both productive power and interpretive power largely as a result of lacking the habitus to interpret or operationalize capital in beneficial ways in this field.

Meconnaissance is misrecognition and it is fundamental to the reproduction of the social structure. Misrecognition is taking for granted an individual's status as it is attached to practices which are actually misperceived as legitimate or real when in reality they are the result of economic or cultural capital (Weininger, 2004). Misrecognition is a necessary element to the process of social reproduction by dominant groups. Together with symbolic power, they are vital to maintaining the status quo.

Symbolic violence and symbolic power. Symbolic violence and power are deeply connected to misrecognition. Symbolic violence is the capacity of a dominant group to impose their system of values on a dominated group through misrecognition, reinforcing the status quo of the social structure. Symbolic power is "the legitimating power that elicits the consent of both the dominant and the dominated" (Swartz, 1997, p. 89).

Symbolic violence is also present in daily pedagogical encounters. These encounters reproduce the dominant culture, and as a result reproduce the structure of power relations within a social formation in which the dominant system of education tends to secure a monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence. It is described as the following:

> If words come imbued with authority and prescribed meaning, they impose legitimate definitions in a way that does not tolerate non-orthodox versions; one form dominates, the other is suppressed. In this way, one social groupings' definition of meaning is established at the expense of another's, even though the latter may be perfectly valid. [...] Pedagogic language can be seen in these terms; as the product of a particular field context. As such, it will be governed by what is valued in that field, what is legitimate, what is excluded. This is apparent, not only in the language of an interaction, but the whole site—the time and place such exchanges take place—and the way a particular field connects with other fields within education. (Grenfell & James, 2005, p. 78)

Summary. I end with a discussion on the practical implementation of the above concepts in this study by revisiting the global-local model in Figure 7 below. Bourdieu's work analyzes interconnected social systems and as such the discussion of the components in the global-local model are not intended to limit the theoretical concepts but provide a simplified visual aid regarding the focus between the theory and processes. Capital largely includes, but is not limited to, the inputs, and habitus is largely concerned with the orientation of schools and students. Cosmopolitanism within the concept of habitus is an embedded system of dispositions and competencies, which predisposes individuals to an openness to foreign others, cultures, and localities as well as provides the structures to operationalize these competencies with fluidity and ease. Finally, the social space studied is identified as the field of international schools. Additional fields are explored in the students' (re)positioning experiences. Additionally, misrecognition, legitimization, and symbolic power are largely associated with the macro to microlevel arrows on the right and the (re)positioning of participants into the social structure with the arrows on the right.

International students and their families are invested participants or players in the field of international schools. The field has an agreed upon, legitimate set of practices, or a logic of practice, governing it. The field of international schools is a site of exclusive and highly sought after forms of capital identified in the literature review as, but not limited to, foreign languages, international diplomas, and cosmopolitan dispositions. Capital acquired in this field can be exchanged or converted in other fields. However, the local, less cosmopolitan fields privileged students encounter outside their schools will undoubtedly be defined by differing rules of practice and conversion rates.

The goal, therefore, through the mixed methods approach used in this study is to identify through quantitative data the capital and practices that shape the collective and individual habitus of privileged students and orientation of elite, international schools. What is the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt? The previous literature review suggests internationalization is emphasized at the expense of localization in elite, international schools.

What global and local inputs have the greatest significant influence on this process? Identification of significant predictors of school orientation, student orientation, and differentiation inform the examination of the logic of practice in this field and subsequent reproduction of social stratification through differentiation based on symbolic power. The literature review suggests that curriculum, teachers, and language play the most significant role in determining a school's orientation. Thus, the hypothesis predicts foreign inputs, and specifically teacher composition and diploma type, to be the greatest predictors of Egypt's elite, international schools' orientation towards internationalization. National inputs focused on the exposure to the Arabic language and national context, which are hypothesized to be the greatest predictors of localization.

Literature suggests the home, in particular, but also international schools provide students with cosmopolitan characteristics. Thus, the hypothesis states that home and internationalization are the greatest predictors of cosmopolitanism. Finally, students' homes as well as the orientation of schools are complementary. Thus, status indicators are acquired and refined through both resulting in greater differentiation. However, literature also suggests that localization can encourage connections and cohesions. Thus, localization negatively influences differentiation.

To understand the outcome of these processes and variables, the following qualitative questions are explored: What role do international schools play in legitimizing and cultivating cosmopolitanism in these privileged students? How do privileged students interpret and use the skills and dispositions acquired and refined in their international schools?

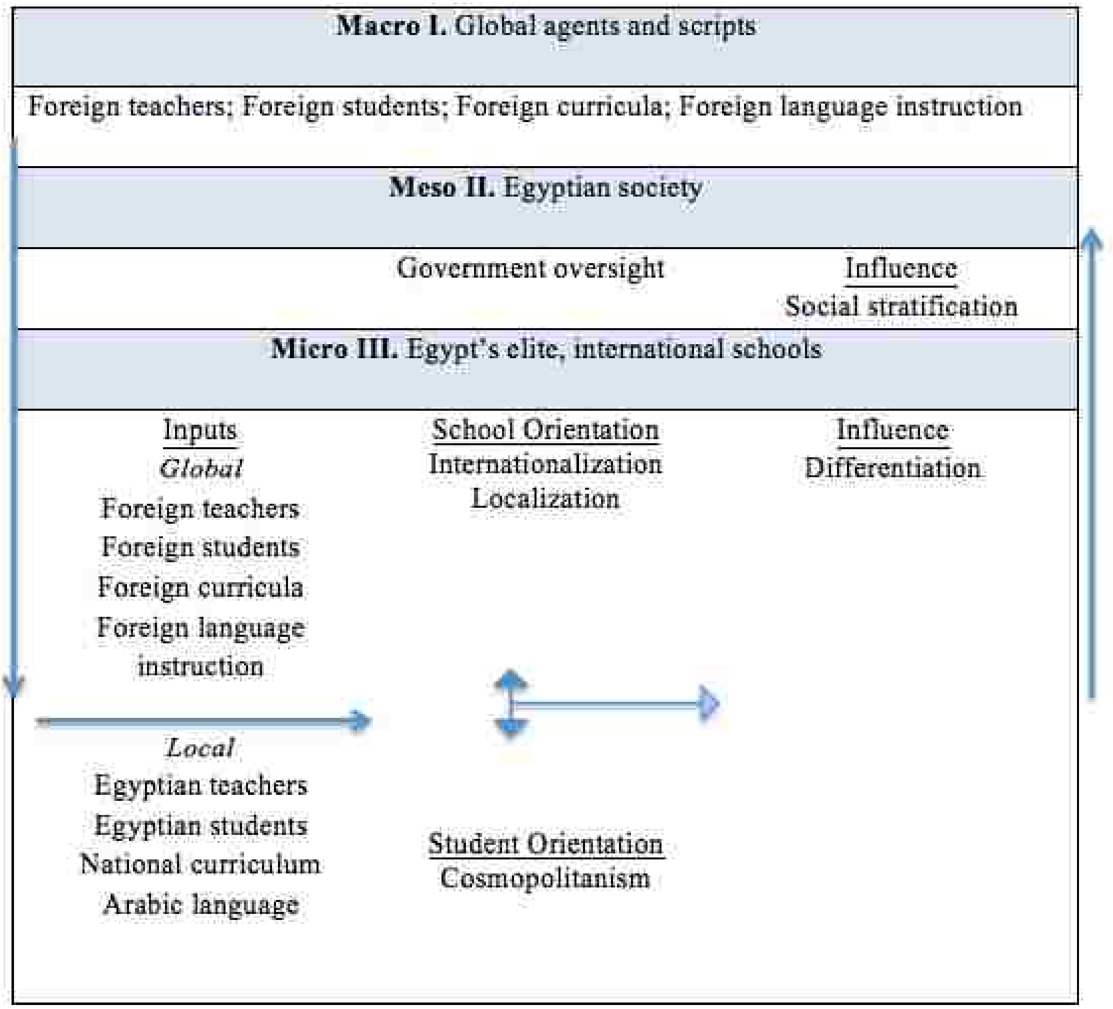
Macro I. Global agents and scripts
Foreign teachers; Foreign students; Foreign curricula; Foreign language instruction
Meso II. Egyptian society
Government oversight
Influence
Social stratification
Micro III. Egypt's elite, international schools
Inputs
Global
Foreign teachers
Foreign students
Foreign curricula
Foreign language instruction
Local
Egyptian teachers
Egyptian students
National curriculum
Arabic language
School Orientation
Internationalization
Localization
Student Orientation
Cosmopolitanism
Influence
Differentiation

Figure 7. Global-local model.

Chapter Three: Methodology

To explore the global-local connections present in Egypt's elite, international schools, this study utilizes a mixed method, vertical case study approach. The goal is to understand how the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influences Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society. The advantages of using a mixed methods approach are two-fold.

First, mixed methods provide a broad yet balanced approach to deconstructing the phenomenon under study. Specifically, the quantitative analysis utilizes larger data sets to provide evidence of the institutional and student orientations and inputs through survey data[4] and multiple regression analyses, the foundation of the study on which the qualitative analysis builds. The qualitative analysis balances the research design by utilizing narratives and perceptions of the students influenced by this phenomenon for an in-depth description and synthesis of these schools and this privileged group. These narratives focus on students' schooling experience and experiences of transition after schooling through semi-structured interviews. Specifically, the qualitative questions investigate students' repositioning into the national level of society, the global-local tensions that arise in this process, and how this tension shapes students' sense of belonging within Egypt's society.

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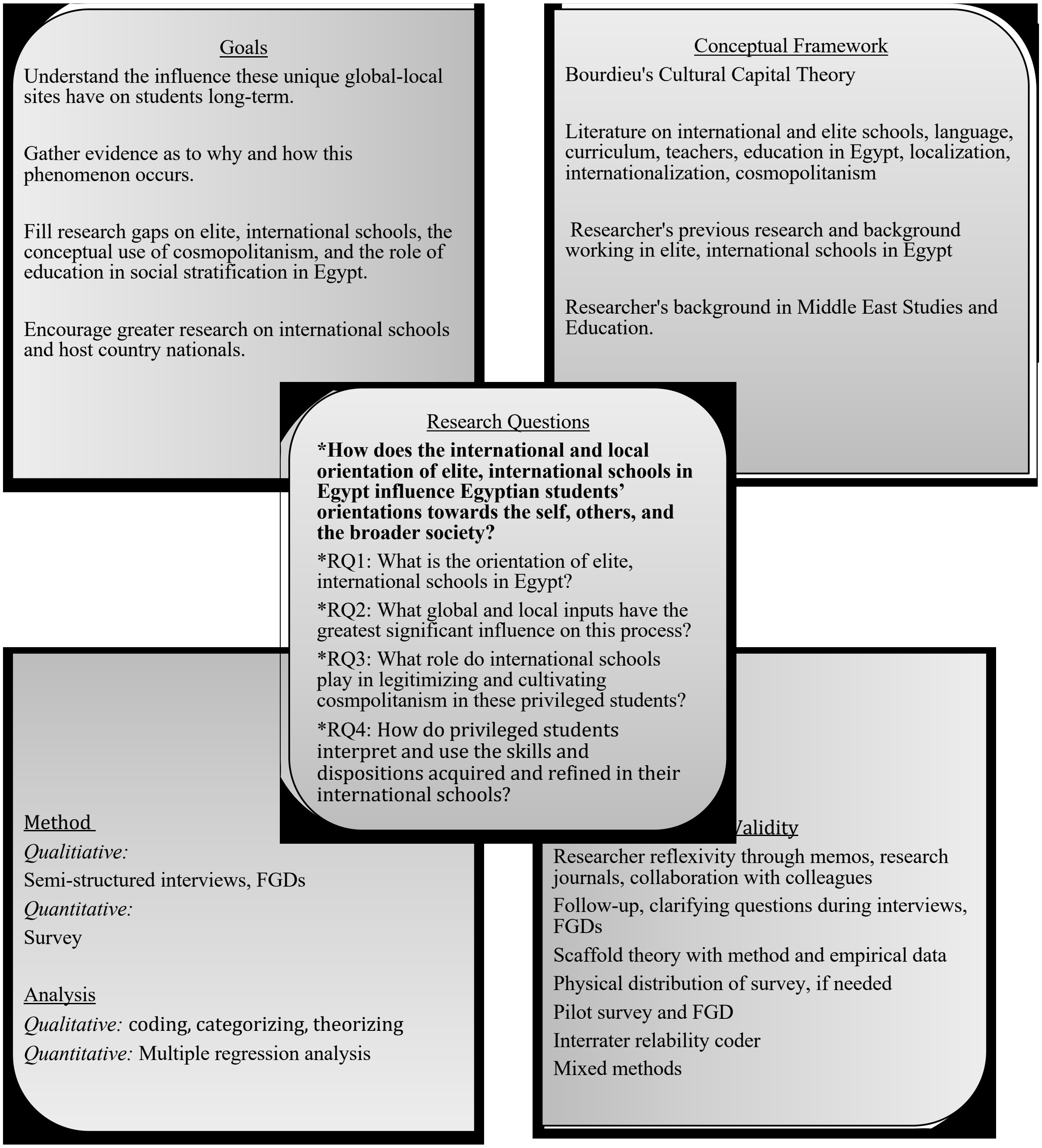
[4] Survey and interview questions are available in the Appendix A and B.

Second, a mixed methods approach increases the reliability and validity of the study through triangulation of data and findings. The quantitative methods that use survey data inform and support the qualitative methods, based on interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). The survey data provides a broader understanding of the influence of these schools. These results were subsequently used for more targeted, in-depth questioning and recruitment of participants during the qualitative data collection. Additionally, mixed methods provide access to a large number of alumni through the survey, providing multiple perspectives on lived experiences during and after schooling, the influence of these experiences, and a large amount of general background information on this severely understudied social group. The use of semi-structured interviews and FGDs provides additional sources of evidence that can corroborate trends and observations, provide alternative explanations, or explore rival explanations all of which increase internal validity (Yin, 2013).

Although this research seeks to corroborate theoretical concepts related to cultural capital theory within Egypt's field of education, as well as examine the role of elite, international schools in social stratification, the findings are not truly generalizable as the case study is specific to Egypt and this particular population. However, the use of theory and the model developed is intended to increase external validity for the purpose of undertaking similar studies that could be used for cross-national comparisons.

Figure 8 below describes the research design and maps the critical elements, which will be discussed in this chapter. As the goals and conceptual framework have been discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Two, respectively, the following discussion focuses on the quantitative and qualitative methods. Particular focus will be placed on ensuring validity and reliability as well as describing the participants, measures, research design, and procedures for the quantitative methods and qualitative methods, separately.



Goals

Understand the influence these unique global-local sites have on students long-term.

Gather evidence as to why and how this phenomenon occurs.

Fill research gaps on elite, international schools, the conceptual use of cosmopolitanism, and the role of education in social stratification in Egypt.

Encourage greater research on international schools and host country nationals.

Conceptual Framework

Bourdieu's Cultural Capital Theory

Literature on international and elite schools, language, curriculum, teachers, education in Egypt, localization, internationalization, cosmopolitanism

Researcher's previous research and background working in elite, international schools in Egypt

Researcher's background in Middle East Studies and Education.

Research Questions

***How does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society?**

*RQ1: What is the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt?

*RQ2: What global and local inputs have the greatest significant influence on this process?

*RQ3: What role do international schools play in legitimizing and cultivating cosmpolitanism in these privileged students?

*RQ4: How do privileged students interpret and use the skills and dispositions acquired and refined in their international schools?

Method

Qualitiative:

Semi-structured interviews, FGDs

Quantitative:

Survey

Analysis

Qualitative: coding, categorizing, theorizing

Quantitative: Multiple regression analysis

Validity

Researcher reflexivity through memos, research journals, collaboration with colleagues

Follow-up, clarifying questions during interviews, FGDs

Scaffold theory with method and empirical data

Physical distribution of survey, if needed

Pilot survey and FGD

Interrater relability coder

Mixed methods

Figure 8. Research design map. Adapted from Maxwell (2013).

Quantitative Methods

A 52 item self-developed survey was used to gather descriptive and inferential statistics to frame the study. The main goal of this research is to approach the phenomenon through the understudied perspectives of host country nationals who are now alumni of these international schools. Both descriptive and inferential statistics, hierarchical regression, were used.

Participants

Institutional Review Board (IRB) clearance was received from both the American University in Cairo (AUC) and Lehigh University to conduct research with human subjects. Participants were Egyptian graduates of international schools in Egypt who are current students or alumni of AUC. With new relational experiences as a result of transitioning into new fields, alumni will be faced with new contexts that force a potential reconstruction of their sense of belonging.

Socioeconomic background. Participants in this study are largely from Egypt's privileged class. This argument is supported by what their educational credentials represent, the economic capital to pay the tuition of expensive private, international schooling as well as AUC's 2018-2019 tuition rates of approximately 577USD per credit hour (AUC Admissions, 2018). This educational trajectory is extremely expensive and out of reach for a majority of Egyptians. The connection between AUC and international schools in this educational trajectory is apparent in the survey responses by school type indicated in Figure 9 below. Only 13% of AUC's 2017 freshman class matriculated with an Egyptian national diploma (AUC Office of Data Analytics and Institutional Research, 2017).

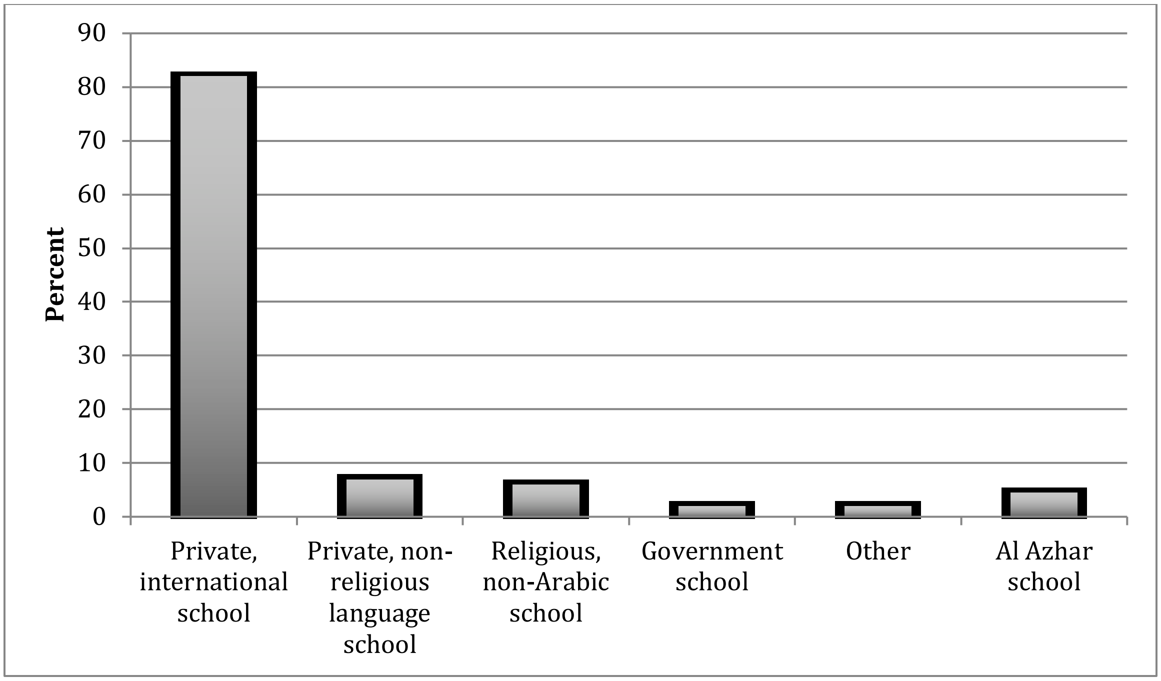


Figure 9. School type for survey respondents.

Parental levels of education as well as occupations also support the privileged status of respondents. Parental levels of education are indicated in Figures 10 and 11. Both figures indicate that respondents come from families with high levels of educational capital. Only 16 respondents stated their mother had a secondary school degree (6.4%) or less (0.5%) in comparison to 213 respondents who stated their mother had a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) or Bachelor of Science (B.S.) degree (67.6%) or higher (25.5%). Regarding fathers, only eight respondents stated their father had a secondary school degree (2.5%) or less in comparison (0.5%) to 220 respondents who stated their father had a B.A. or B.S. degree (61%) or higher (36%).

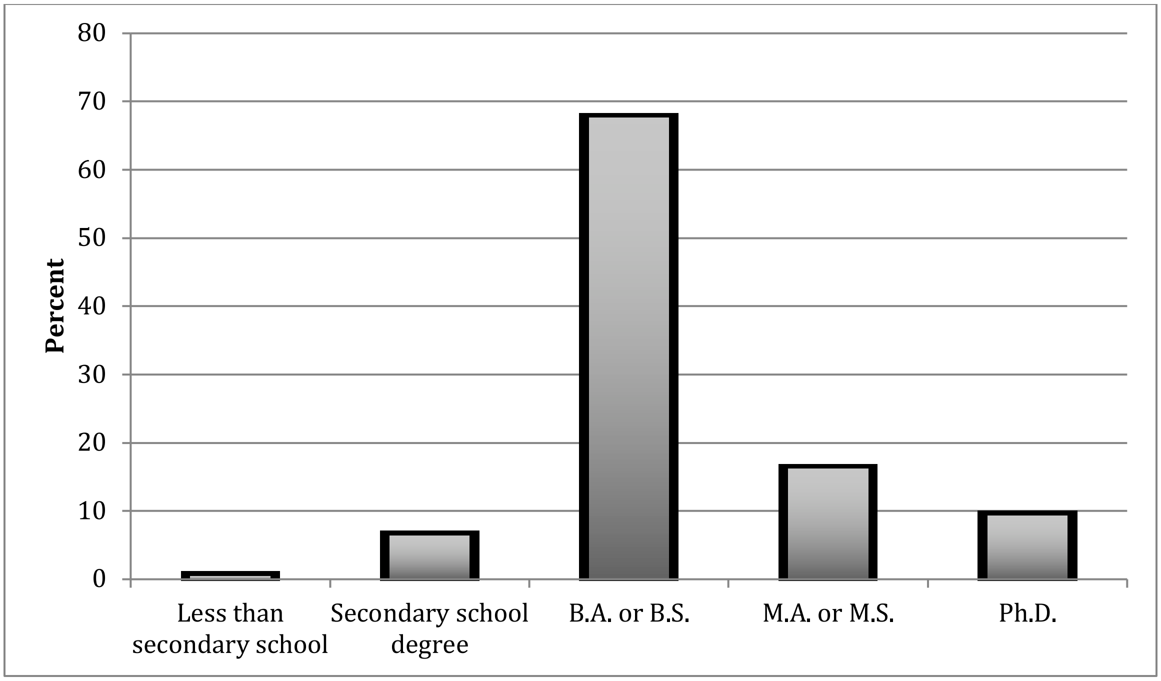


Figure 10. Mother's education level for survey respondents.

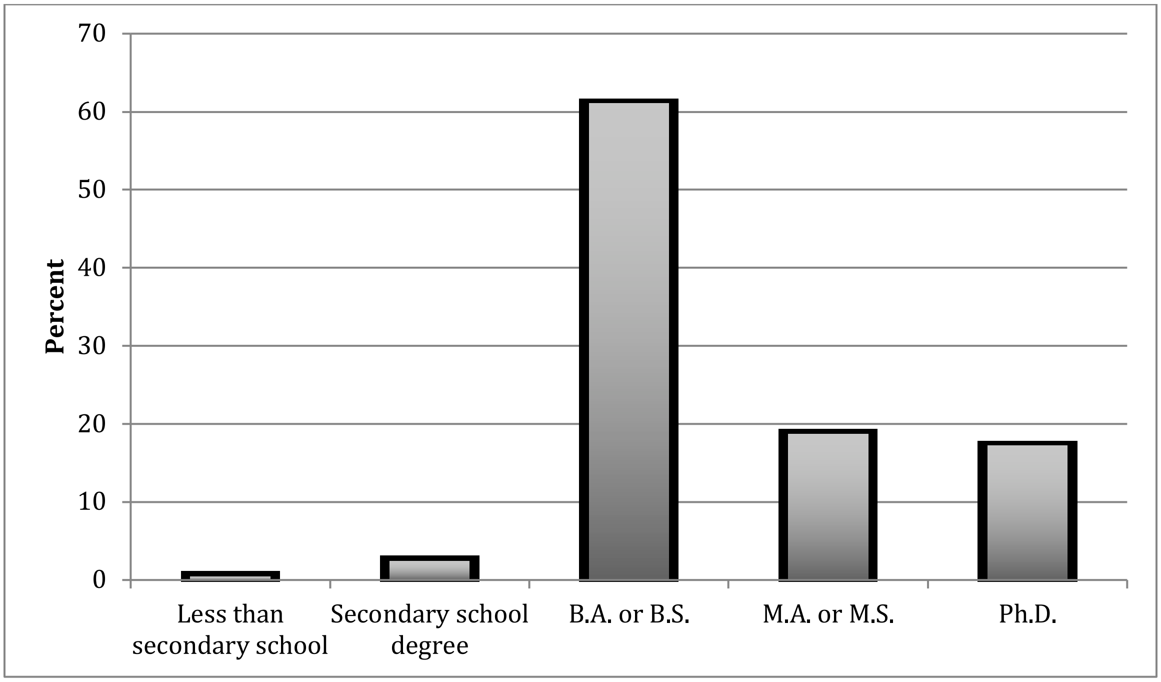


Figure 11. Father's education level for survey respondents.

Father’s occupation was included as one of the indicators of within-group socioeconomic status (SES). Use of the father’s occupation rather than mother’s occupation is because of the patriarchal nature of Egypt’s society which largely places more socioeconomic importance on the male’s occupation (Assad & Arntz, 2005; World Bank, 1992). Results of father’s occupation are provided in Figure 12. Occupation levels are categorized as low (0%), mid (19.3%), mid-high (45.5%), and high (35.3%).

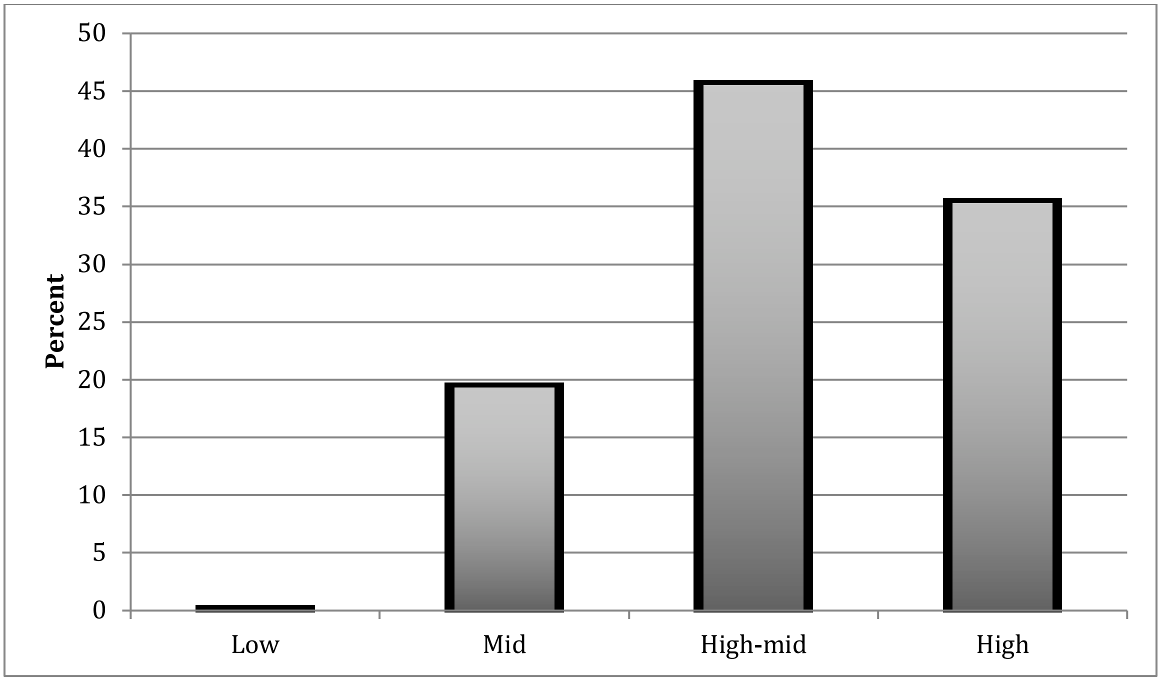


Figure 12. Father’s occupation.

Additionally, unpaid household labor was a significantly large response for mother’s occupation, and thus, it would be difficult to utilize as a proxy for SES. Approximately 42% of all survey respondents stated their mother’s occupation was unpaid household labor. The actual number is likely even higher given that some respondents simply left the question unanswered (*n* = 13) or stated not applicable (*n* = 9), indicating that it is possible they perceived the question as not applicable because their mothers are currently not working.

Representativeness. All respondents were Egyptian, although 16%, or 39 respondents, had passports from another country. However, birth tourism[5] is often practiced amongst Egypt's privileged class. To identify more precisely students who may be bicultural, a proxy for internationalized home environment was created. This was determined based on whether students have a passport from another country and speak a language at home other than Arabic. Approximately 9%, or 23 respondents, identified as coming from an internationalized, bicultural home environment.

Participants were largely current AUC students as illustrated in Figure 13 below. Accordingly, 81% of survey respondents were current undergraduate students. It is necessary to emphasize that a significantly high percentage of responses were from current undergraduate students. This supports the usefulness of AUC's student profile and factbook (AUC Office of Data Analytics and Institutional Research, 2017) to compare the population based on AUC's Egyptian undergraduate population (N = 5,327) and the sample of survey respondents (*n* = 251). The inclusion of additional participants from Egyptian AUC graduate students (3%) and alumni (16%) was necessary due to the difficulty in distributing the survey electronically through AUC, which will be addressed in the forthcoming section.

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[5] Birth tourism is traveling to another country, notably the US and Canada, for the purpose of giving birth and obtaining citizenship.

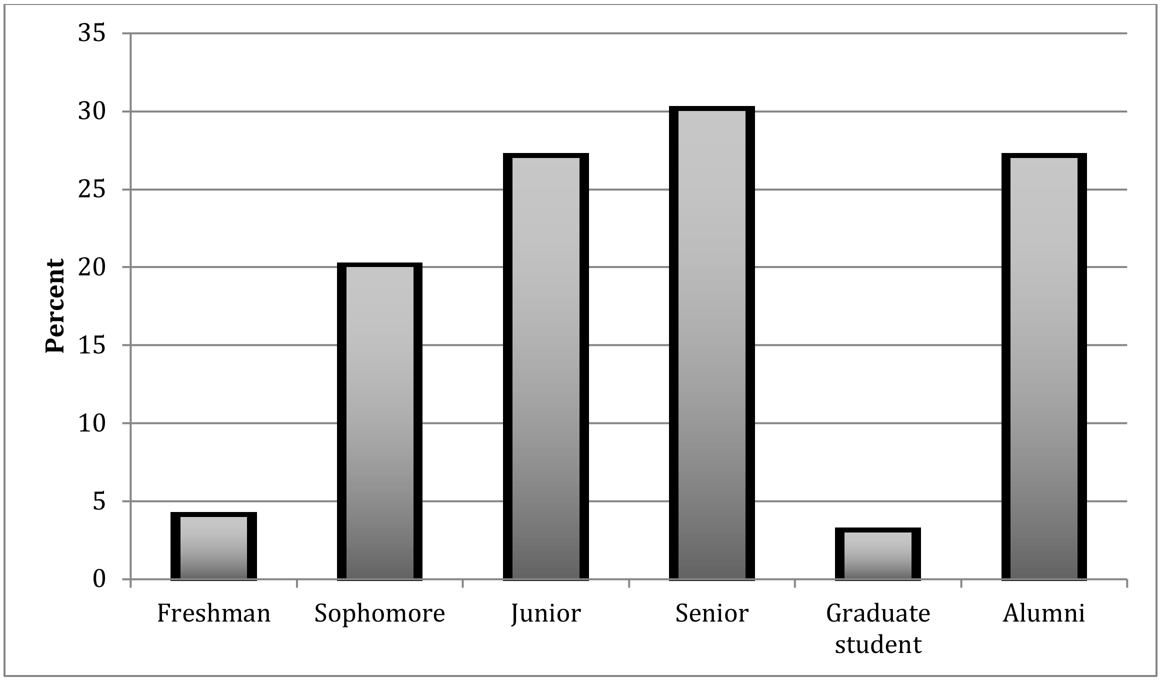


Figure 13. Current university level for survey respondents.

To highlight the survey's representativeness of the population, descriptive statistics for AUC's undergraduate student body and survey respondents are provided. Figure 14 indicates AUC's 2017 incoming freshman class profile by secondary school degree and survey respondents, by percentage. The data from AUC and the survey respondents reflect similar trends, with the American diploma and the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) diploma being most common amongst AUC students. Results of the French, German, and International Baccalaureate (IB) diplomas are also comparable.

Figures 15 indicates the gender profile for AUC's undergraduate student body in the fall of 2017 and for survey respondents. There was a disparity between the gender profile of AUC students and survey respondents. However, the percentage of 30% male and 70% female was still valid for analysis purposes. Oversampling females is commonplace as literature suggests females are more likely to respond than males (Fowler, 2014) and this is further compounded by the larger female population at AUC. Additionally, literature on this topic and the reseach focus do not suggest a gender-specific component. Results from the Pearson's correlation provide additional support for this assumption as a significant correlation between gender and independent and dependent variables was not detected. As such, gender was not included in the overall analysis so the discrepancy related to gender did not significantly influence the results. In summary, the survey participants were largely representative of AUC's undergraduate student body.

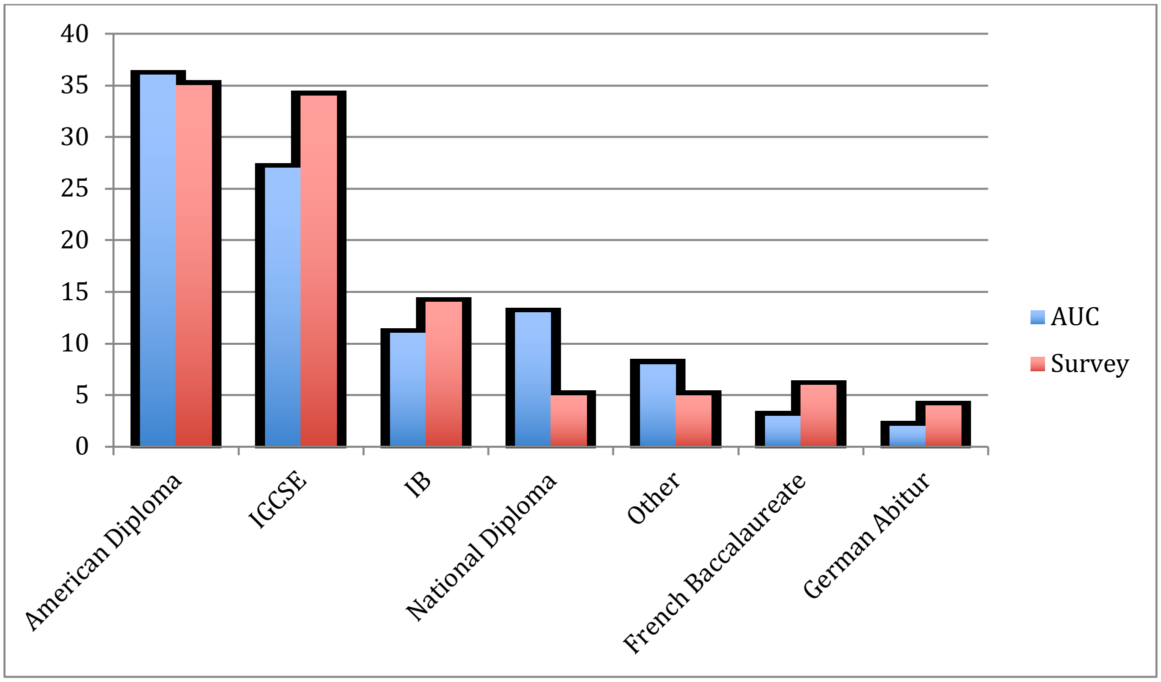


Figure 14. Diploma type by percent for AUC students and survey respondents. AUC students are represented by column one and survey respondents are represented by column two.

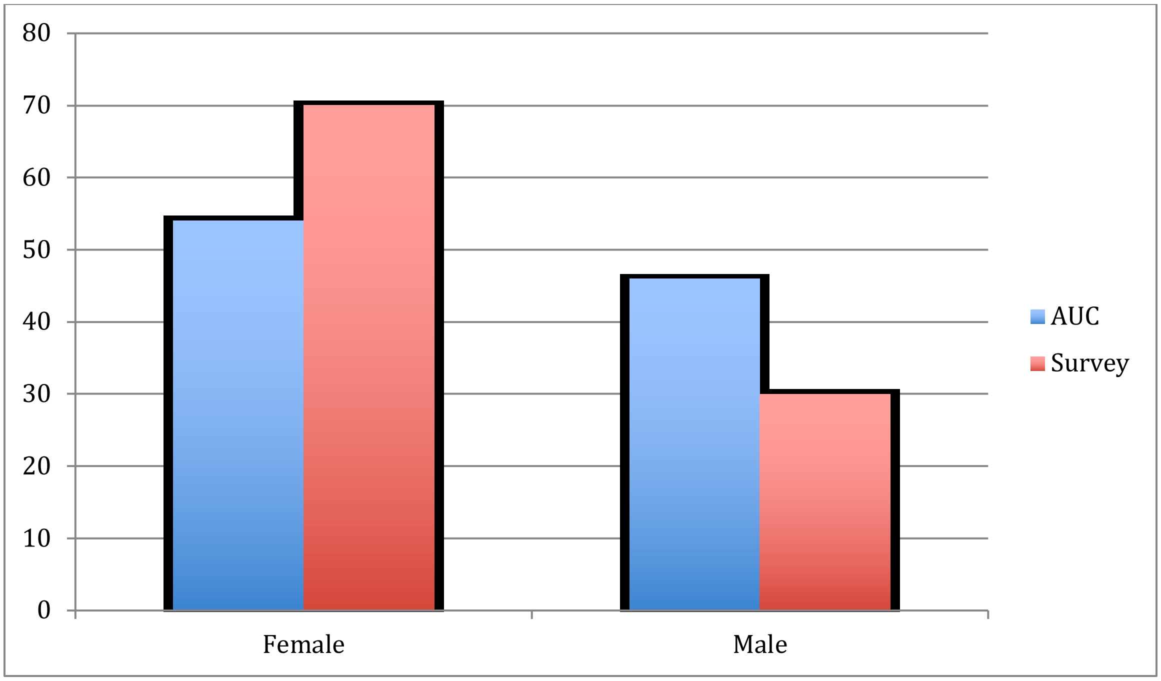


Figure 15. Gender by percent for AUC students and survey respondents. AUC students are represented by column one and survey respondents are represented by column two.

Sample selection. In the recruitment process, criteria for participation explicity stated that participants must be Egyptian, a graduate of a secondary school in Egypt, and a current or former student at AUC. I recruited, through both random and convenience sampling methods, public and private school students. Attending a private, international school was not required to participate in the survey as I felt it was not necessary to restrict participation during the data gathering phase. Including those who are not members of the target population also increases efficiency of the sample frame (Fowler, 2014). Additionally, gathering data on public school students at AUC would also provide supplementary data from the perspectives of public school students, if needed.

The multiple regression analyses only used data from participants who attended international schools, as the study requires. I differentiated responses, identifying those responses which fit the parameters of participation in my study—those from graduates of international schools—through three survey questions. Using three survey questions allowed for certainty regarding the distinction between those who meet the parameters of this study. These questions asked participants what type of school they graduated from, the name of the school they graduated from; and what type of diploma/s they earned.

Sample size. The sample size used for the multiple linear regression analyses was *n* = 238. Of the total responses (N = 251), one survey was removed as an outlier because of the respondents age. Two surveys were removed because, according to the survey responses, the respondents did not graduate from secondary school in Egypt. The remaining ten were removed because they were partially completed.

The initial goal for sample size was *n* = 355 with a confidence interval of 0.05 and confidence level of 95%. This ideal sample size was determined by calculating the approximate number of Egyptian students at AUC who had matriculated with a foreign secondary school diploma (N = 4,655). This number was calculated with information available publicly online through AUC’s factbook webpage. The population of AUC’s undergraduate student body who matriculated with a foreign diploma is approximately 4,899 students. I calculated the average number of students who enrolled each year for the previous four years with a foreign diploma (89.5%). I then further restricted that number by removing foreign students from the population based on the average number of foreign students in AUC’s student body (5.5%).

Although I did not reach the initially anticipated response rate, a sample size of *n* = 238 is still reliable for running the quantitative analysis. First, the comprehensiveness of the sampling frame was increased through distributing the survey on campus on multiple different days throughout the spring semester. I largely recruited participants during the assembly hour, when all students had a break from classes and congregated in the commons areas. Second, descriptive statistics above indicate the sample was largely representative of the population. Third, I went to great lengths to ensure sampling bias was reduced by recruiting respondents in all schools at AUC. For example, I had difficulty recruiting participants from the School of Business. In response, I made efforts to recruit participants through random selection in the geographical area of the School of Business. I also distributed the survey in two classes which were general elective courses for undergraduate students. The professor stated the students came from a variety of different disciplines and Schools. Additionally, I recruited participants through random selection in areas of the univeristy where a diversity of students congregate, such as the Student Union, student lounges, and activity centers.

Missing data. As previously stated, approximately seven responses were removed because they were partially completed. Any remaining missing data was coded (777 = no answer; 99 = don't know; 66 = not applicable). In the statistical analyses, concerning missing data, cases were excluded listwise.

Site

The site for the survey distribution was the American University in Cairo (AUC). AUC is a private, American liberal arts university located in Cairo, Egypt. It was initially established in 1919. AUC's initial campus was in downtown Cairo at the site of Egypt's uprisings which began in January 2011, Tahrir Square. Following the movement of Egypt's elite schools, AUC has recently opened a new main campus in the suburbs of Cairo. The initial mission of the university was two-fold: "One was a commitment to propagating American educational principles of liberal arts and the other was to teach the language and heritage of the Arab world within this new liberal context" (Mehrez, 2010, p. 93). According to Mehrez (2010), the liberal educational component is increasingly under question, as well as its controversial role in forming Egypt's most elite class.

Although graduates of international schools may enroll in other private or public universities in Egypt or abroad, AUC has often been used as the site to access Egypt's privileged class (Hinnebusch, 1982; Mehrez, 2010; Peterson, 2011; Russell, 1994). AUC is known to be the oldest foreign, private university in Egypt and caters to Egypt's elite class (Mehrez, 2010; Russell, 1994). Both knowledge of the English language and extremely high private tuition fees exclude most of Egypt's population. This university is often referenced by employers and job placement agencies of multinational and private companies looking for top employees (Barsoum, 2004). Therefore, AUC is an important form of symbolic capital for students after graduation. For example, 44% of AUC graduates find employment in multinational corporations, 38% in local, private firms, 9% in non-governmental organizations, 5% are self-employed or have a family business, and only 3% work for the government or military (AUC Career Center, 2017).

Procedures

The fieldwork started with pilot focus group discussions and interviews to pilot the survey. This was to ensure sampling validity–that the survey focused on all important issues related to the phenomenon understudy. One focus group discussion with three participants and two individual interviews took place in the pilot phase. Additionally, the survey was distributed electronically to 10 participants who reported feedback and were subsequently removed from the sample population before official distribution. Recommendations and discussions from the pilot phase were included and adjustments made accordingly. The survey and descriptive statistics for survey questions can be found in Appendix A.

Survey distribution. The survey was distributed electronically and physically through the assistance of AUC and various contacts in the faculty, staff, and student populations. The survey was electronically distributed at AUC via professors willing to distribute it using their listservs. Additionally, the survey was posted to the AUC's alumni Facebook page. Admittance to the Facebook group requires alumni to provide the group administrators with proof of past enrollment such as a copy of their certificate or student ID to gain admittance. This helps ensure that members are AUC alumni.

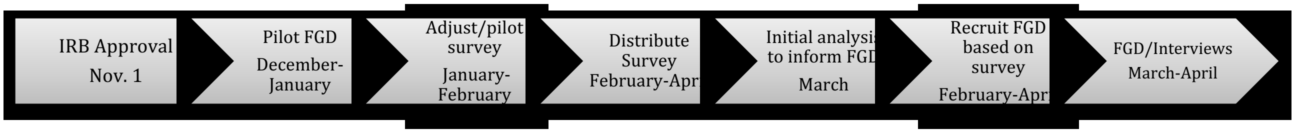
Finally, the survey was electronically distributed to potential participants via snowball sampling with contacts forwarding the survey link via email, WhatsApp, and text message. The survey was created and distributed via a link generated through Qualtrics. Qualtrics also allowed me to limit the number of times participants could take the survey to one. If a participant responded to the survey electronically, a follow-up email was automatically sent thanking them for their participation and providing my contact information for any participants interested in participating in an interview or focus group discussion related to the survey topic.

A total of 50 responses were generated electronically. Responses were calculated using Qualtrics. The total survey response was n = 251. The remaining responses (n = 201) were gathered through physically distributing the survey at AUC's campus. This was done through both samples of convenience and random sampling. Random sampling was done by asking random students on campus if they would volunteer to complete my survey. This method also allowed me to target males when it became clear that I needed more male respondents. Random sampling also allowed me to recruit a diversity of respondents by targeting a variety of differing areas of the university campus where students gather.

The sample of convenience method was done through contacting university professors in different schools and departments at AUC, asking if they would be willing to provide me 15 minutes of class time, typically at the end of class, to ask if students would be willing to voluntarily complete my survey. To ensure that students felt no obligation to complete the survey, and thus maintain voluntary participation, I usually came into the classrooms at the end of class, so the professor could leave the classroom.

During the 15 minutes, the purpose of the study was explained. Students were told the criteria for participation that they must be Egyptian and have graduated from a secondary school in Egypt. I then distributed the survey to students and said that anyone who did not want to complete the survey could simply turn it in at the end of the class period unfilled. Students were instructed not to put any identifying information on the survey and to turn it in upside down on a table next to the door to ensure no one was aware of who did or did not complete the survey. As the class period ended, I also had a separate signup sheet for any students interested in providing me with their contact information to partake in an individual interview or focus group discussion.

Data. The electronic responses were downloaded from Qualtrics and combined with the physically distributed surveys. These surveys were given an ID number and I manually entered the data into SPSS for statistical analysis. The survey data was cleaned and checked a second time to ensure the response input was correct. As I finished distributing the surveys, I began conducting my interviews and focus group discussions. Figure 16 below presents the data analysis timeline, which includes both quantitative and qualitative analyses.


IRB Approval
Nov. 1
Pilot FGD
December-January
Adjust/pilot survey
January-February
Distribute Survey
February-Apr
Initial analysi
to inform FGD
March
Recruit FGD based on survey
February-Apr
FGD/Interviews
March-April

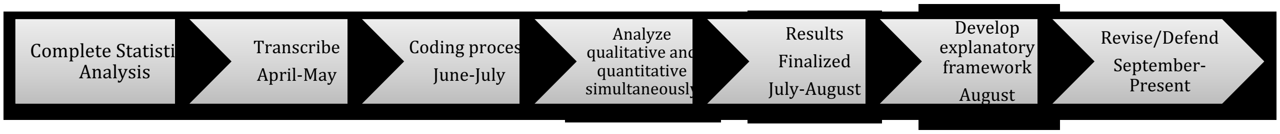

Complete Statisti Analysis
Transcribe April-May
Coding proces June-July
Analyze qualitative anc quantitative simultaneousl
Results Finalized July-August
Develop explanatory framework August
Revise/Defend September-Present

Figure 16. Timeline for data analysis November 2017 thru October 2018.

Measures

The quantitative instrument used for this study was a 52-item self-developed survey. This survey can be found in Appendix A. The questions were developed to gather general information about this social group, since so little exists, as well as capture evidence related to each component of the process: inputs, orientations, and influence.

Survey design. The survey consisted of two parts. The first part asked general background questions focused on gathering demographic information as well as information related to social class, home, and school environments. The second part included a four-point Likert scale asking participants' level of agreement with the statements provided. Each statement corresponded with the dependent variables internationalization, localization, or differentiation.

Previous studies support the choice of a four-point Likert scale and omission of a nonresponse category. In a study investigating the optimal number of response categories using categorical data when measuring psychoeducational constructs, Lee and Paek (2014) found that scales of four to six produced similar results "with only differences of about .02 averaging across different measures of reliability, validity and correlations" (p. 670). Additionally, studies on the use of forced choice, not giving respondents a no opinion choice, have shown that including a no opinion choice does not offer substantial advantages nor does excluding it reduce data quality (Lavrakas, 2008). Additionally, according to the satisficing perspective, not all no opinion or nonresponse choices reflect nonattitudes. Rather withholding such an option will encourage respondents to complete the necessary cognitive work needed to answer the question (Lavrakas, 2008).

Reliability and validity. The survey was designed with input from experts in the Comparative and International Education department at Lehigh University and experts in the field of education in Egypt. It was also influenced by previous surveys by Russell (1994), Ezra (2007), and Wang and Ho (2012). The survey was piloted before distribution to clarify any potential misunderstandings that might arise related to definitions and understanding of the questions or directions. Based on the survey pilot and suggestions from experts, necessary adjustments were made accordingly. This process improved the internal consistency and reliability by ensuring a pattern of similar responses to the indicators was established. The appropriateness of the questions used to determine localization, internationalization, and differentiation are supported by the alpha levels provided in Table 3 below.

Table 3

Cronbach's Alpha for independent variables

	Localization	Internationalization	Cosmopolitanism	Differentiation
Cronbach's Alpha	.7	.7	.5	.6

Cronbach's Alpha was run for each of the five dependent variables to assess reliability: localization (.7), internationalization (.7), cosmopolitanism (.5), and differentiation (.6). Despite the cosmopolitanism and differentiation variables being slightly lower than the generally accepted threshold of .7, literature (Field, 2013) states that lower levels of alpha do not necessarily indicate unreliability of the measure. This is particularly true with larger datasets. Additionally, results from the Pearson's correlation matrix, which can be found in Appendix C, support the influence internationalization as predictors of cosmopolitanism and differentiation supporting the reliability of this variable.

Localization and internationalization. Wang and Ho (2012) developed the factors used to inform the questions measuring internationalization and localization. In their research on internationalization and localization in Taiwan, they used Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP). Through AHP, they calculated the importance of different factors to the overall process they were studying, internationalization in primary education in Taiwan. They identified four important strengths of using AHP: "It helps to elicit opinions from experts; it appropriately allocates weights to individual elements; it validates the consistency of the ratings; and, finally, it is easily combined with other techniques to perform further analysis (Saaty, 1980; Cheng, Li, & Ho, 2002; Davies, 2001)" (cited in Wang & Ho, 2012, p. 41).

Although specific alpha levels were not given, their research found the weight for each factor listed here in descending order of importance: Appreciation of Other Cultures (.166); International Communication Ability (.161); World Citizenship (.149); Valuing Local Culture (.148); Cultural Innovation (.118); National Identity (.108); Traditional Knowledge (.082); and Understanding International Affairs (.067) (Wang & Ho, 2012, p. 42). These results and previous study indicate the appropriateness of theses constructs and dimensions for this study as they have previously undergone tests for construct validity through use in prior research analyzing a similar phenomenon.

The structure, as reproduced in Figure 17 below, was used to code relevant questions under the dependent variables internationalization and localization to improve validity. The definition of each factor is provided below as adapted from the work of Wang and Ho (2012).

The flow chart begins with the constructs, internationalization and localization. It then moves into the criteria and the subsequent factors associated with each.

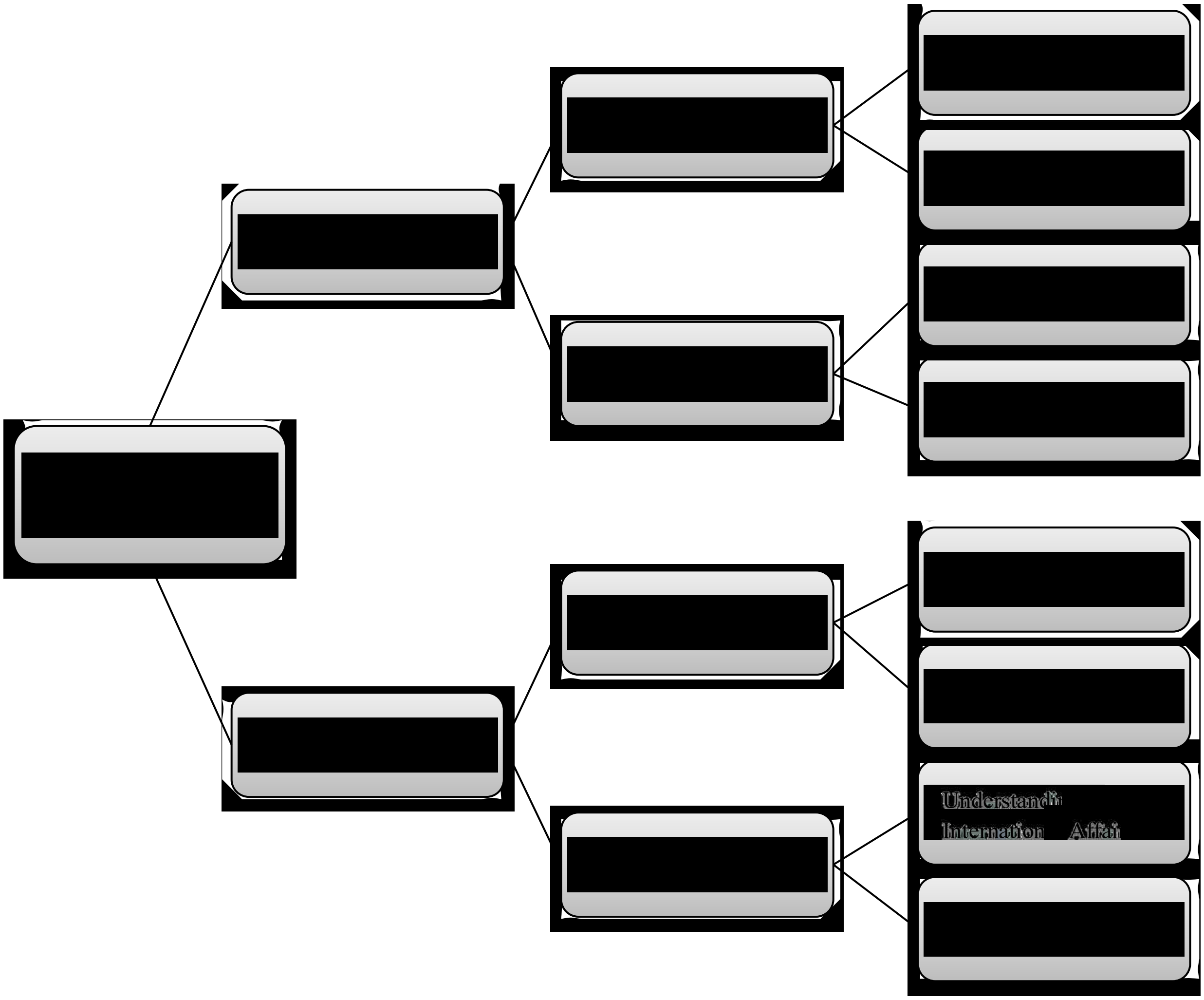


Figure 17. Localization and internationalization construct design. Adapted from Wang and Ho (2012).

Under the criteria of cultural transmission is cultural innovation and traditional knowledge. Cultural innovation is the process of modifying your society through innovation, discovery, and contact. Traditional knowledge is knowledge or skills passed down from generation to generation in your community or country. Under the criteria of self-identity is valuing local culture and national identity. Valuing local culture is valuing local Egyptian culture. National identity is your sense of belonging to Egypt. Under the criteria of international awareness is appreciation of other cultures and world citizenship. Appreciation of other cultures is showing respect towards cultures other than your own. World citizenship is your sense of belonging to the global community. Under the criteria of international competitiveness is understanding international affairs and international communication ability. Understanding international affairs is having awareness of events and issues outside your own country. International communication ability is being able to speak other languages like English.

Cosmopolitanism. The dependent variable cosmopolitanism is based on two dimensions of cosmopolitanism described by Llopis-Goig (2013). Llopis-Goig analyzed the relationship between levels of cosmopolitanism and political consumers. Cronbach's alpha level for symbolic cosmopolitanism was 0.798, and for experiential comsopolitanism cronbach's alpha was 0.742. These dimensions include symbolic cosmopolitanism and experential cosmopolitanism and are based on an understanding of cosmopolitanism as dispositions. They are often identified as ordinary cosmopolitanism, or behaviors and practices that are used in everyday life (Llopis-Goig, 2013).

Symbolic cosmopolitanism includes symbolic competencies, largely foreign language use, and geographical mobility, such as international travel or desire to live abroad. Experential cosmopolitanism relates to circumstances and experiences. In this study, this includes internationalized home environment. These are participants who have a passport from another country and speak a language other than Arabic at home. The dependent variable cosmopolitanism generally identifies an orientation as it relates to deeply embedded dispositions. They are performatively practical, yet the production and interpretation are deeply imbedded. An example of this system is the preference of foreign language use in communication and media over Arabic.

Differentiation. On the otherhand, differentiation is relational and an important component in social stratification. Differentiation is a broader construct that measures the influence of the socialization process on privileged students in these international schools. The goal is “to determine the main principles of differentiation necessary or sufficient to explain or predict the totality of the characteristics observed in a given set of individuals” (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 3). In this study, the characteristics I am trying to observe as predictors of differentation are the relational roles and positions within society. The cosmopolitan factors are the practical orientations; whereas the questions concerning belonging are relational, and focus on participating with other social classes. Thus, they are inseparable for a comprehensive understanding of differentation. Specific focus was placed on including questions concerning language as a means of social inclusion or exclusion prevalent in post-colonial societies like Egypt (Bourdieu, 1991; Pennycook, 1998).

Thus, the differentation variable is comprised of the previously discussed cosmopolitan constructs as well as five questions concerning belonging. These questions largely focus on individual, group, and collective representations (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). The questions’ focus on international schools and language as a means of belonging is supported by literature which results in loss of local connections (Wettewa, 2016) and creation of emotional associations or language loyalty (Fernando, 1977). The coding for these questions can be found in Appendix D. The research design and use of survey data for statistical analyses as well as definitions and construction of independent and dependent variables are now discussed.

Research Design

The self-reported survey was used to gather descriptive statistics regarding the population under study as well as to conduct a multiple linear regression analysis. The descriptive statistics were used to answer RQ1: What is the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt? This data was collected from section three of the survey, which used Likert scale questions. For RQ2: What global and local inputs have the greatest significant influence on this process?, multiple linear regression was chosen because of the complex explanatory potential of multiple independent variables. Specifically, I used a hierarchical regression method whereby the predictor variables were entered based on previous research and the research questions. First, independent variables were identified based on previous literature and supported by the Pearson's correlation matrix. Independent variables were categorized into hierarchical steps.

Variables. The following section identifies and defines the independent and dependent variables used in the quantitative analysis. Along with definitions, coding methods are detailed regarding constructed variables. The dependent variables in this study are internationalization (INT), localization (LOCAL), cosmopolitanism (COSMO), and differentiation (DIFF). The independent variables used in the regression analyses were determined based on literature and appropriateness for the research question. The independent variables categorized as student inputs (STUDENT) include: university level (UNI), mother's education (MEDU), father's education (FEDU), mother private school (MPR), father private school (FPR), father's occupation (FOCC), mother's language (MLANG), father's language (FLANG). Independent variables categorized as foreign inputs (FOREIGN) include: diploma type (DIPLOMA), teacher composition (TEACHER), student composition (STUDENT), and national curriculum exemption (NATEX). Independent variables categorized as national inputs (NATIONAL) include: Arabic frequency (ARFRQ), attended Arabic school(ARSC), and localized international school (LOCSC).

Dependent Variables. There are four dependent variables: localization, internationalization, cosmopolitanism, and differentiation. The coding for the independent and dependent variables is located in Appendix D. A four-point Likert scale on questions concerning dependent variables was used to gather a more precise measurement of alumni perceptions of their school's focus on localization, internationalization, and sense of belonging factors for differentiation. However, differentiation, cosmopolitanism, and internationalization variables also included questions not measured on a Likert scale.

Internationalization and localization. Internationalization (INT) and localization (LOCAL) are identified as school orientations, processes which take place within the schools. Internationalization is defined by the following constructs: appreciation of other cultures, international communication ability, understanding international affairs, and world citizenship. Localization is defined by the following constructs: cultural innovation, national identity, traditional knowledge, and valuing local culture. Survey questions were thus identified as proxies for one of these internationalization or localization constructs. The questions were created using the construct design in Figure 17, previously discussed.

Internationalization is defined as educational policy and practices that transcend the nation by focusing on intercultural and international aspects in the mission, function, and delivery of education (Knight, 1996). Not all questions associated with internationalization were measured on the same scale. Thus, responses were converted to z-scores. The range for Internationalization was 11.98.

Localization most often refers to the contextualization of international trends in education within local schools and communities in ways that are relevant to the social values, knowledge, and norms of the community (Cheng, 2005). Localization questions were all measured on the same 4-point Likert scale. The range for localization was 14.

Cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitianism (COSMO) is an openness to foreign others, cultures, and localities (Igarisho & Saito, 2014). It is an orientation that students are predisposed to through their home environments (Peterson, 2011) and that is enculturated further as a result of their international school experience (Hayden, 2012; Igarisho & Saito, 2014). The goal of using cosmpolitanism first as dependent variables is to identify which variables, home and school, have the greatest significant influence on students' orientation towards cosmopolitanism. This variable is comprised of questions concerning choice of language use in communications, media, preceived influence of language skills on job opportunities, desires to live abroad, international travel, and internationalized home environment. Not all questions for cosmopolitanism were measured using the same scale. As a result, these responses were converted to z-scores. The range for cosmopolitanism was 25.85.

Differentiation. Differentiation (DIFF) is identified as the outcome or influence of the socialization process in these international schools determined by school orientations, school inputs, and student inputs. The variable is a composite variable determined by cosmopolitanism and questions associated with belonging as measured by individual, group, and collective associations related to schooling and language. Not all questions for differentiation were measured using the same scale. As a result, these responses were converted to z-scores. The range for differentiation was 36.43.

Independent variables. Independent variables represent student inputs such as factors associated with the home environment and socioeconomic standing. These student inputs (STUDENT) are as follows: university level, parents' education, parents' private school, parents' language, father's occupation. Variables associated with foreign school inputs (FOREIGN) are as follows: national curriculum exemption, diploma, teacher composition, and stuent composition. Variables associated with national school inputs (NATIONAL) are as follows: localized international school, frequency of Arabic, and attended Arabic school.

These variables were chosen based on literature and their importance to the research question. Additional support for the choice of independent variables can be found in the Pearson's correlation matrix in Appendix C. A majority of the independent variables included are statistically significantly correlated with the dependent variables. Detailed information on the coding methods used to develop all variables can be found in Appendix D.

Student inputs. These variables are indicated in the regression equations by the collective variable STUDENT.

University level. University level (UNI) is included as a student variable. This variable serves as both a demographic variable as well as a means to examine if alumni's perceptions of school orientation or influences of schooling change based on their university level. Alumni and current students of AUC are used because such new relational experiences often encourage participants to reflect upon their time in school. With transitioning into new fields, such as work, they are faced with new contexts that force a potential reconstruction of their sense of belonging and reflection on their schooling experience. The range was 5.

Parents' education. Parent's education (FEDU/MEDU) is traditionally used as a measure for socioeconomic status. A variable for both the mother and father's education level are included in the analysis. Choices ranged from less than secondary school to PhD. The range was 4 for father's education and 4 for mother's education.

Parents' private school. Literature (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) indicates a foundational connection between family social class and schools in reproducing intergenerational social mobility and educational outcomes. Thus, a respondent's mother or father graduating from a private school (MPR/FPR) is included as a form of parental educational capital. This variable was a dichotomous variable and was determined by using the responses indicating what type of school respondents' mothers and fathers attended. Responses indicating their parents attended a private, international school; private, non-religious language school; or religious, non-Arabic school were coded as 1 = yes. Reponses indicating government/public school, Al Azhari school, and did not complete secondary school were coded as 0 = no. Other was coded as 1 = yes, only if the answer included the name or type of school that could be defined as private. The range for both was 1.

Parents' language. Additional home variables included in the analysis are associated with language. Again literature (Bourdieu, 1991; Pennycook, 1998) supports the importance of language, or linguistic capital, in post-colonial societies as an indicator of status. Additionally, access to linguistic capital particularly in the developing world is significantly restricted and limited to the elite class (Igarashi & Saito, 2014). Father's language and mother's language (FLANG/MLANG) are categorical variables. The variable was determined by asking respondents what language their mother/father primarily speaks at home. The range for both was 4.

Father's occupation. The use of the father's occupation (FOCC) rather than mother's occupation is because of the patriarchal nature of Egypt's society, which largely places more socioeconomic importance on the male's occupation (Assad & Arntz, 2005; World Bank, 1992). Additionally, unpaid household labor was a significantly large response for mother's occupation, and thus, it would be difficult to utilize as a proxy for SES. Approximately 42% of all survey respondents stated their mother's occupation was unpaid household labor. Occupation levels are categorized as low, mid, mid-high, and high. The range was 2. The coding scheme for father's occupation can be found in Appendix D.

Foreign school inputs. These variables are indicated in the regression equations by the collective variable FOREIGN.

National curriculum exemption. This variable identifies the international schools that are exempt from including national curriculum classes in their curricula (NATEX). These include: Cairo American College, Lycée Français du Caire, Schutz American School, New Cairo British International School, and British International School in Cairo. The school is either under the official jurisdiction of the embassy, affiliated in some way with an embassy, or requires a foreign passport for admission. This is a dichotomous variable coded as 1 = yes and 0 = no. Interviewees often identified these schools as being at the highest point of the international school hierarchy. The range was 1.

Diploma. The diploma type (DIPLOMA) indicates differences that may exist based on the certificate obtained by students as a proxy for curriculum. Diploma type is a categorical variable. Diploma is a form of institutionalized cultural capital. Institutionalized cultural capital often appears in the form of academic qualifications whereby a collective agreement based on the process one undergoes to get that certificate institutionalizes your cultural capital as guaranteed, or officially recognized, capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). Diploma also indicates if there is any predictive value based on school system as the differing types of diplomas represent different school systems and values from Europe or North America. The range was 8.

Teacher and student composition. Teacher (TEACHER) and student (STUDENT) composition were determined when participants were asked if a majority of their teachers/classmates were foreigners, Egyptians, or both. Since teacher and student composition are important inputs in the school environment, it is necessary to determine if they have influence on this process. Teacher composition also reflects the influential role teachers play in legitimizing and creating the value judgements present in these schools. The range was 2 for both.

National school inputs. These variables are indicated in the regression equations by the collective variable NATIONAL.

Localized international school. This variable is defined as the level of the school's relationship with the national context (LOCSC). The coding of these schools into this hierarchy was based on a sythesis of literature regarding the definition of international schools (Hayden & Thompson, 2013, 2016; James, 2016). Figure 18 below illustrates the level of national to international environment present within schools. The categories were adapted from Hayden and Thompson (1995).

The choice of categories and definition proved to be extremely difficult. There does not seem to be a definition or scale of international schools that is appropriate for Egypt, and perhaps many developing world context. This was largely due to the fact that most of the literature on international schools largely necessiates that a "true" international school must predominately include internationally mobile expatriate students who largely come from the developed world in which these corporations are located. By these static definitions, host country nationals are almost assumed to be a deterent from being a “true” international school. These limited definitions do not encompass the diversity and experiences of international schools in countries like Egypt.

As a result, I adapted the categorizations regarding the Venn diagram below to fit the Egyptian context. These categories originally identified the level of intesity of international living, which started at permanent relocation then residing and finally experiences and simple awareness (Hayden & Thompson, 1995). As it became difficult and rather subjective to separate the schools in circles 3 and 4, I combined these schools into one category, identified as circle 3. The categories below focus on the intensity of the schools relationship to the national context. This is identified through curriculum, teachers, as well as my own investigation of the schools’ websites when additional information was needed.

A school is identified as being closest to the national context if they employ only Egyptian teachers, include national curriculum classes and/or have a national school section alongside their international school. Many schools include a variety of sections from which parents can choose. For example, a system of language schools might have a British section, American section, and national section. These schools are identified in circle 3 below.

Schools that employ largely foreign teachers, deliver a foreign curriculum, and do not include a national section are included in circle 2. These schools also are required by Egyptian law to teach the national curriculum classes in Arabic, religion, and national history. Finally, circle 1 includes all schools that have a majority foreign teaching staff, teach only a foreign curriculum and do not teach any national curriculum classes. The range was 3.

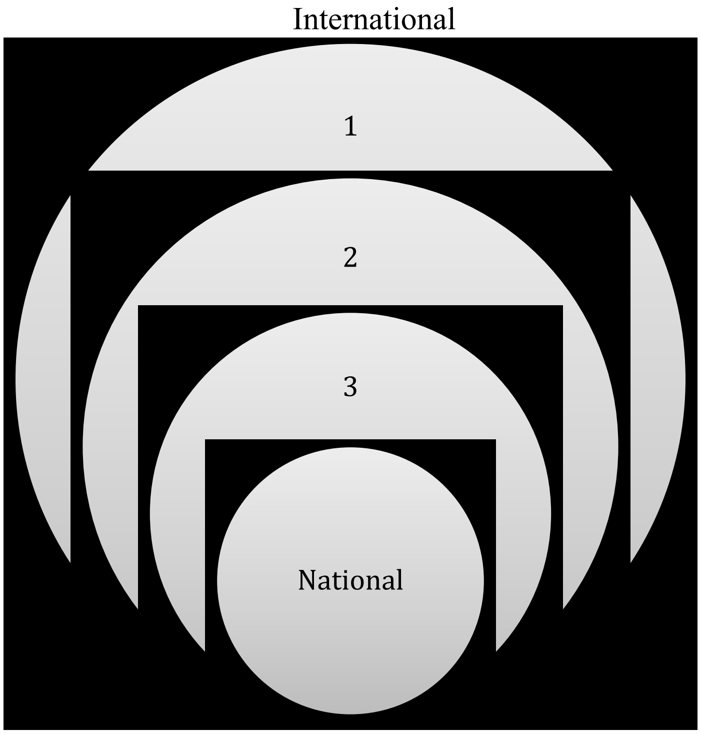


Figure 18. Schools' relationship to the national context. Adapted from Hayden and Thompson (1995)

Frequency of Arabic. Both research literature (Bassiouney, 2014; Suleiman, 2003; Zakharia, 2009) and the theoretical framework (Bourdieu, 1991) clearly indicate the importance of language in the development of identity and ties to one's community. Thus, greater emphasis on the Arabic language is an important indicator of a school's attempt to adapt to the Egyptian context as well as valorize local language, culture, and heritage (Wang & Ho, 2012). Frequency of Arabic class (ARFREQ) identifies the schools' language policy with regards to Egypt's national language, Arabic, within the international school context. Additionally, it identifies the valuing or devaluing of the national language in relation to the foreign language of instruction. The range was 3.

Arabic school. Frequency of Arabic class at school and if a student ever attended a school where a majority of their classes were taught in Arabic are national inputs. Attending school in

Arabic (ARSC) is a dichotomous variable coded as 0 = no and 1 = yes. This variable was included to account for the possibility that a student may change schools during the course of their schooling, which could partially explain their perceptions towards localization. The range is 1.

Hierarchical regression. The hierarchical order in which to enter the predictor variables was determined largely by the global-local model and predicted importance to the dependent variable. Four different hierarchical regression models were run, one for each dependent variable (localization, internationalization, cosmopolitanism, differentiation). The goal was to determine which independent variables had the greatest significant influence on predicting the outcome related to internationalization, localization, cosmopolitanism, and differentiation.

Steps. The global-local model previously illustrated in Figure 7 maps the stages within the socialization process under study. First, the hierarchical regression analysis examines the inputs or capital, which is represented in the first column for the micro, school level. This is illustrated by the first arrow in the first inputs colum pointing towards orientations. The goal is to examine which have the most explanatory power in their relationship with the second column orientations (internationalization, localization, cosmopolitanism).

A subsample (*n* = 205) was used for all of the regression models. The subsample included only international school students. The final regression analysis for the outcome variable, differentiation, utilized both the subsample as well as the entire sample (*n* = 234).

Including all participants, international and national school students, provides a better understanding of differentiation within the broader sample frame.[6]

The process behind cosmopolitanism includes the inputs from column one as well as the orientations of schools. This is illustrated in the model below as the arrow from inputs to orientations as well as the arrow between school orientation and student orientation. Finally, the hierarchical regression analysis identifies the entire socialization process illustrated in the microlevel below. The analysis identifies inputs from column one and which school orientations have the greatest explanatory power regarding the final column, differentiation. Differentation is the final outcome in this process.

The independent variables used in the analysis are categorized into blocks. These blocks are entered as steps within the regression model. Table 4 indicates the independent variables and their categorization. The categorization is based on the variables foreign or national orientation.

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[6] Regression analyses were run for each dependent variable using both the sample and subsample, which included only international school students. There was little variation between the sample and subsample. Results are available upon request.

Table 4

Blocks for independent variables

Student inputs (STUDENT)	Foreign inputs (FOREIGN)	National inputs (NATIONAL)
University level	Diploma type	Localized international school
Mother's education	Teacher composition	Frequency of Arabic
Father's education	Student composition	Attended Arabic school
Mother private school	National curriculum exemption	
Father private school		
Mother's language		
Father's language		
Father's occupation		

Model 1. Internationalization. The student input (STUDENT) variables are demographic measures: university level, parents' education, parents' private school, parents' language, father's occupation. These are predicted to have the most influence on students' trajectories and are included as step one in all models (Lareau, 2002; Maxwell, 2015; Reay, 1998). Step two includes all inpendent variables categorized as foreign inputs (FOREIGN): diploma type, teacher composition, student composition, national curriculum exemption. These are included before national inputs as literature suggests internationalization is encouraged at the expense of localization in these contexts (Lin & Chen, 2014; Nukaga, 2003; Wang & Ho, 2012; Yang, 2001). Additionally, literature suggests inputs with a foreign or international orientation such as foreign curricula (Cambridge, 2000; Richards, 1998); teachers (Hayden & Thompson, 2008; Pearce, 1998; Zsebik, 2000), and students would have significant explanatory power regarding internationalization (Hayden, 2012). Step three includes the national inputs (NATIONAL): localized international school, Arabic frequency, attended Arabic school. These inputs are expected to have less explanatory power regarding schools' orientation towards internationalization.

$$Y_{INT} = b_0 + b_1STUDENT + b_2FOREIGN + b_3NATIONAL + E_1$$

Model 2. Localization. Step one includes student inputs (STUDENT): university level, parents' education, parents' private school, parents' language, father's occupation. As this model utilizes localization as the dependent variable, step two includes national inputs (NATIONAL): localized international school, Arabic frequency, attended Arabic school. Step three includes foreign inputs (FOREIGN): diploma type, teacher composition, student composition, national curriculum exemption. A reverse of step two and three in the internationalization model.

$$Y_{LOCAL} = b_0 + b_1STUDENT + b_2NATIONAL + b_3FOREIGN + E_1$$

Model 3. Cosmopolitanism. Step one includes all student inputs (STUDENT): university level, parents' education, parents' private school, parents' language, father's occupation. Step two includes internationalization orientation (INT). This decision was based on the complementary orientation of internationalization and cosmopolitanism. Additionally, it is expected that both student inputs and internationalization may have the most explanatory power regarding the outcome, cosmopolitanism. Previous studies have indicated a strong connecting between Egypt's privileged class and cosmopolitanism (Peterson, 2011). Additionally, studies suggest a strong connection between internationalization and cosmpolitanism (Weenink, 2009; Yemini, 2013; Yemini et al., 2014). Subsequently, step three includes the localization orientation (LOCAL). Lastly, step four includes all foreign (FOREIGN) and national (NATIONAL) inputs. In this model, the steps follow the reversal of the global-local model stages. The model starts with the outcome, cosmopolitanism, then includes the student inputs, followed by orientations and finally foreign and national inputs: diploma type, teacher composition, student composition, national curriculum exemption; localized international school, Arabic frequency, attended Arabic school.

$$Y_{COSMO} = b_0 + b_1STUDENT + b_2INT + b_3LOCAL + b_4FOREIGN/NATIONAL + E_1$$

Model 4. Differentiation. Similar to the previous model, model four works in reverse of the global-local model stages. Step one includes the student inputs (STUDENT): university level, parents' education, parents' private school, parents' language, father's occupation. Step two includes internationalization (INT). Again, internationalization is included before localization as it is hypothesized that the focus by international school on internationalization (Brooks & Waters, 2015; Hayden, 2012) has greater explanatory power regarding the outcome (DIFF). Step three includes localization (LOCAL). Step four includes the foreign (FOREIGN) and national inputs (NATIONAL): diploma type, teacher composition, student composition, national curriculum exemption; localized international school, Arabic frequency, attended Arabic school.

$$Y_{DIFF} = b_0 + b_1STUDENT + b_2INT + b_3LOCAL + b_4FOREIGN/NATIONAL + E_1$$

Data Analysis

Quantitative data analysis utilizes both descriptive and inferential statistical methods to answer the following quantitative research questions. In addition to describing the questions, hypotheses, assumptions, and methods of analysis are explained. Two research questions and subsequent hypotheses, based on the synthesis of literature in Chapter Two, frame the quantitative data analysis.

RQ1: What is the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt?

H1: Responses to internationalization factors for elite, international schools are high and responses to localization factors are low.

RQ1 was analyzed using descriptive statistics, specifically frequency count, based on survey responses to the questions coded as factors of internationalization and localization as developed by Wang and Ho (2014) and indicated previously in the Figure 17. Likert scale questions asked students to please answer by indicating the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

- My school discouraged me from speaking Arabic. (international communication)
- My school encouraged me to be aware of international current events. (understanding international affairs)
- In my school, I learned more about other cultures than my own culture. (appreciation of other cultures)
- My school encouraged me to respect my own culture. (valuing local culture)
- My school encouraged me to learn about Egyptian history. (traditional knowledge)
- My school encouraged connections and outreach to our local community. (cultural innovation)
- My school encouraged me to feel a sense of pride in Egypt. (national identity)
- What I learned in my school is relevant to my life in Egypt. (contextualization)

The citizenship question was not a Likert scale question and instead provided students with three responses: My school encouraged me to be a national citizen, global citizen, or both. (world citizenship).

RQ2 includes four hypotheses coinciding with the four dependent variables and the multiple steps run using hierarchical regression. Inputs were added in steps. Utilizing this method allowed for deeper analysis of the variance found in the statistical model as each new block of variables was entered. Specifically, R^2 was analyzed to examine the explanatory power of the block of variables entered. These steps coincided with the global-local model and categories: student inputs, foreign/national inputs, and orientations. Additionally, the statistical significance of each variable was also analyzed to identify which individual inputs had the greatest significant explanatory power in predicting the outcome.

RQ2: What global and local inputs have the greatest significant influence on this process?

H2a: Internationalization (INT): Foreign inputs (FOREIGN) predict internationalization (INT) in Egypt's international schools positively and higher than student inputs (STUDENT) and national inputs (NATIONAL). Specific individual variables diploma type (DIPLOMA), national curriculum exemption (NATEX), and teacher composition (TEACHER) are the most significant, positive predictors of internationalization (INT).

H2b: Localization (LOCAL): National inputs (NATIONAL) predict localization (LOCAL) in Egypt's international schools positively and higher than student inputs (STUDENT) and foreign inputs (FOREIGN). Specific individual variables frequency of Arabic class (ARFREQ) and localized international school (LOCSC) are the most significant, positive predictors of localization (LOCAL).

H2c: Cosmopolitanism: Student inputs (STUDENT) are the greatest significant predictor of cosmopolitanism (COSMO) followed by internationalization (INT) in Egypt's international schools. Specific individual variables parents' language (FLANG/MLANG), and parents attending private school (FPR/MPR) and national curriculum exemption (NATEX) are the most significant, positive predictors of cosmopolitanism (COSMO).

H2d: Differentiation (DIFF): Student inputs (STUDENT) and internationalization (INT) are significant and positive predictors of differentiation (DIFF), whereas localization (LOCAL) is a significant and negative predictor of differentiation (DIFF). Specific individual varaibles parents' language (FLANG/MLANG), parents attending private school (FPR/MPR) are significant, positive predictors of differentiation (DIFF).

The regression model summary for cross-validity was analyzed as well as the *F*-ratio from the ANOVA to determine the fit of the regression model. Model parameters or unstandardized coefficients (B) indicated the relationship between dependent and independent variables. A *t*-statistic was calculated to test if the independent variable is a statistically significant predictor of the dependent variable. Statistical significance was reported at $p < 0.05$ with a 95% confidence interval. Unstandardized coefficients (B), significance value, and R^2 were all reported through data analysis using SPSS.

Qualitative Methods

As described in the previous section, the quantitative analysis utilized larger data sets to provide evidence of the institutional and student orientations and inputs through survey data and multiple regression analyses, the foundation of the study. This section describes the methods used in the qualitative analysis. The aim is to balance the research design by utilizing narratives and perceptions of the students influenced by this phenomenon for an in-depth description and synthesis of these schools and this privileged group. The data analysis is a complementary process in this study. Together the quantitative and qualitative data are used to answer the overarching research question of this study: How does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society?

Bourdieu influenced the vertical case study research design and qualitative data analysis process (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell, 1996; Grenfell & James, 2005). Specifically, this influence is seen with the importance of using habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1984) to frame analysis of the qualitative research questions: What role do international schools play in legitimizing and cultivating cosmopolitanism in these privileged students? How do privileged student interpret and use the skills and dispositions acquired and refined in their international schools?

Research Design

Methodological approach. Table 5 below describes the research design and purpose of the mixed methods approach in this study, identifying key points of contention within each methodological approach. The use of Bourdieu as both the theoretical framework as well as method of qualitative inquiry creates a cycle which serves to strengthen the inductive-deductive nature of the analysis produced and to support the final results.

Table 5

Methodological Approaches

	Qualitative Approach	Quantitative Approach	Pragmatic Approach
Connection of theory and data	Induction	Deduction	Abduction

Relationship to research process	Subjectivity	Objectivity	Intersubjectivity
Inference from data	Context	Generality	Transferability

Note. Adapted from Morgan (2007).

This study's approach is similar to what Morgan (2007) describes in the table above as the pragmatic approach. This approach summarizes the main underpinnings behind using Bourdieu as theory and method. First, abduction describes the symbiotic relationship between induction and deduction. In this study, the quantitative data analysis focuses on assessing the inputs of this phenomenon in a largely deductive manner, although these results are also used to support the inductive purposes of the qualitative section. The results of the quantitative data analysis were then used to further account for these inputs in the qualitative data. Bourdieu is the connection between theory and data throughout this *abductive* process. This connection is largely done through utilizing the concepts of field and habitus. The data from the quantitative results will then be further analyzed along these conceptual frames.

What Morgan (2007) identifies as *intersubjectivity*, Bourdieu (1990b) often discusses as *reflexivity*. It is a cornerstone of putting Bourdieu's theories into practice (Grenfell & James, 2005). What both terms argue is the illogical dichotomy between subjectivity and objectivity. One of the main goals in keeping reflexivity a theme throughout a study is to prevent the researcher from perpetrating his or her own symbolic violence. By being reflexive and reflective of the social positions and schemes associated with those fields, the researcher reduces the possibility of imposing an interpretation of reality assumed to be legitimate and true (Grenfell & James, 2005). Recognizing my own habitus, specifically pedagogic habitus, and the fields in which I previously and currently participate is a necessary first step in approaching the study in this manner.

To support researcher reflexivity throughout the data collection and analysis process, the following preemptive measures were taken. A research journal to record important decisions and general reflections was kept. This research journal was one way to be self-reflexive, create a chain of evidence, and record the systematic approach taken to the data collection and analysis. Memos were created during the coding process to capture ideas and connections to be used in the movement towars categories, themes, and theory. Memos are an important aspect of any qualitative work as a form of reflection and development of the entire data analysis process (Maxwell, 2013; Layder, 1998; Saldaña, 2009). Because I am already so embedded within the context under study, self-reflexivity is particularly important so "that one does not discover what one already knew or hoped to find" and to maintain awareness of my position and perception of events and participants (Burck, 2005, p. 245).

Researcher reflexivity, peer-to-peer feedback, as well as multilevel data collection are ways to ensure reliability and validity of data collection and analysis. Peer-to-peer feedback was obtained through collaborative work with seven other PhD students in Lehigh's CIE program. This collaborative group provided important feedback regarding the development survey and interview questions. Information from all data sources—interviews, focus groups, and surveys—was triangulated by supporting claims with data from multiple sources and multiple participants with a Bourdieusian theoretical framework. The sociohistorical context and description also serve as an important source for triangulation. Furthermore, the case study approach allows for the inclusion of a "full variety of evidence—documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations" (Yin, 2013, p. 12). The benefit of a variety of sources of evidence is their usefulness in triangulation.

The final characteristic of the research design is transferability. The idea of transferability is that given enough contextual analysis, the results of this study need not be contextually bound but instead how and what parts of these results can be transferable or useful in other contexts can be discovered (Morgan, 2007). Through detailed description of both qualitative and quantitative procedures along with detailed sociohistorical contextual analysis, the results of this study are undoubtedly relevant and intended as a springboard to further research in this field.

The aim of this approach is to create a framework for the researcher to continuously interlock prior theory and empirical data throughout the entire research process focusing on the relationship between microlevel perspectives of the phenomena, and macrolevel, societal phenomena, which is at the heart of this study. Doing so requires the researcher to continuously reevaluate and adapt to connections between data and theory made in the data analysis process. Neither verificationist nor data-driven, this approach scaffolds the research process utilizing qualitative and quantitative data in a complementary way thus creating greater validity through the dialectic between theory and data.

Vertical case study. Vertical case studies are unique because they focus across multiple levels, vertically connecting global forces through national and local school levels to highlight spatial connections and influences (Bartlett, 2014; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006). The move away from focusing on the nation-state as the central unit of analysis, as identified in the literature review, is an important characteristic of vertical case studies (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006). This is necessary to highlight the shifting frames of reference grounded in global rather than national perspectives that create multiple, and at times contradicting, realities that students within these schools navigate. This study examines how microlevel institutions, Egypt's elite, international schools, and actors, alumni of these schools, interpret macrolevel international schemes and the subsequent influence of these processes on individuals and Egyptian society.

These narratives focus on students' schooling experience and experiences of transition after schooling through semi-structured interviews. Specifically, the qualitative questions investigate students' repositioning into the national level of society, the global-local tensions that arise in this process, and how this tension shapes students' differentiation within Egypt's society. Thus, the qualitative analysis narrows the focus of the study by examining the influence of the socialization process in elite, international schools through a smaller sample of participants' insights into their schooling and transitional experiences. These narratives give greater depth and insight into the phenomenon understudy. They also corroborate trends and observations, provide alternative explanations, or explore rival explanations all of which increase internal validity (Yin, 2013).

As previously outlined in the literature review, students and alumni of elite, international schools are of a privileged social class. They are speakers of foreign languages, travel internationally, largely work in the private labor market, and live spatially segregated lives. This privileged class has access to a specific schooling track, private, international schools, that emphasize foreign languages and other forms of capital that remain elusive to the majority of Egyptians who remain in poor quality, public schools. Thus, the qualitative analysis seeks to examine how the field of international schools cultivates and legitimizes the cosmopolitan orientation of students and the result of this process. Although a broader description of these students was provided in the quantitative methodology discussion, I will now provide a description of the smaller sample used in the qualitative section as well as justifications for sample selection and methods.

Participants

The goal of focusing on this population is to gain a greater understanding of this social unit as it relates to their experiences and development within the social structure and global/local context of the field of international schools (Merriam, 1998). However, home and family life are an equally important field that has significant influence on the development of these students (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Laureau, 2011). A full exploration of the home and school simultaneously is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, to give meaning to their schooling experiences and perceptions, the interviewees often referenced home life. Additionally, many characteristics of the home, such as parents' education, occupations, languages, and other characteristics associated with cosmopolitanism, were gathered through the survey data.

Sample size. Participants took part in individual interviews or FGDs based on their personal preference. A total of eighteen participants partook in an interview or FGD. A majority of the participants chose individual interviews. I undertook two FGDs. One group consisted of three participants who were alumni of AUC, and the other group consisted of four participants who were juniors and seniors at AUC. There were a total of fifteen females and three males. Significant efforts to recruit male participants were unsuccessful. Table 6 below includes characteristics of participants interviewed or who were part of FGDs.

Table 6

Participant Educational Information

Pseudonym	Method	School Position[a]	Graduation Year[b]	Level at AUC[c]	Parent/s Private School
Sarah	Interview	Public	2014-2016	Lower	No
Farah	Interview	High	2005-2008	Alumni	Yes
Mona	Interview	Middle	2013-2015	Upper	No

Sherif	FGD	High	1993-1996	Alumni	Yes
Hend	Interview	High	1998-2001	Alumni	Yes
Tarek	FGD	High	1995-1998	Alumni	Yes
Salma	Interview	High	2005-2008	Alumni	Yes
Nina	Interview	High	2003-2006	Alumni	Yes
Alia	Interview	Mid-high	2015-2017	Lower	No
Nora	Interview	Mid-high	2013-2015	Upper	Yes
Reem	Interview	Mid-high	2013-2015	Upper	Yes
Karma	FGD	Middle	1993-1995	Alumni	Yes
Yasmin	Interview	Mid-high	2015-2017	Lower	Yes
Omar	FGD	Mid-high	2013-2015	Upper	Yes
Lena	FGD	Mid-high	2013-2015	Upper	N/A
Abeer	Interview	Mid-high	2001-2003	Alumni	Yes
Lara	FGD	Mid-high	2013-2015	Upper	N/A
Rania	FGD	Mid-high	2013-2015	Upper	N/A

[a] School position indicates where the participant's school is positioned within the field of international schools in Egypt according to the hierarchy.

[b] Graduation year includes a range to protect the confidentiality of the participants.

[c] Upper includes juniors and seniors. Lower includes freshman and sophomore. A range is used to protect the confidentiality of the participants.

As indicated in Table 6 above, particular focus was placed on gathering data from students at the mid-high and highest level of the international school hierarchy. This hierarchy is described in detail in the following section on the qualitative site of research. The decision to focus on this particular internal or within-group category is because these students are the social actors acting as gatekeepers to define the rules of the game by reinterpreting and reinforcing means of exclusivity. Although recruitment of participants was focused on students from high and mid-high positions, I also made great efforts to recruit participants from all school categories for a diversity of perspectives. Additionally, public school students were asked to participate. I was able to recruit only one, Sarah. She represents what Lareau (2011) defines as a deviant case to gain insight into the schooling experience outside the field of international schools as well as an outsider's perspective of international schools.

Participants in the qualitative interviews included: one participant, Sarah, who attended a public school; one participant, Mona, who attended a private school that followed the national curriculum and later transferred to an international school; one participant, Karma, who attended a localized international school; eight participants who attended an embassy-affiliated school (Farah, Sherif, Hend, Tarek, Salma, Nina, Yasmin, Nora); seven participants who attended a school categorized as elite but that is not an embassy-affiliated school (Hana, Lara, Abeer, Lena, Omar, Reem, Alia).

Sample selection. A sample of convenience was used as the sample selection method. This method allowed me to guarantee that the participants came from the population under study as well as a particular subset of this population. My experience in Egypt and in this field for eleven years facilitated a great amount of access and contact to participants. Thus, this method garnered greater access and better quality data through contacts rather than through random sampling for this portion of the data collection. A *wasta*, or contact, provides greater legitimacy to my position and research. As a result, most of the interviews and FGDs were done by snowball sampling or through alumni who expressed interest in participating. By entering into an interview or FGD through a connection, I believe the participants were more willing to participate and at ease in detailing their lived experiences.

I did try to recruit participants for the interviews through the electronic distribution of the survey. If a participant responded to the survey electronically, a follow-up email was automatically sent thanking them for their participation and providing my contact information for any participants interested in participating in an interview or FGD related to the survey topic. From this method, I was unable to recruit any participants for the interviews and FGD. Rather, I relied on interested students I recruited via the physical distribution of the survey and through acquaintances who knew interested persons that fit the study’s criteria.

During the physical distribution of my survey, I had a sign-up sheet which I placed next to the classroom door for students interested in discussing with me further, through an interview or FGD, their schooling experience and topics related to the survey. This information was presented at the same time I described the survey. Students provided their name, contact information, and school they attended. From this information, I was able to ensure that I got a variety of differing perspectives. From this method, 12 students provided their information to participate in an interview. Of these 12, six participated in interviews. The remaining six did not participate because of scheduling conflicts or lack of response to my follow-up. Four additional current AUC students were recruited by snowball sampling, referrals by contacts.

I had initially hypothesized that trends based on school attended would become apparent in the survey data. This indeed became very apparent after I began distributing the survey. First, the number and names of international schools have increased dramatically. Second, students from national curriculum exemption schools were not easily recruited. Even before completing the survey distribution phase, it became clear that a particular subset of international schools was largely left off the results, specifically, those who graduated from schools that arguably sit at the apex of the field of international schools and whom it is predicted develop the greatest feelings of differentiation. The correlation matrix supports these predictions. The results, found in Appendix C, identified a strong, positive correlation between elite schools and internationalization (r = .34), cosmopolitanism (r = .32), and differentiation (r = .35). Elite schools was negatively associated with localization but not relationship was not significant.

For example, not a single participant was recruited from Cairo American College (CAC or the American embassy school) from current AUC students. This is partially explained by the fact that only three students have attended AUC between 2014-2016 (CAC, 2018). This was not the case in the past where there still existed a significant group of graduates from a school such as this that would stay to attend AUC. The reasoning for this is unknown. However, it could suggest that it is either becoming more socially acceptable for boys, and particularly girls, to travel for university abroad. Second, tuition at AUC have dramatically increased for many families. Some may decide to simply spend that money on experiencing higher education in the United States or Europe. Despite the reasonings behind the change, if these students return, the issues highlighted in the following chapters will undoubtedly be amplified in their transition back to Egypt.

Thus, snowball sampling was used to gather responses from alumni of these schools, and particular focus was placed on recruiting this subsample in the interviews of the remaining eight participants. Again, great lengths were taken to ensure that interviewees were not direct contacts of mine. All of these participants were alumni of a middle to high position international school, graduates of AUC, and they had transitioned in some capacity into the workforce. Recruiting these participants was particularly important because they represent the experiences of graduates transitioning outside the field of international schools and into the workforce encountering more local, potentially less cosmopolitan, fields.

Site

The site that is described here is more abstract than the description of AUC in the quantitative methods. Here the site is described as the social space Egypt’s privileged class occupies. There are very few statistics available on Egypt’s privileged class. They are largely left off surveys and data collected by Egypt’s Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). The problem also remains that current statistics cannot differentiate between those who are captured in the upper wealth quintile for statistical purposes and those who would be socially categorized as privileged. For example, 25% of students from the highest wealth quintile attend private or experimental language schools (World Bank, 2012). However, the percentage for those in the top one percent of this group are likely to be much higher due to the demand from this class for foreign language education and diplomas. Many private schools exist today that are not classified as international or elite. They simply require tuition and teach the national curriculum. The demand for such schools is increasing amongst all levels of society as a result of the poor and overburdened public education system, creating a larger and more diverse private education field in Egypt (T. Purinton, personal communication, March 16, 2016).

Yet, statistics from OECD (2015) and World Bank (2012) reports still highlight the inequalities and educational advantages of these students related to type of school attended. Statistics show that attendance at private language schools, which include elite, international schools, has lasting influences on educational outcomes and reproduces educational inequalities. For example, scores from the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and national standardized exams for private language school students are 0.9 and 1.6 standard deviations higher than the scores for students in regular public schools (World Bank, 2012). Many students in this study may even be left out of these statistics because they are not required to either take the national standardized exams or their schools may not participate in TIMSS.

Due to the lack of information on the individuals in this study, along with their potentially powerful roles in Egyptian society, the information and focus of this study is even more important. To better construct the abstract social space in which this privileged group occupies, I first examine and provide evidence of the hierarchy, or positionality of schools, within the field of international schools in Egypt. Second, I provide evidence of the social space privileged students occupy after school and university, the private labor market. These two descriptions are necessary to provide contextualization for the two qualitative questions which are imbedded in the field of international schools and the (re)positioning of students into local and national contexts after graduation.

The hierarchy. Support for the hierarchy that exists in the field of international schools was supported by responses in the interviews and FGDs as well as my own experience in this field for over a decade. The hierarchy largely follows the rankings according to the localized international school variable in descending order with one being at the top. This suggests that the relationship within the national context also plays an important role in the positionality of schools within the field of international schools. The inclusion of capital was included to further analyze the field of international schools.

First, symbolic capital is associated with long established schools that are higher up in the hierarchy. Second, linguistic capital is the most pronounced signifier of participants and their positions within the field. Thus, schools that have teaching staffs largely comprised of foreigners are higher on the spectrum, a conclusion echoed by many throughout the interviews. As a result, a combination of economic, linguistic, and symbolic capital determines schools' placement on the hierarchy. This hierarchy is important because it identifies the schools and students who act as the gatekeepers of this privileged group. Additionally, this hierarchy provides support for the internal or within-group categorization of international schools.

The hierarchy of schools is illustrated in Figure 19 below. This figure is based on the Bourdieusian connaissance/reconnaissance spectrum found in Figure 6 from Chapter Two. Although the initial figure was broader to include the institution of education, Figure 19 focuses on the internal categorization of the international school field. The hierarchy is as follows: low (new, low tuition), middle (established, private, religiously-affiliated schools; i.e., Sacré Coeur and new, higher fee schools; i.e., International School of Elite Education), mid-high (older established, high fee schools; i.e., Modern English School), and high (the longest established, embassy-affiliated schools).

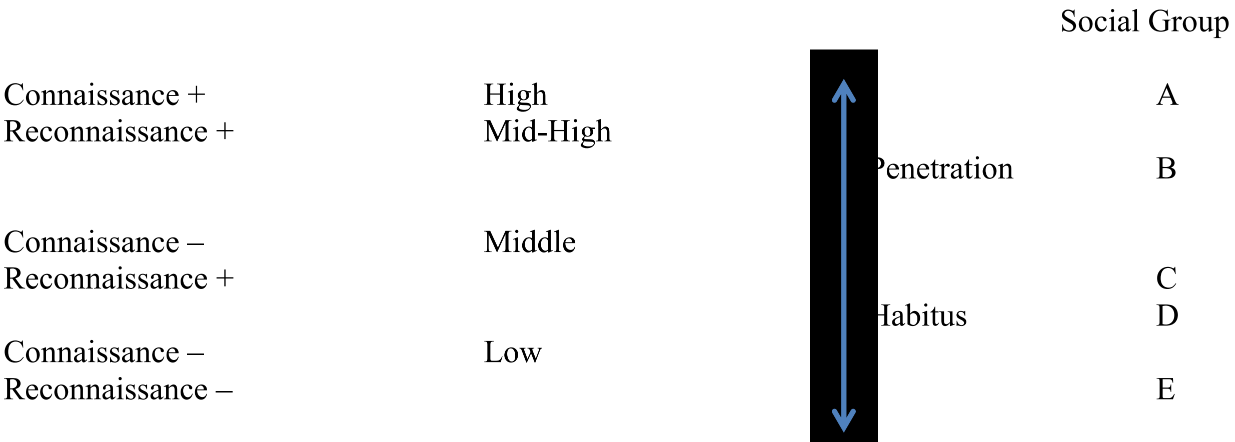

Figure 19. Hierarchy of the field of international schools [redacted]ypt. Adapted from Grenfell (1996).

It is hypothesized that this hierarchy also largely reflects a spectrum of orientations, ranging from localization (low) to internationalization (high). It is hypothesized that localization becomes more difficult when one moves up the hierarchy as the aims and what is valued by the school becomes more internationalized. This hypothesis is tested in the quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis interprets the implications of this phenomenon in the context of cultivating and legitimizing cosmopolitanism and the influence of this during transitions into society.

Private sector workforce. Egypt's labor market is an important site to gather information from alumni participants to understand how their experiences influenced outcomes related to social class. Most graduates of Egypt's elite, international schools go on to find work in Egypt's private sector workforce. They graduate with important cosmopolitan attributes that make them the prime candidates for the private sector workforce (Barsoum, 2004), which are explored in the study. This study's analysis focuses on the advantages and disadvantages they obtained as a result of their schooling experience and their ability to operationalize capital in fields related to the workforce.

Most graduates of Egypt's elite, international schools go on to find work in Egypt's private sector workforce. For example, 44% of AUC graduates find employment in multinational corporations, 38% in local, private firms, 9% in non-governmental organizations, 5% are self-employed or have a family business, and only 3% work for the government or military (AUC Career Center, 2017). Survey data indicated in Figure 20 supports these findings. Approximately, 71% of respondents currently or intend to work in some sector of the private workforce. Only seven respondents indicated they had a desire to work in the public sector. Egypt's public sector labor market is the employer of last resort (Reid, 1990), meaning it largely absorbs graduates who have difficulty for a variety of reasons finding a job in the private sector or because the public sector offers better security and job benefits to those with fewer social safety nets.

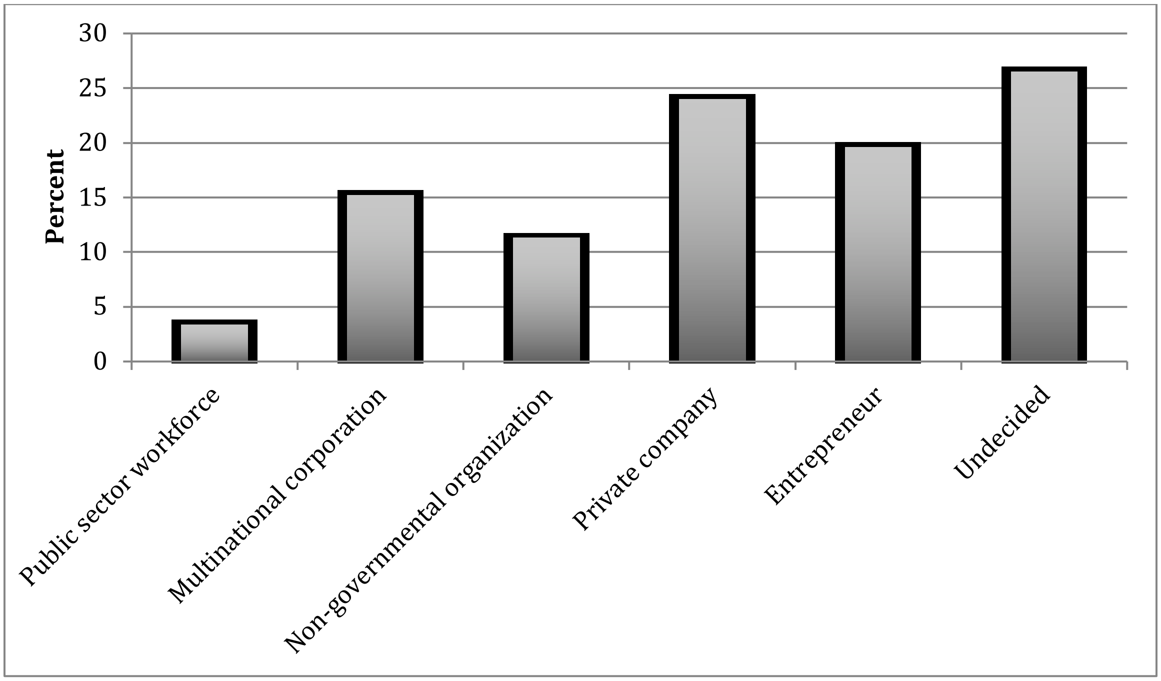

Figure 20. Work by sector based on survey data.

Methods

The qualitative methods used for this study included semi-structured interviews and FGDs. These methods were chosen as the most effective means of gaining insight into the lived experiences and perspectives of participants. The used of semi-structured interview questions also encouraged a discussion between participant and researcher and the flexibility to delve into points or experiences which spontaneously emerged throughout the interviews or FGDs. These caveats are particularly relevant but perhaps impossible to predetermine. One example of the usefulness of this method was the participants' discussion of their experience on the national examinations as well as the influence of the 2011 uprisings or "Revolution" on their identity and views of others. It was not predetermined to include these experiences in the initial interview questions; however, a pattern began to emerge from the participants that these two experiences were of great importance and required further examination.

The semi-structured interview questions and their codes can be found in Appendix B There were 23 questions for current AUC students and 26 questions for AUC alumni participants. The questions varied slightly between the current AUC student participants and alumni of AUC. Questions for alumni of AUC included additional questions that focused on their transitions to the workforce and choices of schooling for their children. The main research question and factors of the study framed the development of the questions. Table 7 below indicates the number of questions and the stage of the global-local process–inputs, orientation, influence–which corresponds to the question. Specific focus was placed on orientation and influence in the interview questions since this was the focus of the qualitative analysis. Additionally, some questions focused specifically on language as that was identified in the literature to be the area where the greatest disadvantages were acquired due to a lack of Arabic language skills.

Table 7

Interview Question Codes

	Inputs	Orientation (Localization/ Internationalization)	Influence (Differentiation)
Number of questions	2	8	13 (current AUC) 16 (AUC alumni)

The questions were developed in collaboration with members of Lehigh's Comparative and International Education PhD program as well as academic experts from AUC and in the field of education. Five experts were recruited to provide feedback and help refine the interview questions. A pilot FGD with three participants also took place in the pilot phase. This was to ensure sampling validity—that the focus group discussions were focusing on all important issues related to the phenomenon understudy.

Additional methods to support and corroborate the data included recording important decisions and general reflections in a research journal. This research journal was one way to be self-reflexive, create a chain of evidence, and record the systematic approach taken to the data collection and analysis. Memos were created during the coding process to capture ideas and connections to be used in the movement into categories, themes, and theory. Memos are an important aspect of any qualitative work as a form of reflection and development of the entire data analysis process (Layder, 1998; Maxwell, 2013; Saldaña, 2009). Together, these methods were used for triangulation and to ensure rigor in both data collection and analysis.

Procedures

Qualitative data was gathered from December 2017 through May 2018. The fieldwork started with the input from experts and a pilot FGD. The next step was the recruitment and sample selection as previously described. The interview phase took place between March and May 2018. Interviews and FGDs took between half an hour to one hour and fifteen minutes depending on the respondents' answers. The interviews were recorded and transcribed using the computer assisted qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA. After the transcription process, I began a process of pilot coding. Following pilot coding, I used Bourdieusian concepts for the initial coding phase to connect theory and methods. An interrater reliability coder assisted me in the coding to increase reliability in the coding process.

Coding. Despite interacting with similar objective structures, students' experiences are subjective, influenced by their individual habitus both at home and at school and subsequent individual perceptions. As such, the results from coding the interviews and focus group discussions were not quantitatively analyzed to ascertain the number of times a word or descriptor was used by participants. Rather, responses and at times discussions are presented as a necessary means to provide exact wording and context of the participants' perceptions of an event or question to ascertain the scaffolding, or habitus, through which this perception was filtered. This method was to help ensure that I, as the researcher, reduced the possibility of perpetrating a form of symbolic violence, to use Bourdieusian terminology. Symbolic violence on the part of the researcher occurs when he or she presents his or her secondary perception of the participants' experiences in a manner that reflects a superiority of his or her knowledge and habitus over that of the participants. As such, patterns were discerned through the data but results are presented in accordance with the qualitative subquestions. The coding process was done using MAXQDA and followed four cycles of coding before moving into identifying categories, themes, and finally the explanatory framework regarding the main research question (Saldaña, 2009).

Step one. Similar to what Saldaña (2009) terms protocol coding, pre-coding took place in the initial reading of the raw, transcribed data. In this step, an interrater reliability coder assisted me in the coding of the initial raw data. As the goal of my research methods is the symbiosis between theory and method, the first cycle of coding used the theoretical concepts to code the text. These codes included the following: field, habitus, and capital.

Step two. After pre-coding with broad concepts, additional codes were added. These included codes developed as sub-categories, which were identified after rereading the text and which were identified as influential in the literature. These codes included sub-categories of habitus, pedagogic habitus and home habitus, and sub-categories for capital, symbolic, cultural, economic, social, economic, educational, and linguistic. An additional code was also created in this step that framed the analysis of students' perceptions of limitations and possibilities regarding their future. This code is Horizons for Action, which was initially created within the Bourdieusian framework and used by Hodkinson (2005).

Step three. The third coding cycle focused on pattern coding. Pattern coding looks for similarities, differences, frequencies, sequence, correspondence, and causation (Saldaña, 2009). Focusing on the constructs of field and habitus, a pattern began to emerge related to participants' encounters with individuals and fields. I coded these encounters as divergence or convergence. These encounters occur along a spectrum. I coded instances where students described an encounter with a field, participant, or habitus that reflected divergence or convergence with their own habitus or capital. These were usually described in terms of valuation, devaluation, or reassessment of one's social place or sense of belonging.

Step four. The final cycle was inductive where descriptive codes were created for the third level subcodes from the text. This was largely applicable only to pedagogic habitus. These texts were coded depending on if the discussion was related to academic or social aspects of their pedagogic habitus. These descriptions largely fell in two categories, teaching styles and learning styles. Thus, the connection to pedagogic habitus and encounters in differing fields was developed. It is important to note that the text, which was analyzed is reflective of students' perceptions of their experiences and thus these perceptions themselves reflect the students' habitus. As such, great care was taken in the coding process to be reflexive of my own position, habitus, and value system and not assign value judgements to the texts that might legitimize, for example, encounters that favor foreign, "western" capital or teaching styles students perceived to be associated with foreign teachers.

Overall, coding methods as well as the codes themselves were adjusted as needed based on the data gathered. The process was fluid and adaptive whereby patterns and categories emerged as I read through the transcripts and connected these patterns to the subquestions and quantitative results. Once the initial coding was done, stages one through four were completed where codes were simplified and reduced. The final codes are listed in Table 8 below.

Table 8

Qualitative Codes

1 Field
    1.1 Convergence
    1.2 Divergence

2 Pedagogic habitus
  2.1 Academic
    2.1.1 Memorize
    2.1.2 Hidden curriculum
    2.1.3 Constraining
    2.1.4 Lax
    2.1.5 Teaching style
    2.1.6 Critical thinking
    2.1.7 Ethics/standards
    2.1.8 Professionalism
  2.2 Social
3 Home habitus
  3.1 Divergence
  3.2 Convergence
4 Habitus
  4.1 Divergence
  4.2 Convergence
5 Horizons for Action
6 Symbolic capital
7 Cultural capital
8 Educational capital
9 Linguistic capital
10 Social capital

11 Economic capital

Synthesis of data. The final steps of the qualitative data analysis involved the creation of categories, themes, and finally theory. This step relied on theory, triangulation, and evidential support from the regression analyses to increase the validity of the findings. Data collection focused on evidence related not only to the research questions but also framed within the Bourdieusian concepts of habitus and field. The research looked for forms of capital, habitus, and fields valued and devalued as expressed through alumni perspectives. It is particularly important to understand how students indigenize the schemes acquired in school and subsequently activate the related capital in differing fields. The analysis attempts to understand the ways in which students understand and navigate the multiple realities, global and local, in which they live. This process was framed by the vertical case study research design and qualitative subquestions.

Data Analysis

How does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society? The goal of this research question requires an examination of both the field of international schools and participants, privileged Egyptian students. Despite the multitude of players, the biggest determinant remains the subjective role of each student in a process molded by objective social structures (Bourdieu, 1990a; Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Reay, 2004). Thus, the aim of the qualitative analysis is to highlight the agency of the students in this process, rather than designate them as merely passive participants.

As a result, the qualitative research design focuses on habitus and field. “Researchers should attend both to the objective indicators of positions (e.g., size of organizations…) and to the indicators of position-takings (e.g., attitudes toward labor unions…). The ultimate aim of such a dual approach is synthesis of these two spaces–those of positions and of position-takings–into a map of the field or fields in question” in a way that allows for the “construction of the object and the production of the data necessary for construction of the object” (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008, p. 33). Following a Bourdieusian method, the goal of the results and discussion is to analyze the field of international schools and habitus acquired in this field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell, 1996). As the epicenter of agency (Harker, 1984), the habitus is embedded within the schemes and capital mobilized by students when encountering fields while simultaneously providing the means for individual choice in these encounters (Bourdieu, 1990b).

Supporting this endeavor, the quantitative results focus on the macrolevel and microlevel processes, the flow of global models of education—foreign curriculum, foreign teachers, and foreign language—into local international schools highlighting the legitimization of internationalized schemes. The vertical case study approach as defined by Vavrus and Bartlett (2014) focuses on global-local processes across multiple levels. These include: level one: vertical, level two: horizontal, and level three: transversal. Within these levels, I adapt the three-level approach of Bourdieu (Grenfell & James, 2005), focusing on legitimization and the logic of practice; position-taking and the cultivation of cosmopolitanism as habitus (RQ3); and finally, the structure of relations, practice, and agency within field/s (RQ4).

Level one. At the vertical level, global level scripts and agents largely bypass national level filtration to directly influence elite, international schools on the local level. Within the Bourdieusian context, this level focuses on the relationship between the field of international education and political and economic systems. “This relationship is crucial in terms of what is expected of education; how it is organized and to what ends–in other words, what is valued and legitimate” (Grenfell & James, 2005, p. 170).

In this case study, the legitimation of the field was largely examined through the review of literature and contextualization of the phenomenon within Egypt’s sociohistorical background. These discussions identified the main global and local factors and processes that shape this phenomenon, which necessitates further inquiry. The factors identified as most influential to the legitimization process in the literature review from Chapter Two include: cosmopolitanism, internationalization, foreign language, and foreign teachers. They are necessary components to the logic of practice within this field. The symbolic power of this process perpetuates the influence the vertical level has on the processes which take place in both the horizontal level, level two, and transversal level, level three. Level two largely focuses on habitus and the socialization process, focusing on schools’ orientations, localization/internationalization, and students’ orientations, cosmopolitanism. Level three focuses on the long-term influences of these global-local connections on students’ views of themselves, others, and society.

Level two. The horizontal level traces people and practices across sites—elite, international schools (Bartlett, 2014), specifically, examining the output of the socialization process within elite, international schools on privileged Egyptian students. Level two identifies the structure of relations and positionality of students and agents within the field, focusing on habitus and capital acquired and internalized as a result of this socialization process, specifically, the influence of the schools’ orientation on the orientation of students regarding cosmopolitanism and how this shapes internal and external means of differentiation. This level seeks to develop an understanding of the habitus and dispositions obtained in the field of international schools.

Cosmopolitanism as habitus is a particular focus in this analysis. Additional Bourdieusian terms that shaped the data analysis include: pedagogic habitus, collective habitus, misrecognition, and symbolic violence. These will be used speifically regarding, RQ3: What role do international schools play in legitimizing and cultivating cosmpolitanism in these privileged students?

Level three. The transversal level highlights the complexity of the phenomenon and difficulty with compartmentalizing variables into simple global or local terms (Bartlett, 2014). This component, the way in which seemingly disparate people, practices, and policies are connected and influence each other across time and space, is central to the transversal level of analysis (Bartlett, 2014). It is this level of analysis that emphasizes the importance of power relations and conflict and potential paradoxes that may result from this phenomenon. Bourdieusian concepts that shape this level of analysis include connaissance, reconnaissance, misrecognition and symbolic power/violence.

The level three discussion seeks to understand the structure of relations, practice, and agency that emerges as a result of encounters with fields outside the field of international schools, specifically seeking to answer RQ4: How do privileged student interpret and use the skills and dispositions acquired and refined in their international schools? The influence of the logic of practice and associated factors identified in the vertical level analysis regarding legitimization are not necessarily reflective of the field students will find themselves in after they leave these international school. Thus, this level and research question seek to identify the advantageous or disadvantageous influence students' international school experiences had on their encounters in local and national contexts and the subsequent adaptation to their views of themselves, others, and society.

In summary, the goal of the research design is to outline the objective structures, the structured structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), for the level one discussion. It is through these objective structures that participants utilize capital accumulated at home and at school, reinterpreted through their habitus, level two. The development of cosmopolitanism in habitus and capital is then operationalized to obtain benefits with encounters in other fields, the level three discussion. The discussion in Chapter Five focuses largely on students' encounters with differing fields and individuals with similar or dissimilar habitus. These encounters are analyzed as taking place along a spectrum of convergence or divergence, the results of which influence differentiation and social stratification within society, the use of symbols of status, and symbolic power refined through socialization in elite, international schools.

Ethical Issues in the Study

All surveys and research materials followed the guidelines as set forth by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for conducting research with human subjects and approved by an IRB panel at AUC and Lehigh University. It is highly unlikely that participants suffered any adverse consequences as a result of participation. I did not conduct research with any vulnerable populations or subjects under the age of 18. All participants were clearly informed that their participation was completely voluntary and that they could stop participating at any time. They were also informed of the organization, sponsorship, confidentiality, and purpose of the study. Although the information collected in the samples is largely not sensitive, confidentiality of respondents is a priority.

Sensitivity and research reflexivity are also important, not only to maintain researcher objectivity but also cultural sensitivity when in the field. An important method in the investigation of *why* this phenomenon occurs and produces such influences in Egypt is the purpose of extensive description and sociohistorical contextualization. My background living in Egypt for 11 years, my Arabic language skills, and my interdisciplinary degrees in both Middle East Studies and Comparative and International Education provide the necessary methodological and epistemological foundations to comprehensively approach this topic with the needed cultural awareness, language skills, and sociohistorical understanding of Egypt and the broader Middle East at the global, national, and local levels.

Additionally, I have spent years teaching in and researching international schools in Egypt. My M.A. thesis explored the influence of international schools on the Arabic language. Through this research, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork, which provided me with important experience undertaking focus group discussions and interviews with this population in Egypt. Prior to commencing fieldwork, I had the opportunity to work in three schools that are identified as elite, international schools. Additionally, I have had various contacts and informal discussions with educators and alumni who have experienced the phenomenon under study. These informal discussions provided useful information and feedback regarding the direction of this fieldwork and hypotheses.

My area studies background and knowledge of Egyptian culture within these schools provide important skills and experiences to better observe nuances perhaps overlooked by someone less familiar with this particular context. My position as both a foreigner and yet also as an insider who can relate to the students and context are very advantageous. However, I am an American whose background and educational experience in the United States cannot be overlooked as I am also a product of an educational experience defined by the same, often covert, cultural scripts I am trying to uncover. Nevertheless, extensive time living and working overseas in the educational context under study has undoubtedly led to important self-reflection and acknowledgement of the processes that position me as an insider with the ability to observe and analyze events as comprehensively as possible.

Chapter Four: Results

Introduction

The following chapter presents the results for the quantitative and qualitative data. The aim is to answer the main research question: how does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society? This chapter presents evidence of the orientation of Egypt's international schools and students as well as the outcome of this relationship on creating systems of differentiation.

The chapter starts with the presentation of quantitative results for RQ1 and RQ2 supported by qualitative results. Although the main focus of these questions are quantitative, qualitative results for RQ1 are also presented. The goal is to provide more in-depth results from interview questions to better understand and contextualize RQ1 as well as find consistencies between quantitative and qualitative results for RQ2. The quantitative results reflect both inferential and descriptive statistics.

The final two questions RQ3 and RQ4 are qualitative and delve deeper in the socialization process understudy. However, results from the regression analyses provide further reliability through a larger dataset to support the qualitative results. The qualitative results were determined based on the responses of interviewees to the questions associated with one of the three stages in the global-local model: inputs, orientations, and differentiation. Results from questions one and two provide the foundation for answering questions three and four. Collectively, results of the four subquestions, each representing a stage of the global-local model, are used to answer the main research question.

Results

The quantitative results present evidence regarding the first two research questions and subsequent hypotheses, which set the foundation for the qualitative analysis. Qualitative results are also presented for these questions to provide deeper context and support for the quantitative results. Research questions three and four are qualitative in nature, so hypotheses are not provided. However, descriptive statistics are presented from the quantative data to provide complementary evidence.

RQ1: What is the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt?

H1: Responses to internationalization factors for elite, international schools are high and responses to localization factors are low.

RQ2: What global and local inputs have the greatest significant influence on this process?

H2a: Internationalization (INT): Foreign inputs (FOREIGN) predict internationalization (INT) in Egypt's international schools positively and higher than student inputs (STUDENT) and national inputs (NATIONAL). Specific individual variables diploma type (DIPLOMA), national curriculum exemption (NATEX), and teacher composition (TEACHER) are the most significant, positive predictors of internationalization (INT).

H2b: Localization (LOCAL): National inputs (NATIONAL) predict localization (LOCAL) in Egypt's international schools positively and higher than student inputs (STUDENT) and foreign inputs (FOREIGN). Specific individual variables frequency of Arabic class (ARFREQ) and localized international school (LOCSC) are the most significant, positive predictors of localization (LOCAL).

H2c: Cosmopolitanism: Student inputs (STUDENT) are the greatest significant predictor of cosmopolitanism (COSMO) followed by internationalization (INT) in Egypt's international schools. Specific individual variables parents' language (FLANG/MLANG), and parents attending private school (FPR/MPR) and national curriculum exemption (NATEX) are the most significant, positive predictors of cosmopolitanism (COSMO).

H2d: Differentiation (DIFF): Student inputs (STUDENT) and internationalization (INT) are significant and positive predictors of differentiation (DIFF), whereas localization (LOCAL) is a significant and negative predictor of differentiation (DIFF). Specific individual varaibles parents' language (FLANG/MLANG), parents attending private school (FPR/MPR) are significant, positive predictors of differentiation (DIFF).

RQ3: What role do international schools play in legitimizing and cultivating cosmopolitanism in these privileged students?

RQ4: How do privileged students interpret and use the skills and dispositions acquired and refined in their international schools?

Survey data from respondents, graduates of international schools in Egypt who are current or former students at AUC, were used for the hierarchical regression analyses. The results identified predictors of the schools' orientations, internationalization and localization, as well as students' orientation, cosmopolitanism. A final regression analysis was run to identify the predictors of the global-local model outcome, differentiation. The goal was to identify if student variables, school orientations, or individual school inputs had the greatest significant influence on differentiation.

The following results are the author's calculations based on survey data. The results are presented according to the hierarchical regression run for each dependent variable: internationalization, localization, cosmopolitanism, differentiation. Prior to this, descriptive statistics as well as any problems associated with the preliminary analyses regarding skewness and multicollinearity are presented. Results of a Pearson's correlation matrix are also presented to provide support for the applicability of variables used in the regression models. Lastly, the results of the multiple regression analyses are presented.

Preliminary Statistical Analyses

Table 9 includes descriptive statistics for each variable that was used in the regression models. Table 9 provides the number of responses (N), means, standard deviations (SD), the minimum (Min) and maximum values (Max), and variances.

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics for All Variables

Variables	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Variance
University level	205	3.53	1.36	1.00	6.00	1.86
Mother's education	204	2.27	0.74	0.00	4.00	0.55
Father's education	203	2.50	0.82	0.00	4.00	0.68
Mother private school	201	0.57	0.50	0.00	1.00	0.25
Father private school	201	0.39	0.49	0.00	1.00	0.24
Mother's language	205	0.50	0.89	0.00	4.00	0.79
Father's language	203	0.30	0.72	0.00	4.00	0.52
Father's occupation	187	3.16	0.72	2.00	4.00	0.52
National curriculum exemption	202	0.06	0.25	0.00	1.00	0.06
Teacher composition	205	0.90	0.79	0.00	2.00	0.62
Student composition	205	0.17	0.47	0.00	2.00	0.22
Diploma type	205	4.44	2.41	0.00	8.00	5.79
Arabic frequency	205	1.55	0.84	0.00	3.00	0.70
Attended Arabic school	205	0.06	0.24	0.00	1.00	0.06
Localized international school	205	1.49	0.62	0.00	3.00	0.39
Internationalization	201	0.05	2.70	-7.09	4.97	7.27
Localization	199	15.55	3.20	6.00	20.00	10.24
Cosmopolitanism	190	0.06	4.17	-12.21	13.63	17.39
Differentiation	186	0.07	5.77	-18.44	17.99	33.28

The results of the bivariate correlation between dependent and independent variables are presented in Table 10. With a 95% confidence interval, two-tailed, statistically significant relationships at $p < 0.01$ and at $p < 0.05$ are identified. The results show partial support for the hypothesis that foreign inputs are positive predictors of internationalization. National curriculum exemption, diploma type, student composition, and teacher composition are significantly and positively associated with internationalization. The national input, localized international school, is significantly and negatively associated with internationalization. Results also partially support the hypothesis that foreign inputs are negative predictors of localization. National curriculum exemption and student composition are significantly and negatively associated with localization. The national input, Arabic frequency, is positively and significantly associated with localization.

Table 10

Summary of Bivariate Correlations between Dependent and Independent Variables

	Internationalization	Localization	Cosmopolitanism	Differentiation
Student inputs				
University level	0.13	0.03	0.17^{*}	0.22^{**}
Mother's education	0.04	0.07	0.06	0.04
Father's education	-0.03	0.04	0.08	0.04
Mother's language	0.15	0.06	0.40^{**}	0.38^{**}
Father's language	0.11	0.02	0.32^{**}	0.27^{**}
Mother private school	0.12	0.07	0.06	0.06
Father private school	0.10	0.14	0.19^{*}	0.13
Father occupation	0.03	0.05	-0.11	-0.08
Foreign inputs				
National curriculum exemption	0.28^{**}	-0.30^{**}	0.27^{**}	0.29^{**}
Teacher composition	0.50^{**}	0.03	0.26^{**}	0.33^{**}
Student composition	0.22^{**}	-0.22^{*}	0.21^{*}	0.22^{**}
Diploma	0.29^{**}	0.08	0.15	0.15
National inputs				
Localized international school	-0.47^{**}	0.08	-0.27^{**}	-0.35^{**}
Attended Arabic school	-0.13	-0.05	0.00	-0.10
Arabic frequency	-0.07	0.12^{*}	-0.04	-0.09
School orientations				

Internationalization	0.32^{**}	0.39^{**}
Localization	-0.11	-0.17^{*}

Note. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, two-tailed.

Results also largely consistent with the hypothesis for cosmopolitanism: student inputs and school orientations are significant predictors of cosmopolitanism. Student inputs such as university level, mother's language, father's language, and father attending a private school are positively and significantly associated with cosmopolitanism. School orientation towards internationalization is significantly and positively associated with cosmopolitanism. Finally, foreign inputs such as national curriculum exemption, teacher composition, and student composition are positively and significantly associated with cosmopolitanism, while national input, localized international school, is significantly and negatively associated with cosmopolitanism.

Results are largely consistent with the hypothesis that student and school orientations predict differentiation. Student inputs such as university level, mother's language, and father's language are significantly and positively associated with differentiation. Internationalization is significantly and positively associated with differentiation while localization is significantly and negatively associated with differentiation. Finally, the foreign inputs national curriculum exemption, teacher composition, and student composition are significantly and positively associated with differentiation. The national input, localized international school, is significantly and negatively associated with differentiation.

In summary, the bivariate correlations support the choice of independent variables and largely support the direction and significance of association. In general, the foreign inputs and internationalization orientation are positively associated with cosmopolitanism and differentiation, while the national inputs, although not as strong as anticipated, have a positive association with localization and negative association with internationalization, cosmopolitanism, and differentiation.

Multicollinearity. Particular importance was placed on multicollinearity. To ensure strong correlations between two or more independent variables did not exist, I ran the variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance statistic. I followed guidelines as set out by Field (2013). Concerns for multicollinearity were indicated if the average VIF was substantially greater than 1. If the largest VIF was greater than 10, serious problems existed in the data. Serious problems existed if tolerance was below 0.1 and potential problems existed if tolerance was below 0.2. Initial checks for multicollinearity were analyzed through the correlation matrix. For all correlations, $R < .9$, so no problematic correlations existed between variables (Field, 2013). No significant correlations were detected.

Additionally, tests for normality and skewness were run using SPSS. No bootstrapping was needed in the regression. The following variables suggest positive skewness: attended Arabic school (3.61), mother's language (2.48), father's language (3.42), student composition (2.81), and national curriculum exemption (3.57). However, this is expected as each of these variables measures a specific, small minority of the sample population. Also, the size of the dataset also indicates that according to the central limit theorem, "The assumptions for normality are less because the sampling distribution will be normal regardless of what our population data look like" (Field, 2013, p. 184).

Results for RQ1: Internationalization and/or Localization Orientation?

Research question one identifies the orientations of elite, international schools in Egypt. The orientation of these schools must be ascertained prior to identifying which inputs have the greatest influence on the orientation of international schools in Egypt. This is the first step in examining the unique global-local connections within Egypt's international schools and their subsequent influence on privileged, Egyptian students. The results use descriptive statistics for the quantitative analysis and responses to interview questions for the qualitative analysis.

RQ1: What is the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt?

H1: Responses to internationalization factors for elite, international schools are high and responses to localization factors are low.

Quantitative results for RQ1. Data from the survey results for international school students are consistent with the hypothesis that responses to internationalization factors for elite, international schools are high. However, these results also indicate that localization is also high.

The description of the survey participants in Chapter Three provided evidence for the privileged status of international school participants in this study. However, one goal of this study is to also identify within-group characteristics. To accomplish this, results are further subdivided into elite and non-elite international school categories. These subcategories are based on the localized international school variable illustrated previously in Figure 18 as outlined in Chapter Three. Those in categories one and two are classified as elite. The remaining schools in category three, the most localized international schools, are in the non-elite category. Further information regarding this categorization can be found in the codebook in Appendix C.

Descriptive statistics are now presented regarding the internationalization and localization constructs. Aside from the world citizenship question, all statements used a 4-point Likert scale. Students were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements presented.

Internationalization. Results of the distribution of data for internationalization indicate a negative skew (2.70). The negative skew indicates responses tended to cluster at the higher scores or towards emphasizing internationalization. Additionally, Figure 21 below presents the average scores for all internationalization Likert-scale factors. The results are subdivided into total, elite, and non-elite subcategories. Results provided are the average percentage of respondents for each given choice.

Results indicate an overall orientation towards internationalization amongst all international schools. An orientation towards internationalization is even greater for the subcategory elite international schools. These results are consistent with the initial hypothesis that international schools emphasize internationalization. Average responses from non-elite schools tend to remain constant across all choices. Average responses from elite school participants' perceptions of internationalization significantly increase from disagree (13%) to agree (43%). This result is consistent with the hypothesis that an orientation towards internationalization is a means of within-group differentiation with schools at the top of the hierarchy emphasizing internationalization even more so. Additional evidence consistent with this result is now presented for individual internationalization factors.

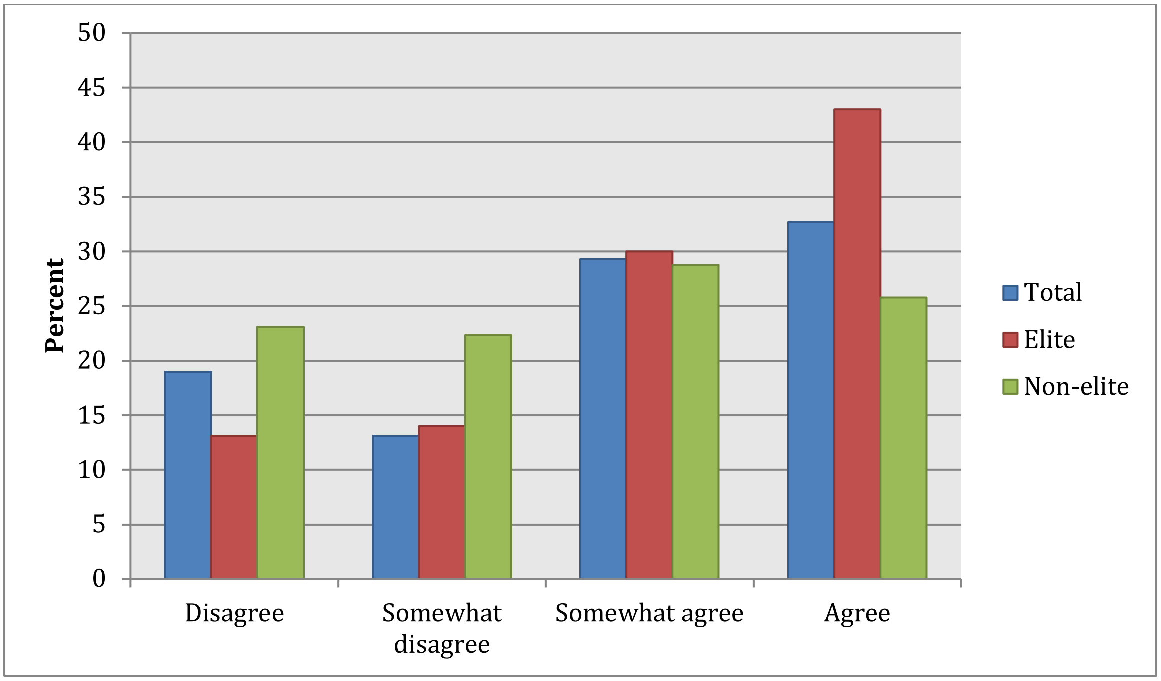

*Figure 21.*Composite responses for internationalization factors. Total average responses by percentage.

World citizenship. Figure 22 below provides the results by percentage for the world citizenship factor. The question for this factor asked students if their school encouraged them to be a global citizen, national citizen, or both. The first column indicates the total responses. The second column indicates the elite school responses. The third column indicates the non-elite school responses. Overall, nearly 60% of international school respondents stated their school encouraged them to be both a global and national citizen. However, there is a significant difference between elite and non-elite school responses. Almost 40% of elite school respondents stated they were encouraged to be a global citizen in comparison to only 16% of the non-elite school respondents.

These results indicate a shifting focus away from national citizenship education and towards global citizenship education in international school contexts in Egypt. Notably, only

14% of total respondents stated their schools encouraged them to be national citizens. Additionally, results indicate this shift is particularly acute in the elite international schools where only 5% stated their school encouraged them to be a national citizen, 54% stated both, and 39% stated only a global citizen.

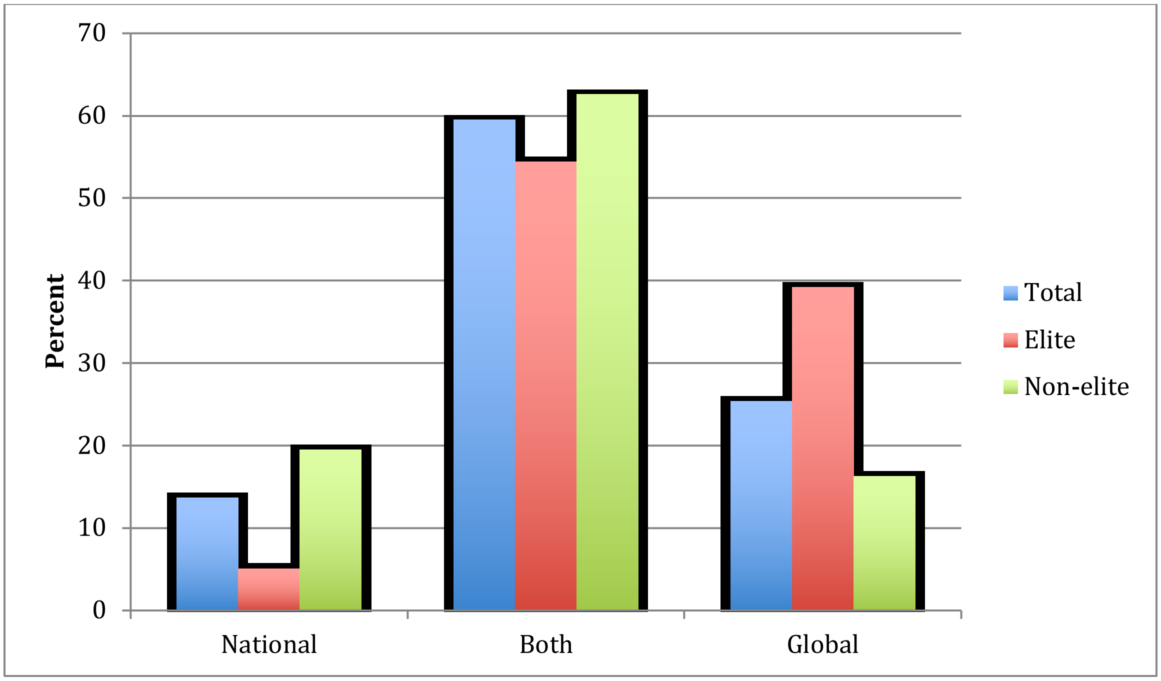

Figure 22. World citizenship. Factor for internationalization by percentage.

International communication ability. Figure 23 presents the results for the internationalization factor international communication ability. The following statement was used to produce results for this factor: My school discouraged me from speaking Arabic. Results indicate that nearly 44% of total respondents, 50% of elite school respondents, and 40% of non-elite school respondents somewhat agree and agree that their international school discouraged them from speaking Arabic. These results indicate international schools' focus on international communication ability at the expense of the national language, Arabic.

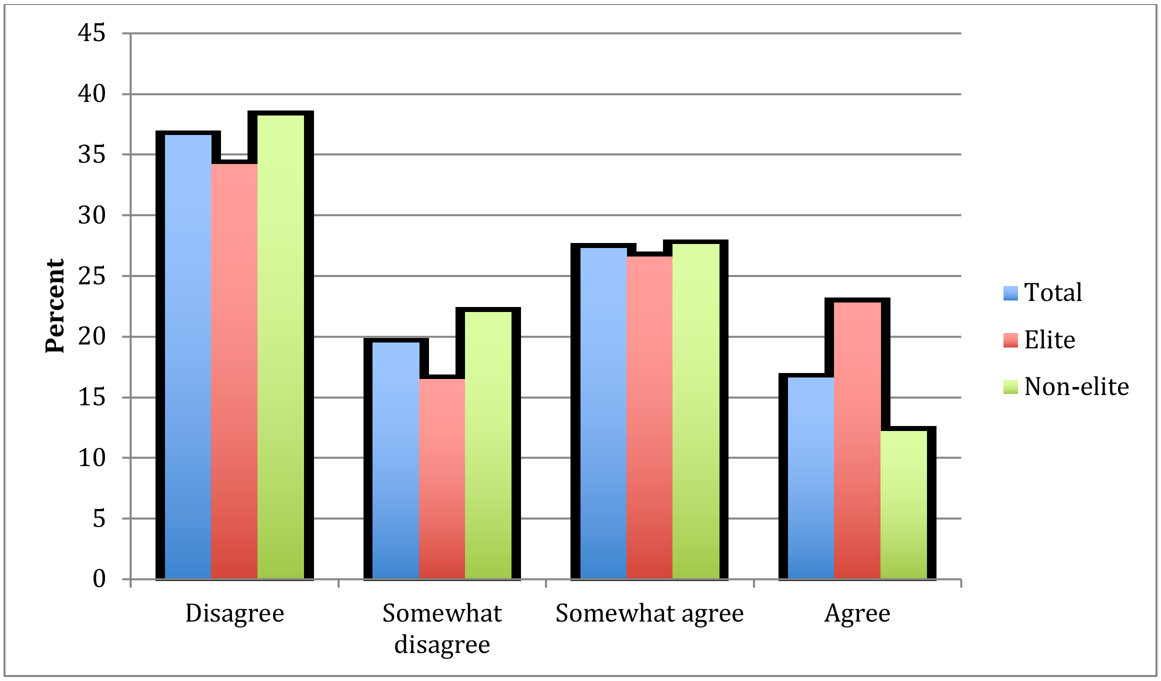

Figure 23. International communication ability. Factor for internationalization by percentage.

Understanding international affairs. Figure 24 below presents results for the internationalization factor understanding international affairs, indicated by the following statement: My school encouraged me to be aware of international current events. Over 48% of total respondents agreed that their school encouraged them to be aware of international current events and 29% somewhat agreed. Nearly 89% of elite school respondents agreed and somewhat agreed with this statement, and 73% of non-elite school respondents did the same. The results indicate that across the field of international schools, a focus on international current events is emphasized.

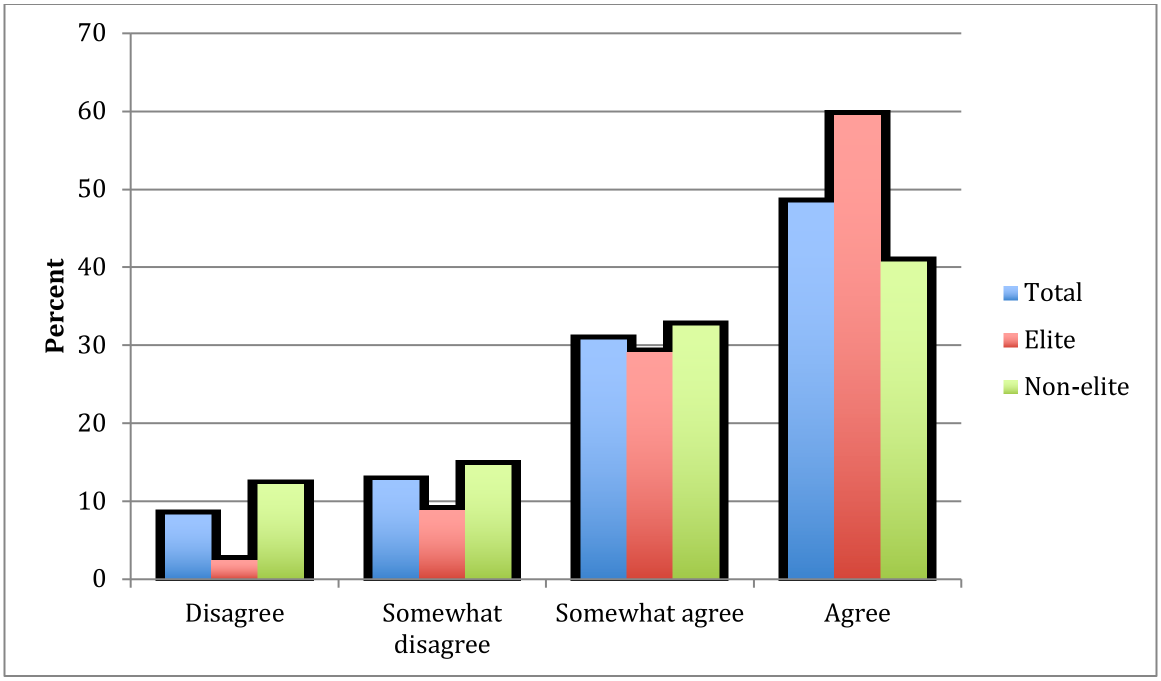

Figure 24. Understanding international affairs. Factor for internationalization by percentage.

Appreciation of other cultures. Figure 25 below presents results for the internationalization factor appreciation of other cultures, indicated by the statement: In my school, I learned more about other cultures than my own culture. Of the total respondents, 63% agreed and somewhat agreed with this statement. Results were stronger for elite school respondents with 47% agreeing that they learned more about other cultures than their own and 34% somewhat agreeing. Approximately 63% of total respondents and 81% of all elite school students either agreed or somewhat agreed with this statement. Results support the hypothesis that appreciation of other cultures, a factor of internationalization, is in fact emphasized at the expense of localization.

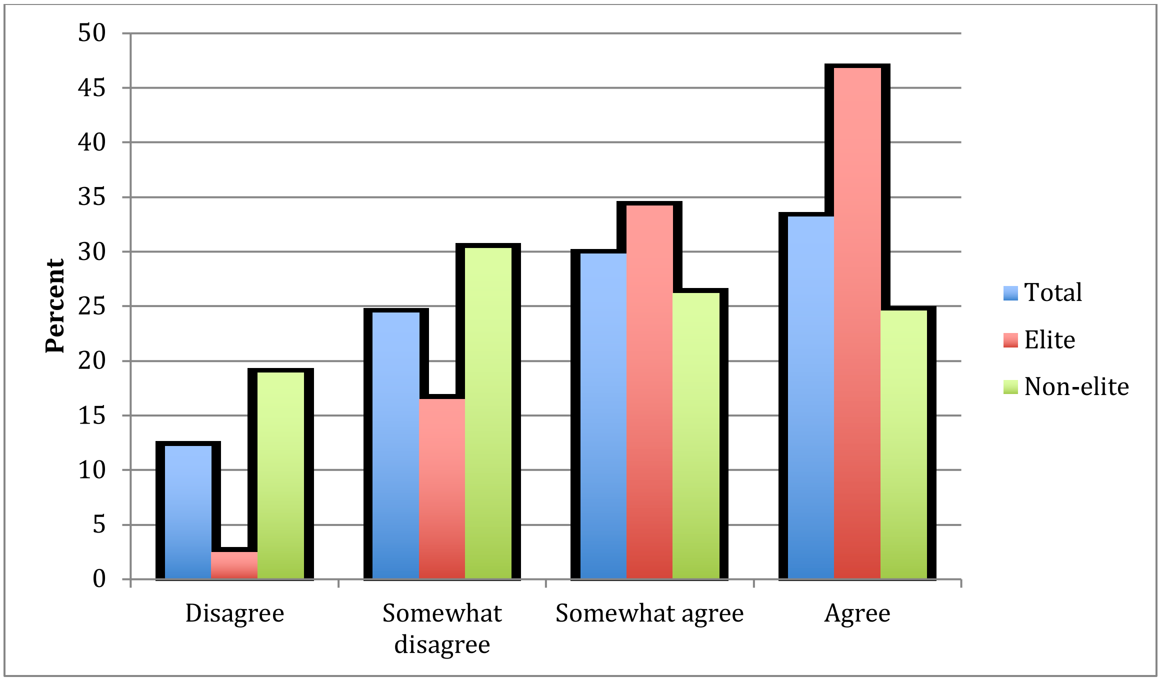

Figure 25. Appreciation of other cultures. Factor for internationalization.

Localization. Similar to internationalization, the distribution of data for localization indicates a negative skew (3.20). Again, the negative skew indicates a cluster of higher scores emphasizing localization. Figure 26 below indicates the average percentage of responses for all Likert-scale factors associated with localization. The results are largely the same for all categories across all international schools. Participants perceive their schools as also emphasizing an orientation towards localization. Results for each factor are now presented.

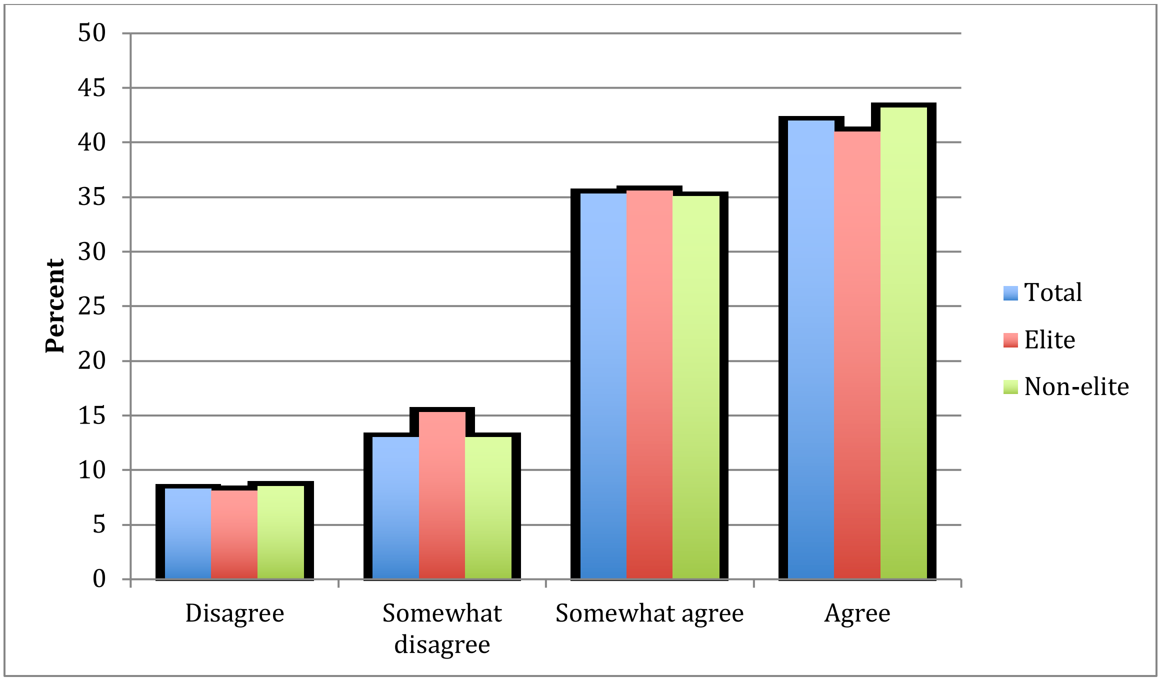

Figure 26. Composite responses for localization factors. Total average responses for all factors by percentage.

Valuing local culture. Figure 27 below presents results for the localization factor valuing local culture. Again, the following graph presents percentages of responses for the total respondents, elite school respondents, and non-elite respondents. The results presented are for the following statement: My school encouraged me to respect my own culture. Of the total respondents, 92% agreed or somewhat agreed with this statement. Responses from elite and non-elite schools were similar with 87% and 95% agreeing or somewhat agreeing, respectively. However, 13% of elite school respondents disagreed or somewhat disagreed that their school encouraged them to respect their own culture. Overall, the results indicate that international schools focus on valuing local culture by encouraging Egyptian students to respect their own culture.

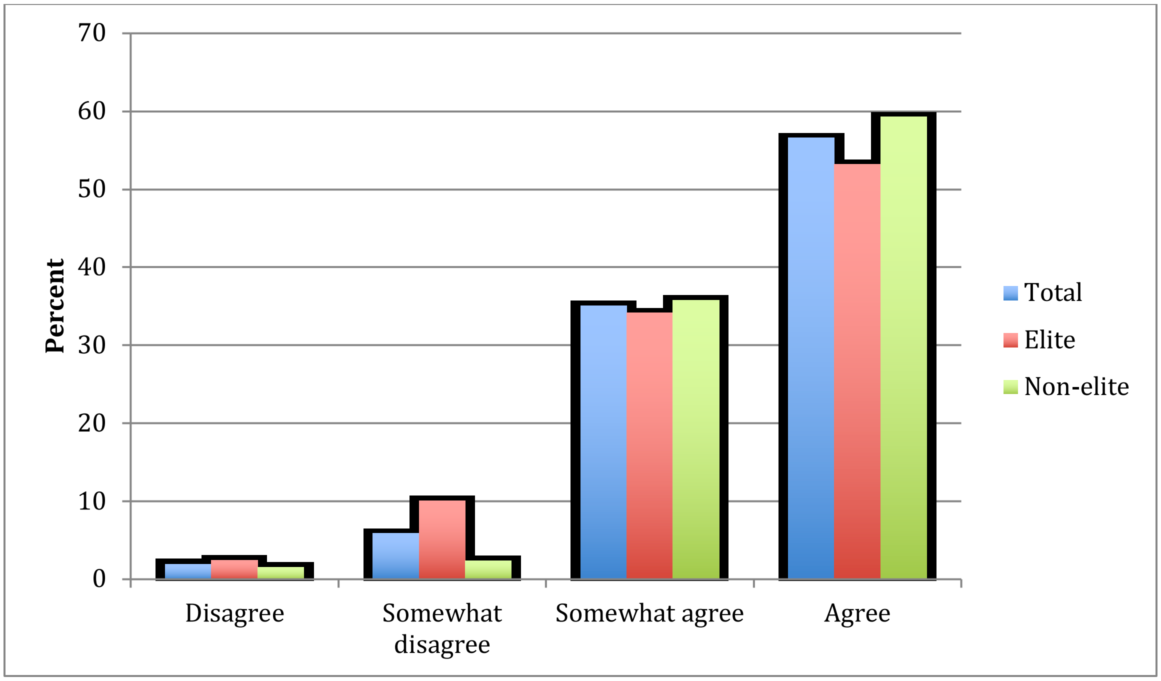

Figure 27. Valuing local culture. Factor for localization by percentage.

Traditional knowledge. Figure 28 presents results for the localization factor traditional knowledge. The results presented are for the following statement: My school encouraged me to learn about Egyptian history. Again, results are relatively the same across all groups. For total respondents, nearly 77% agreed or somewhat agreed with the previous statement. However, a larger percentage disagreed or somewhat disagreed with this statement. Approximately 24% of total respondents felt their international school did not encourage them to learn about Egyptian history.

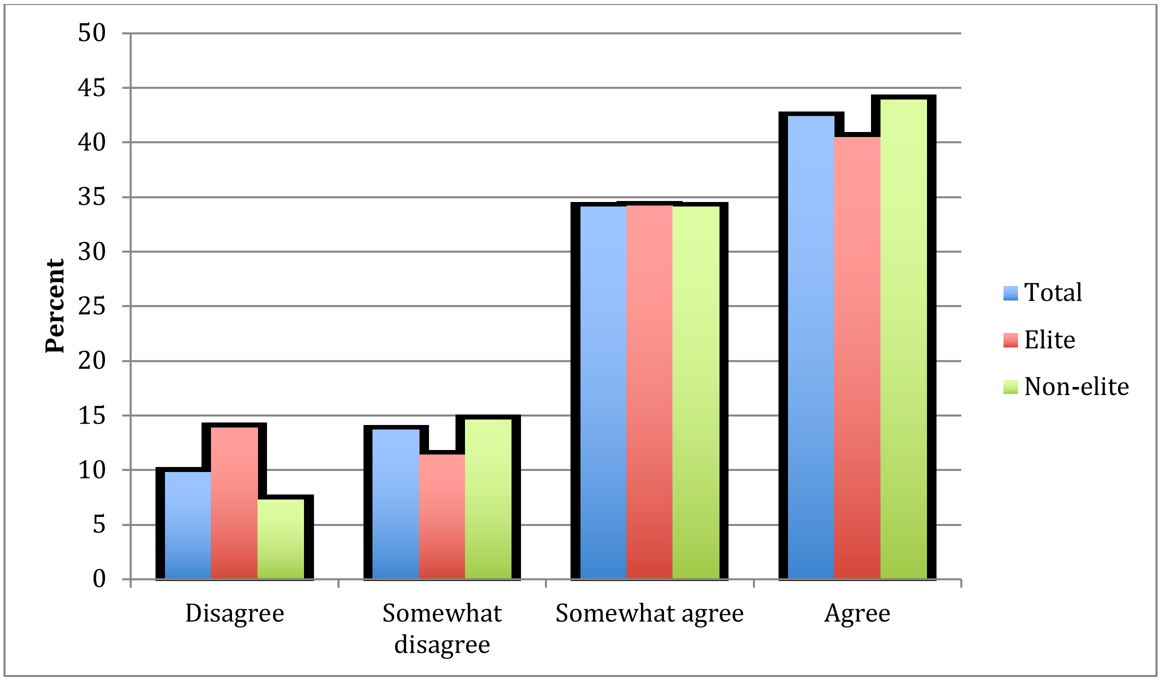

Figure 28. Traditional knowledge. Factor for localization by percentage.

Cultural innovation. Figure 29 presents results for the localization factor cultural innovation. Results are presented for the following statement: My school encouraged connections and outreach to our local community. Nearly 75% of total respondents agreed or somewhat agreed with the previous statement. The results are slightly higher for elite schools with 82% of respondents indicating they somewhat agreed or agreed that their school encouraged outreach to their local community. In contrast, 30% of non-elite school respondents disagreed or somewhat disagreed with this statement.

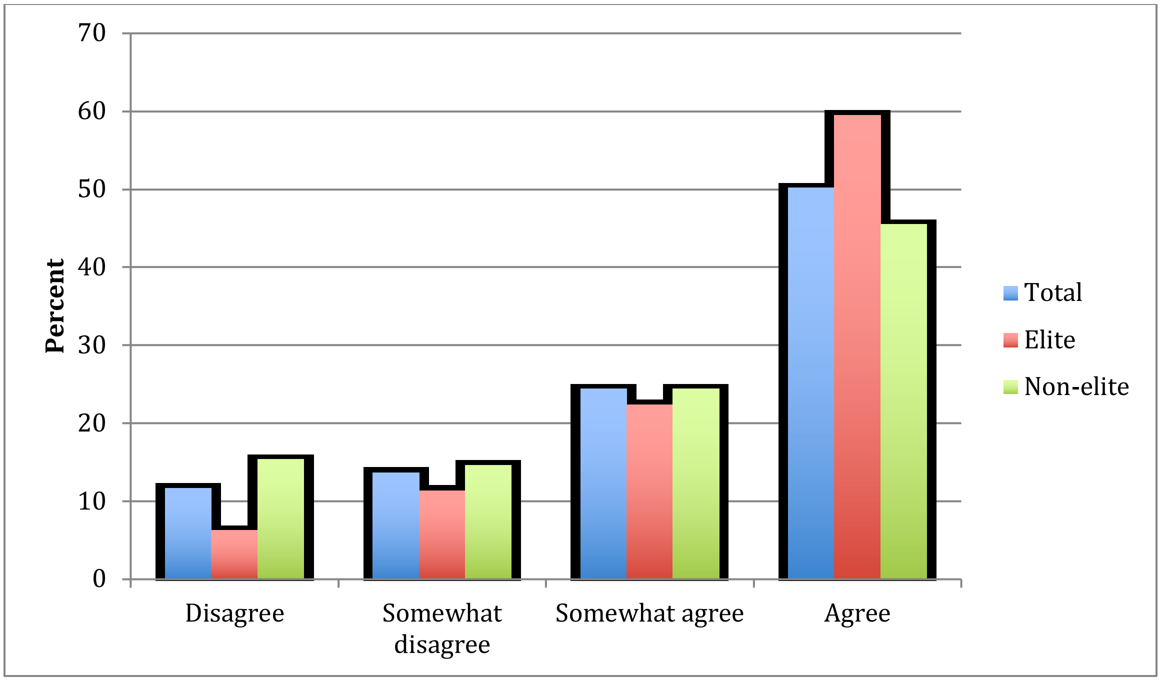

Figure 29. Cultural innovation. Factor for localization by percentage.

National identity. Figure 30 presents results for the localization factor national identity. Results are presented for the following statement: My school encouraged me to feel a sense of pride in Egypt. Approximately 76% of total respondents and 73% of elite respondents agreed or somewhat agreed with the previous statement. Nearly 20% of elite school respondents and 12% of non-elite respondents somewhat disagree while 7% of elite school respondents disagreed alongside 10% of non-elite respondents. Similar to the previous factors, nearly a quarter of all international school students do not feel their school encourages them to feel a sense of pride in Egypt.

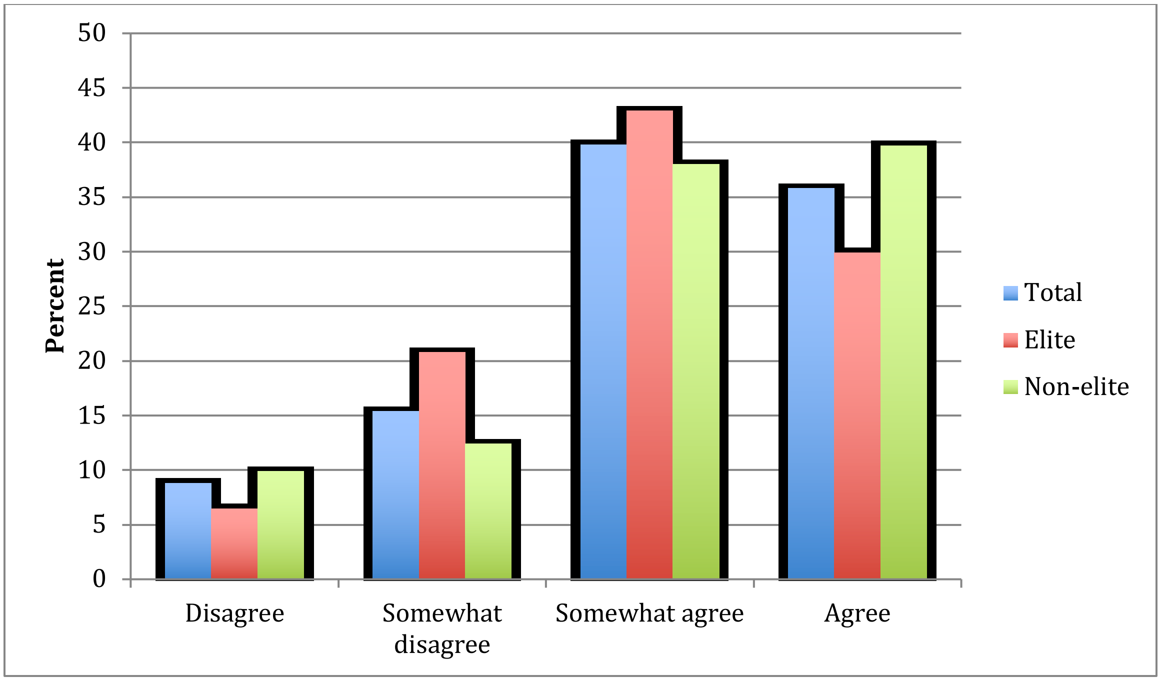

Figure 30. National identity. Factor for localization by percentage.

Contextualization. Figure 31 presents results for overall contextualization or relevance of what students learned in their international school. Results are presented for the following statement: What I learned in my international school is relevant to my life in Egypt. Overall, most respondents indicated they somewhat agreed with this statement, with total respondents and respondents from the subcategories indicating approximately 43% of them somewhat agreed. Approximately 68% of all respondents agreed or somewhat agreed that what they learned was relevant to their life in Egypt. This supports the notion that international schools in general try to adapt to their local context. Yet, nearly 32% of total respondents either disagreed or somewhat disagreed with this statement. Overall, results were similar across subcategories for each choice category.

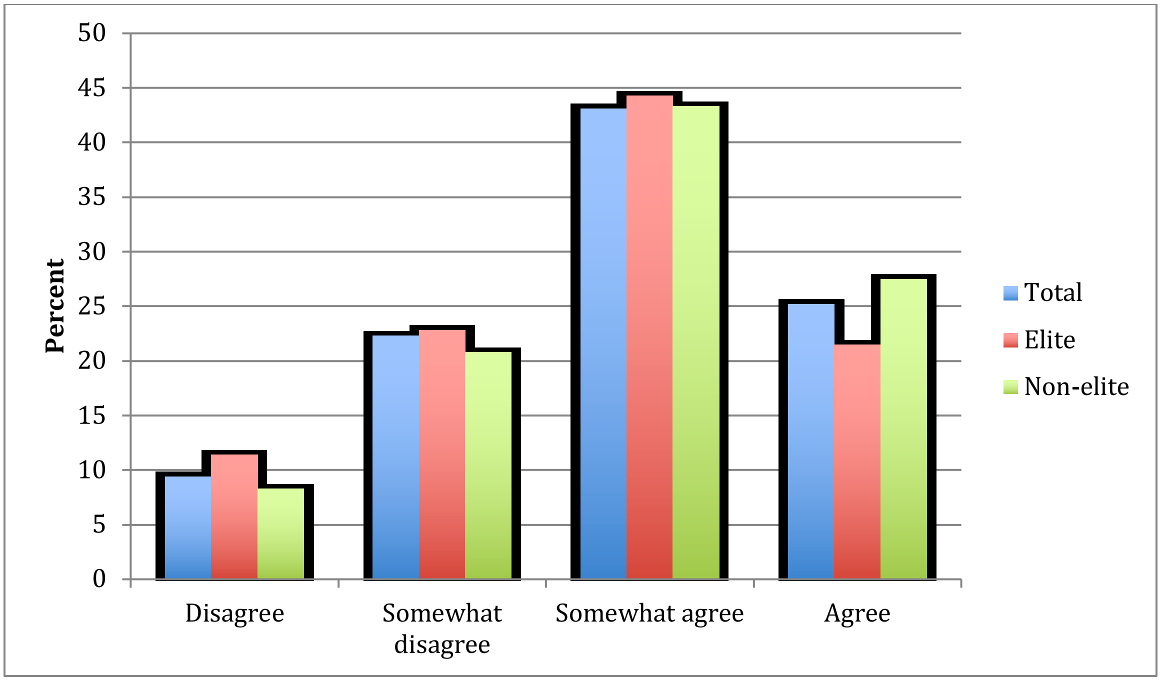

Figure 31. Contextualization. Factor for localization by percentage.

Qualitative results for RQ1. Data from interviews and focus group discussions assoicated with localization and internationalization support the quantitative hypothesis and existing literature (Brooks & Waters, 2015; Hayden, 2012) that the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt emphasizes internationalization. These schools represent international schools from circles 1 and 2 from Figure 18, previously illustrated, indicating international schools' relationship to the national context. Two participants were from schools classified as circle 3.

Internationalization. Results from the qualitative interviews and FGDs are consistent with the internationalization quantitative results. From the conversations with participants, they were able to provide greater detail and information regarding the orientation of international schools. Results show across interview participants that internationalization was encouraged at the expense of localization. These results support the quantitative hypothesis that international schools' orientation, and the most elite international schools in particular, emphasize internationalization at the expense of localization. Only two participants indicated their school tried to make a balance between both. Below are the results according to each internationalization factor.

World citizenship. All participants except three stated their school encouraged them to be a global citizen rather than a national citizen or both. When asked how their schools encouraged global citizenship, most participants connected global citizenship with the schools' emphasis on foreign languages which allowed them to navigate and integrate more easily into the global community. Travel and connections to foreigners were also cited as ways in which a school emphasized global citizenship.

Regarding the participants who did not cite global citizenship, one participant stated her school encouraged her to be neither a global citizen nor a national citizen. However, her response was closely aligned with global citizenship. She stated her school focused on *having important values as a human being like cleanliness, being on time, being a good student*. The second participant stated her school encouraged both. Again, she connected the school's aim of encouraging both global and national citizenship to language and the schools' emphasis on Arabic and cultural heritage. The final participant cited national citizen because her school began shifting towards the national curriculum and Egyptian teachers replaced foreign teachers. As a result, her school only focused on learning about Egyptian history and culture.

International communication ability. Interview participants were asked if they were allowed to speak Arabic at school. All students, except one, who attended international schools stated they were not allowed to speak Arabic at school, although some participants stated they often spoke Arabic during the breaks even though it was not recommended by the school. The degree to which student spoke Arabic at school was resulted form a combination of student culture as well as school language policy.

The exception to these results is the participant who attended what started out as an international school staffed largely by foreign teachers and studying for the IGCSE certification. However, the school subsequently shifted to the Egyptian national curriculum staffed by Egyptian teachers instructing largely in Arabic. Although English was encouraged as the language to be used during classtime, there was not a strict school policy which required students to speak in English. In fact, the culture of the students and their families backgrounds can be classified as more localized. As a result, speaking in English was largely uncool and frowned upon socially.

Overall, interviews indicate a focus on international communication ability through foreign languages at the expense of the Arabic language. In the most extreme cases, participants were punished with detention, subjected to corporal punishment, and chastised for speaking Arabic at school. The combination of school language policy and student culture which discouraged speaking Arabic was identified most in elite schools exempt from teaching the national curriculum. As one progresses down the international school hierarchy the student culture becomes more closely aligned with the national context; and thus, the use of Arabic in social contexts within schools became more pronounced. These results are important because dissociation was largely associated with lack of Arabic language skills and the hypervaluation of foreign language skills as an indicator of social class. The language policies within these schools played a significant role in the devaluation of Arabic and local culture as well as the neglect for localization.

Understanding international affairs. In general, international school students indicated their schools focused on international current events rather than Egyptian current events. The only exception came during the 2011 Uprisings when focusing on the events taking place in Egypt was unavoidable. The students who graduated from the French embassy school stated their school focused on French events or the French role in historical contexts, whereas two students who attended German affiliated schools stated their schools tried to balance between Egyptian events and international current events.

Appreciation of other cultures. Again, results regarding appreciation of other cultures are consistent with the quantitative results. International schools generally focused on teaching students more about other cultures than about Egyptian culture. Although participants did cite the occasional Egyptian culture day or Arabic day, the general focus as a result of the curriculum and focus on internationalization was on other cultures. Participants did receive instruction regarding Egyptian heritage and culture through the national curriculum classes. However, the negative perceptions of participants towards the national curriculum classes indicate delivery of information but lack of actual appreciation.

Localization. Results from the localization factors in the qualitative interviews provide more detailed information. Specifically, results indicate that localization occurred mainly through the inclusion of the national curriculum classes. However, these classes were often devalued both by the schools as well as the students. Below are the results according to each localization factor.

Contextualization. Results indicate international school environments did not encourage contextualization to the Egyptian context. Participants cited two reasons. First, foreign teachers often lack knowledge and incentives to make the information and lessons relevant to the local context. Second, the lack of contextualization is further deepened by the use of foreign or international curricula that often focus on British, French, American, or German perspectives or roles in lessons. However, one participant who stated her teachers were able to make local connections throughout the lessons stated it was because of the individual experiences of the teachers in the Middle East. Her example was one foreign teacher who had spent a significant amount of time traveling and working in these contexts. Overall, qualitative results indicate teachers and curriculum are obstacles to localization.

Cultural innovation. The quantitative results indicate international schools focused on engaging with local communities. However, qualitative results provide greater context for understanding the nature of these engagements. In interviews, participants agreed that their schools did interact with other communities in Egypt, largely impoverished communities such as orphanages. These interactions, however, were largely short and occurred just a few times a year. Occasionally, the interactions only took place on the international school campus and largely involved fundraising. The results suggest international schools occasionally attempted to interact with local communities. However, these interactions were often brief. The actual level of sustained engagement requires further analysis.

Traditional knowledge and valuing local culture. These factors were discussed in the interviews in relation to the participants' experiences in national curriculum classes. Five of the participants were exempt from taking these classes at all, because they attended the American and French embassy-affiliated schools. The remaining students discussed their experiences in the national curriculum classes in largely negative terms. A few participants even stated they felt like the national curriculum classes were akin to brainwashing. One participant simply remembered nothing about her experiences in the national curriculum classes, a vastly different response then when asked about her foreign curriculum classes. Additionally, some schools further devalued these courses by only having the courses once every two weeks. Results indicate that although local culture and knowledge were present, largely through the national curriculum coursework, the delivery and lack of importance placed on these classes by the schools and students support the neglect of localization in favor of internationalization.

National identity. The results regarding students' national identity were somewhat mixed and largely depended on schooling and home experiences. However, the difficulties participants described in terms of expressing their national, Egyptian identity largely followed the localized international school model. Students closest to the international context from circle one had the greatest difficulty in feeling connected to Egypt. One student indicated he mostly connected with being an international citizen. Students from schools in the middle circle, circle two, had some difficulty but largely did not express difficulties as great as students from circle one. Participants from circle three, those closest to the national context, had the least difficulty with the national identity factor.

Summary of results for RQ1. This is a summary for quantitative and qualitative results for RQ1. Based on the structure of many of the internationalization statements, results indicate a greater emphasis on internationalization and simultaneous neglect for localization. This is supported by the results for international communication ability, world citizenship, and appreciation of other culture factors. These statements specifically address whether a school emphasizes any of these internationalization factors at the expense of national or local factors related to language, culture, and citizenship.

Overall, 60% of participants from international schools stated their schools encouraged them to be both a global and national citizen. Nearly 40% of elite school respondents stated their school encouraged them to be a global citizen rather than a national citizen or even both. Regarding international communication ability, approximately 50% of elite school respondents and 42% of total respondents stated they were discouraged from speaking Arabic. Finally, 81% of elite school respondents and 63% of total respondents stated they learned more about other cultures than their own.

Results for localization, however, are generally stable across all categories. The responses indicated schools also emphasized localization. However, there were notably larger percentages of respondents who disagreed and somewhat disagreed with traditional knowledge, national identity, and contextualization factors. The qualitative results provide greater details on the actual delivery of localization in international schools. These results, including the students' negative experiences in the national curriculum classes as well as the limited interaction between international school students and local communities, further support the conclusion that international school focus on internationalization at the expense of localization.

In summary, the results are consistent with the hypothesis that the orientation of elite, international schools emphasizes internationalization at the expense of localization. However, these results are also consistent with this study's approach to localization and internationalization as an axis. Indicating localization and internationalization are neither mutually exclusive nor contrasting concepts (Gustafson, 2009) but can be combined or balanced to meet the needs of the internal and external school context. The next section focuses on identifying what school inputs have the greatest influence on orientations as well as what influence an internationalized orientation has on students.

Results for RQ2: Inputs, Orientations, and Influence

Research question two identifies the inputs which have the great significant influence on the orientations of international schools; the inputs and school orientations which have the greatest significant influence on students' orientation towards cosmopolitanism; and inputs and school orientations which have the greatest significant influence on differentiation. This question identifies inputs and proceses which have the greatest influence on the socialization process in these schools as they relate to orientations and outcomes. Specifically, the question identifies the relationship between inputs, school and student orientations, and the final outcome, differentiation. The results use multiple linear regression for the quantitative analysis and responses to interview questions for the qualitative analysis.

RQ2: What global and local inputs have the greatest significant influence on this process? These results are discussed in order of each hypothesis for RQ2. There are four hypotheses, one for each dependent variable: internationalization, localization, cosmopolitanism, and differentiation. The results of the hierarchical regressions are discussed in order of each variable. This order also follows the process illustrated in the global-local model (Figure 7), starting with school orientations and followed by student orientation and finally influence on differentiation.

Quantitative results for Hypothesis 2a. This hypothesis focuses on the relationship between student inputs, school inputs, and internationalization. Hypothesis 2a is as follows:

> H2a: Internationalization (INT): Foreign inputs (FOREIGN) predict internationalization (INT) in Egypt's international schools positively and higher than student inputs (STUDENT) and national inputs (NATIONAL). Specific individual variables diploma type (DIPLOMA), national curriculum exemption (NATEX), and teacher composition (TEACHER) are the most significant, positive predictors of internationalization (INT).

Statistically significant effects from regression model 3 (F[8, 163] = 17.73, $p < .000$), with an $R^2 = 0.38$ were present. According to the ANOVA results,[7] model 2 and model 3 were a significant fit for the data. Table 11 below presents the results for the hierarchical multiple regression models for the dependent variable internationalization. As hypothesized teacher composition and diploma type were positive, strong predictors of internationalization. Teacher composition was a positive, statistically significant predictor in model 2 (B = 1.39, $p < .000$) and in model 3 (B = 1.09, $p < .001$). Diploma type was a positive, statistically significant predictor in model 2 (B = 0.25, $p < .001$) and in model 3 (B = 0.23, $p < .001$). However, national curriculum exemptation was not a significant, positive predictor of internationalization. One national input, localized international school, was a negative, statistically significant predictor of internationalization in model 3 (B = -1.51, $p < .009$).

Results of the hierarchical order of data entry indicate that model 2 was the most statistically significant predictor of internationalization. According to R^2, the goodness-of-fit measure, nearly 35% of the variation in the model was explained collectively by the foreign input variables. Only 3% of the variance was further explained by adding the national inputs. These results are consistent with the hypothesis that international schools' orientation towards internationalization is explained largely by foreign inputs, specifically diploma type and teacher composition. The more foreign-focused the diploma and curricula are and the more foreign teaching staff that is hired, the more the school's orientation shifts towards internationalization. As expected then, the more localized the international school's context is the less the international school focuses on internationalization.

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[7] All ANOVA and additional preliminary results not included in the appendices are available upon request.

Table 11

Results for International Schools and Student Variables Regressed on Internationalization

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Step 1: Student Inputs			
University level	0.19	-0.03	0.03
Mother's education	0.16	0.21	0.24
Father's education	-0.27	-0.16	-0.18
Mother's language	0.31	0.15	0.15
Father's language	0.22	0.10	0.08
Mother private school	0.35	0.28	0.28
Father private school	0.41	0.11	0.24
Father's occupation	0.16	-0.10	-0.14
Step 2: Foreign Inputs			
National curriculum exemption		0.51	-0.69
Teacher composition		1.39^{**}	1.09^{**}
Student composition		0.06	-0.23
Diploma		0.25^{**}	0.23^{**}
Step 3: National Inputs			
Localized international school			-1.51^{*}
Attended Arabic school			0.36
Arabic frequency			0.05
(Constant)	1.40	-2.68^{*}	0.35
R^2	0.06	0.35^{**}	0.38

Note. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .001$.

Quantitative results for Hypothesis 2b. This hypothesis focuses on the relationship between student inputs, school inputs, and localization. Hypothesis 2b is as follows:

H2b: Localization (LOCAL): National inputs (NATIONAL) predict localization (LOCAL) in Egypt's international schools positively and higher than student inputs

> (STUDENT) and foreign inputs (FOREIGN). Specific individual variables frequency of Arabic class (ARFREQ) and localized international school (LOCSC) are the most significant, positive predictors of localization (LOCAL).

Statistically significant effects for model 3 (F[4, 154] = 2.69, $p < .03$), with an $R^2 = 0.14$ were present. According to the ANOVA results, model 3 was a significant fit for the data. Table 12 below presents the results for the hierarchical multiple regression models for the dependent variable localization. Results are largely consistent with the hypothesis. Localized international school in model 3 (B = 2.20, $p < .01$) and Arabic frequency in model 2 (B = 0.84, $p < .01$) and model 3 (B = 0.75, $p < .02$) are positive, statistically significant predictors of localization. The foreign inputs do not, however, follow the hypothesis. National curriculum exemption is a positive and statistically significant predictor of localization in model 3 (B = 2.01, $p < .04$). This result does not follow the hypothesis that the foreign inputs, diploma type and teacher composition, are significant, negative predictors of localization. In fact, both are positive predictors of localization although not statistically significant. Unlike the hypothesis, all foreign inputs except student composition had a positive relationship with localization.

Similar to the internationalization results, collectively the student inputs did not have a statistically significant influence on a students' perceptions of internationalization and localization in their international schools. Only 6% of the variation in the model for internationalization was explained by student inputs and only 2% was explained by the localization analysis. As predicted for the localization model, the national inputs collectively had the greatest explanatory power over localization, followed by the foreign inputs.

Table 12

Results for International Schools and Student Variables Regressed on Localization

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Step 1: Student Inputs			
University level	-0.03	0.04	0.06
Mother's education	0.10	0.25	0.28
Father's education	0.15	-0.02	-0.10
Mother's language	0.19	0.18	0.18
Father's language	0.02	-0.02	0.03
Mother private school	0.29	0.39	0.50
Father private school	0.37	0.43	0.14
Father's occupation	0.08	0.19	0.17
Step 2: National Inputs			
Localized international school		0.48	2.20^{*}
Attended Arabic school		-0.75	-0.39
Arabic frequency		0.84^{*}	0.75^{*}
Step 3: Foreign Inputs			
National curriculum exemption			2.01^{*}
Teacher composition			0.67
Student composition			-0.91
Diploma			0.90
(Constant)	14.50^{**}	11.91^{**}	7.79^{*}
R^2	0.02	0.08^{*}	0.14^{*}

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

Quantitative results for Hypothesis 2c. This hypothesis focuses on the relationship between student inputs, school inputs, orientations and cosmopolitanism. Hypothesis 2c is as follows:

> H2c: Cosmopolitanism: Student inputs (STUDENT) are the greatest significant predictor of cosmopolitanism (COSMO) followed by internationalization (INT) in Egypt's international schools. Specific individual variables parents' language (FLANG/MLANG), and parents attending private school (FPR/MPR) and national curriculum exemption (NATEX) are the most significant, positive predictors of cosmopolitanism (COSMO).

Statistically significant effects for model 2 (F[1, 144] = 12.44, $p < .001$), with an $R^2 = 0.30$ were present. According to the ANOVA results, models 1 through 4 were all a significant fit for the data. Table 13 below presents the results for the hierarchical multiple regression models for the dependent variable cosmopolitanism, the student orientation.

Overall, the results are consistent with the hypothesis that student inputs play a significant role in a student's orientation towards cosmopolitanism. Approximately 24% of the variance in the model can be explained by model 1, the student inputs. Additionally, as the hypothesis predicted, internationalization orientation of schools also has a strong and significant relationship to a student's orientation towards cosmopolitanism. Internationalization orientation explains another 12% of the variance in the model. Together, internationalization and student inputs account for 25% of the variance in the model.

Statistically significant individual student inputs include mother and father's language and father's occupation. As hypothesized mother and father's language were both positive and statistically significant predictors in all four models of cosmopolitanism in students. As model 4 did not produce any statistically significant predictors from the school inputs, I report the results from model 3 to reduce the interference from the additional school inputs on the explanatory power of the student and internationalization variables.

Mother's language was a strong and positive predictor of cosmopolitanism (B = 1.21, $p < .001$) and father's language was a significant and positive predictor of cosmopolitanism (B = 0.85, $p < .04$). A student's mother or father attending a private school had no statistically significant effect on cosmopolitanism as initially predicted. Father's occupation, however, was a negative and significant predictor of cosmopolitanism (B = -0.97, $p < .03$). Internationalization orientation is a statistically significant, positive predictor of cosmopolitanism in all models expect model 4 when the school inputs are entered. In model 3, internationalization is a positive and strong predictor of cosmopolitanism (B = 0.37, $p < .001$).

Table 13

Results for International Schools and Student Variables Regressed on Cosmopolitanism

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Step 1: Student Inputs				
University level	0.41	0.32	0.33	0.26
Mother's education	-0.07	-0.16	-0.13	-0.03
Father's education	0.30	0.44	0.42	0.40
Mother's language	1.30^{**}	1.19^{**}	1.21^{**}	1.13^{*}
Father's language	0.96^{*}	0.90^{*}	0.85^{*}	$.92^{*}$
Mother private school	-0.31	-0.47	-0.47	-0.34
Father private school	0.92	0.87	1.02	0.99
Father's occupation	-0.93	-1.00^{*}	-0.97^{*}	-1.08^{*}
Step 2: School Orientation				
Internationalization		0.39^{**}	0.37^{**}	0.23
Step 3: School Orientation				
Localization			-0.16	-0.15
Step 4: School Inputs				
National curriculum exemption				1.00
Teacher composition				0.21
Student composition				-0.05
Diploma				0.15
Localized international school				-0.66
Attended Arabic school				0.93
Arabic frequency				-0.00
(Constant)	-0.16	0.41	2.74	2.97
R^2	0.24^{**}	0.30^{**}	0.31	0.34

Note. * p < .05. ** p < .001.

Quantitative results for Hypothesis 2d. This hypothesis focuses on the relationship between student inputs, school inputs, school orientations and differentiation. Hypothesis 2d is as follows:

> H2d: Differentiation (DIFF): Student inputs (STUDENT) and internationalization (INT) are significant and positive predictors of differentiation (DIFF), whereas localization (LOCAL) is a significant and negative predictor of differentiation (DIFF). Specific individual varaibles parents' language (FLANG/MLANG), parents attending private school (FPR/MPR) are significant, positive predictors of differentiation (DIFF).

Statistically significant effects for model 3 ($F[1, 143] = 6.12$, $p < .02$), with an $R^2 = 0.33$ were present. According to the ANOVA results, models 1 through 4 were all a significant fit for the data. Table 14 below presents the results for the hierarchical regression models for the dependent variable differentiation.

Overall, the results are consistent with the hypothesis, with the exception of a parent attending a private school. Again, a parent attending a private school was not a significant predictor of differentiation. The addition of the school variables in model 4 largely produced interference and improved the goodness-of-fit by only 3.7%. The results provided follow the final statistically significant model, model 3.

As predicted, for the student variables university level was a significant and positive predictor of cosmopolitanism in models 1 thru 3 ($B = 0.65$, $p < .04$) as well as mother's language ($B = 1.68$, $p < .001$). Both orientations as hypothesized were significant predictors of differentiation. Internationalization was a strong, positive predictor of differentiation ($B = 0.67$, $p < .00$) and localization was a significant, negative predictor of differentiation ($B = -0.32$, $p < .02$).

According to R^2, the goodness-of-fit measure, nearly 21% of the variation in the model was explained collectively by the student input variables. The orientations, internationalization ($R^2 = 0.31$) and localization ($R^2 = 0.33$), both had strong and statistically significant influence on improving the explanatory relationship between the model and differentiation. Internationalization accounted for approximately 10% more of the variance in the model which was statistically significant ($p < .00$) while localization accounted for another 3% which was also statistically significant ($p < .02$). Overall, there is a strong relationship between student input variables and school orientation on increasing differentiation in international school students. As anticipated, university level, parents' language, internationalization, and localization were all statistically significant predictors of differentiation.

Table 14

Results for International Schools and Student Variables Regressed on Differentiation

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Step 1: Student Inputs				
University level	0.79*	0.63*	0.65*	0.59
Mother's education	-0.00	-0.16	-0.09	-0.12
Father's education	-0.02	0.23	0.21	0.29
Mother's language	1.83**	1.63**	1.68**	1.67**
Father's language	1.13	0.95	0.93	0.92
Mother private school	-0.08	-0.36	-0.37	-0.42
Father private school	0.48	0.39	0.68	0.61
Father's occupation	-0.88	0.63	-0.95	-1.17
Step 2: School Orientation				
Internationalization		0.15**	0.67**	0.41*
Step 3: School Orientation				
Localization			-0.32*	-0.33*
Step 4: School Inputs				
National curriculum exemption				-0.37
Teacher composition				0.37
Student composition				-0.22
Diploma				0.16
Localized international school				-1.58
Attended Arabic school				-0.57
Arabic frequency				-0.22
(Constant)	-0.16	-0.29	4.26	7.01
R^2	0.21**	0.31**	0.33*	0.37

Note. * p < .05. ** p < .001.

Qualitative results for RQ2. A brief overview of the questions associated with each variable is discussed below. Results are general summaries which provide relevant complementary or contradictory support for the quantitative results for RQ2.

Internationalization. Interview participants most often cited foreign teachers and the curriculum in their discussions of factors associated with internationalization and localization. As previously mentioned, lack of understanding of the local context made contextualization difficult for foreign teachers. The demands of foreign curricula further limited these efforts. These results support the quantitative results regarding the significance of these school inputs to internationalization.

Localization. The importance of Arabic frequency to localization is further supported by participants who stated their school tried to balance international and national aims. These schools held Arabic class more regularly and placed greater importance on the Arabic language. Results concerning national curriculum exemptions are mixed. The qualitative interviews suggest these schools felt in no way compelled to encourage localization. As a result, students who graduated from these schools did not provide support for localization taking place in their schools.

Cosmopolitanism. Although both cosmopolitanism and differentiation are explored in greater detail in the discussion section within the context of the qualitative analysis, a pattern was detected between students who choose to speak in a foreign language and who come from a home where at least one parent speaks to them in a foreign language. These results also connect to the initial hypothesis concerning parents attending private schools. Participants who preferred communicating in a foreign language often had parents who acquired this linguistic capital in a private, often missionary school. This linguistic capital was passed on to their children in the home and reinforced at school. Thus, qualitative results are complementary to the quantitative results that the home environment is a significant predictor of cosmopolitanism, specifically as it relates to language use. The orientation of schools favoring internationalization then reinforces these predispositions.

Differentiation. Interviews are also consistent with the finding that university level is a significant predictor of differentiation. Alumni were significantly more aware of the implications and influence of their international schooling experience in both negative and positive terms. Language was most often used by all participants as a status indicator. Nearly all students did not have a close friend who could only speak Arabic or did not go to an international school. The level of internationalization often followed the hierarchy of international schools. This connection often made by participants provides further support for internationalization as a significant predictor of differentiation.

Summary of results for RQ1 and RQ2. As hypothesized, the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt prioritizes internationalization at the expense of localization. Although descriptive statistics regarding the factors of localization indicated international schools also focus on localization, within the context of the internationalization statements and the qualitative results, internationalization is prioritized over localization.

The global and local inputs which have the greatest significant influence on schools' orientation towards internationalization were greater foreign teacher composition and a foreign diploma. Overall, the foreign inputs had the greatest explanatory power over a school's orientation towards internationalization. Localization was predicted by national inputs such as localized international school and frequency of Arabic.

Lastly, the final stages in the global-local model are influenced most greatly by a mixture of student inputs and orientations. Cosmopolitanism, the student orientation, was explained largely by student inputs such as parents' language as well as the school orientation internationalization. Differentiation, the output of this socialization process, was most significantly explained by university level and mother's language as well as both internationalization and lack of localization in international schools.

Results for RQ3: Cosmopolitanism

The final two research questions examine the larger societial implications of the global-local socialization context of elite, international schools on differentiation. Research question three identifies the role of international schools, and the field in particular, to the cultivation and legitimazation of cosmopolitanism as a status indicator. The nature of the relationship between students' predisposition to comsopolitanism and its refinement in elite, international schools is explored. The qualitative assumption is that cosmopolitanism in this phenomenon is best approached as habitus rather than capital. The results use interview questions for the qualitative data and quantitative results for greater reliability from a larger data set.

> RQ3: What role do international schools play in legitimizing and cultivating cosmopolitanism in these privileged students?

Quantitative results for RQ3. According to the regression analysis run for the dependent variable cosmopolitanism, the collective student inputs accounted for 24% of the variance in cosmopolitanism. This result indicates that students are predisposed to cosmopolitanism in their homes. The school orientations accounted for 7% of the variance, with internationalization having the most statistically significant influence on cosmopolitanism. These results indicate that the predisposition of students to cosmopolitanism at home, largely through foreign language use at home, is heightened through internationalization in international schools.

Qualitative results for RQ3. Reflective of the quantitative results, the qualitative data indicates that internationalization plays an important role in the legitimization of cosmopolitianism in schools at the expense of localization. Specifically, results indicate international schools play a pivotal role in legitimizing the collective habitus of this privileged class. Qualitative data indicated three main patterns associated with international schools and the collective habitus defined by cosmopolitanism: family reproduction, affinity for foreign languages, and access and opportunities to refine cosmopolitanism.

Family reproduction. Statistics from the survey data indicate that a majority of these students have parents with high levels of education and occupations. Additionally, a significant portion of students who attended elite schools had parents who also attended private schools. All students I interviewed who graduated from Egypt's most elite international schools had at least one parent who also attended a private, foreign language school. Those from mid-high level schools also cited schools like Victoria College, an historically elite, private school, as schools from which their parents graduated.

Participants from the most elite international schools often identified their parents' schooling as being influential as a status indicator. Generational access to schooling is a way to differentiate old and new money families (Russell, 1999). Participants particularly from the high and mid-high level schools identified this means of differentiation. Nina, a graduate from a German school and AUC alumni, described it as follows: *"I think it's generation plus schooling. It's not just schooling. It has to be at least two generations that come from the same thing. It has to be. It has to be."*

A significant positive correlation exists between students attending an elite school and having a father that attended a private school (*r* = .16). Additionally, there is a strong correlation between a father that speaks a foreign language at home and a high likelihood he graduated from a private school (*r* = .22) and a significant correlation between a mother that speaks a foreign language and attending a private school (*r* = .17). These results highlight the reproduction of this link between private education and foreign languages. The reproduction of cosmopolitanism through family reproduction and private education reinforces the exclusivity of this orientation and its importance as a status indicator.

The trangenerational inheritance of status indicators, specifically language, and associated problems with this reproduction were discussed by Salma, a graduate from the French embassy-affiliated Lycée. Salma was acutely aware of the problem between these schools and her inheritance of both social class indicators as well as an identity crisis:

> *But again I've inherited my parents' problem. My parents went for instance to, at the time it was Jesuit, for instance for my dad. At the time, it wasn't when you talk to the Jesuit graduate at the time of my dad. It's not like you talk to these Jesuit graduates now. [...] at my dad's time French was still very important. They all have excellent French. The priests who used to teach them there were French. Now they're all Egyptian, the teachers, so it's different. So my father feels the same way that I do, and then he went on*

> *to study in the UK and then to Japan. So I've inherited that from my parents, so it's no surprise that I feel the way I do now and my mum still feels the same way.*
>
> *(Salma, high[8], AUC alumni)*

Her discussion highlights both the importance of foreign teachers as the legitimate depositors of this linguistic capital as well as the role of schools in the reproduction of cosmopolitanism and subsequent feelings of dissociation across generations. The importance of these foreign inputs is related to the symbolic capital behind foreign, largely western education as a result of Egypt's colonial legacy. The symbolic power associated with these components is not confined to privileged participants. As Salma continues, she describes a commonly used Arabic term, which indicates the superiority of all things western, '*aqdt al-Khwāgah*, or knot of the foreigner:

> *['Aqdt al-Khwāgah is] very prevalent here in Egypt. You would think you'd find it only when it comes to the higher social segment of the society, but actually it has trickled down throughout the society because when people aspire for greatness financially, they aspire to be, to look like the westerners, to speak like the westerners, to eat like the westerners, while not actually trying to cherish their own culture.*

---

[8] Descriptor indicates school position. Specifically, where the participant's school is positioned within the field of international schools in Egypt according to the hierarchy: High, mid-high, middle, low, public.

The demand for foreign and specifically western education through the field of international schools was also highlighted by Sarah, the public school graduate. According to Sarah, the field provided not only linguistic capital but also cultural capital to appropriately interact with foreigners both within Egypt and abroad. These skills, according to her, are not available in the public school system.

Language. One of the largest signifiers of the privileged class's collective habitus is their affinity for foreign languages. It is not merely a lingua franca, but for many, an active part of their everyday lives and conversations with friends and family. Survey data shows that codeswitching is most often used between friends. This is even more true for those higher on the school hierarchy. Approximately 71% of respondents stated they used codeswitching in conversations with friends and only 22% spoke only Arabic. Approximately 26% of non-elite students reported speaking only Arabic versus 16% from elite schools. Codeswitching was reported by 69% of non-elite school students and 74% of elite school students. What this indicates is an overall significantly high percentage of students from across the international school field communicating simultaneously in both a foreign language and Arabic through codeswitching.

Further evidence of the preference for foreign language use is present in students' language preferences for news, books, television, and social media. Figure 32 below illustrates the language use of international school students. Notably, the final column has a significantly high percentage of survey participants who prefer using only a foreign language while interacting on social media (74%), reading books (73%), listening to the news (50%) and watching television (63%). Overall, respondents did not prefer to use Arabic in these media forms and a mix between Arabic and a foreign language, shown in the middle of the graph, was also not preferred by most respondents.

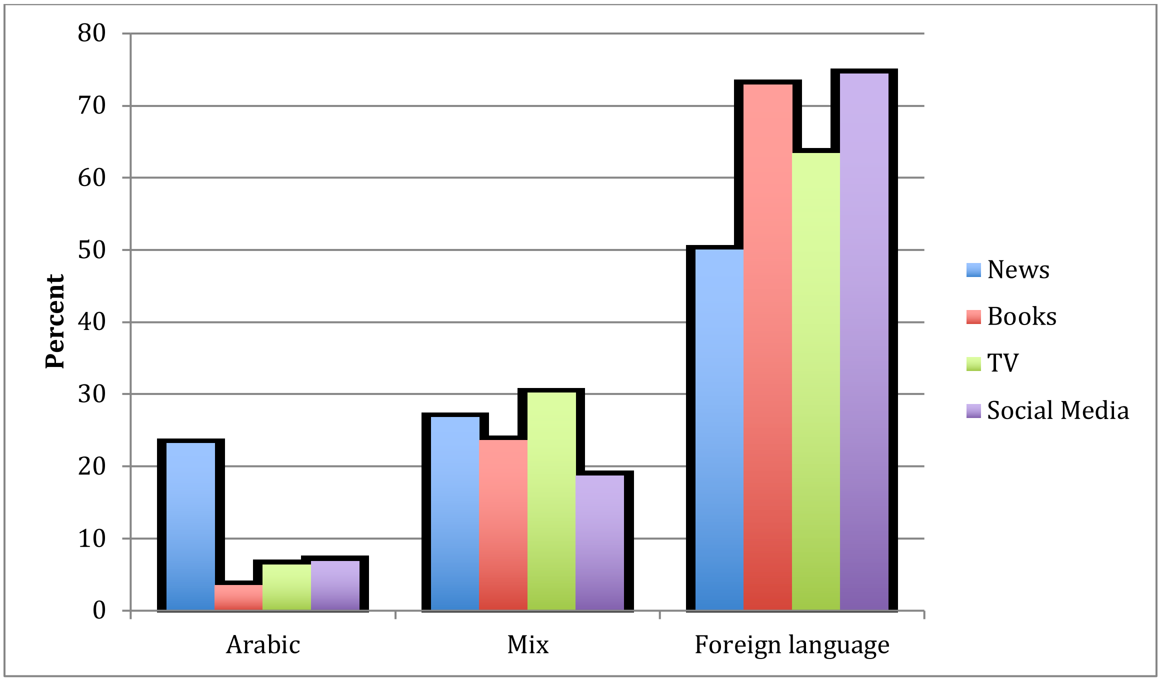


Figure 32. Language preferences for news, books, tv, and social media use for graduates of international schools by percentage.

Additionally, appropriate forms of cosmopolitan expression through accent, pronunciation, and balancing one's "Egyptianness" with cosmopolitanism were cited most often as status indicators associated with international schools. As a result, international schools not only reinforced the cosmopolitanism acquired at home, but these schools played a vital role in the refinement of these dispositions. The result of this process is the legitimization of appropriate expressions of cosmopolitanism as an exclusive indicator of status.

Access and opportunities. Cosmopolitanism at home was reinforced at school through the internationalized school culture and mission. Students had ample opportunities to interact with foreigners at school and by traveling internationally. These experiences provided almost daily opportunities to practice and refine their cosmopolitan skills, a very exclusive opportunity that helps define membership. Participants most often cited their interactions with foreigners, specifically foreign teachers, as an important way for them to practice their cosmopolitan dispositions. All students, except one, preferred having foreign teachers over Egyptian teachers.

Nearly 60% of all respondents stated they had foreign teachers or a mixture of Egyptians and foreigners. For elite school respondents, 49% stated they had mainly foreign teachers and 40% stated they had both. For these respondents, 88% had foreign and a mixture of foreign and Egyptian teachers. Elite school students also travel internationally more often. Nearly 37% travelled at least two or three times a year and 57% reported traveling once a year. Only one respondent indicated they had never traveled outside of Egypt and 5% travel four or more times a year. These trips abroad are also encouraged by the school as many field and sports trips require international travel. One student reported that the school did not even have options for domestic field trips.

Regarding work, participants still at AUC often imagine living abroad for a period of time. Those who are currently in the workforce work in the private labor market. One currently lives abroad. These results support the life trajectory of privileged students acquiring lucrative job opportunities in the private labor market, overseas, and often in multinational corporations.

Summary of results for RQ3. The results are consistent with the qualitative assumption that cosmopolitanism should be approached as habitus rather than capital, specifically for students from the most elite, international schools. The influence of student inputs and interviews suggest that cosmopolitanism is inculcated at home and reinforced at school. Schools legitimize cosmopolitanism through their hiring of significant numbers of foreign teachers, insistence on using foreign languages while at school, and encouragement of international connections and travel. These were all previously associated with factors of internationalization.

The elite school category indicated a significant preference towards using foreign languages and international travel. This was supported by interview results, which similarly indicated participants from the high and mid-high international schools preferred foreign teachers, languages, and travel. Participants from the highest ranked international schools largely preferred to express themselves in English, French, or German. Their orientation towards their everyday life is defined by this cosmopolitan habitus.

As a result of students' cosmopolitanism at home and the focus on internationalization at school, however, localization is neglected. This results in the devaluation and loss of local capital, such as Arabic linguistic capital. The neglect for localization in schools negatively influences these graduates' transitions into Egyptian society. These transitions are the focus of the final research question.

Results for RQ4

Research question four identifies the final outcome of the phenomenon under study. Specifically, how participants operationalize status indicators in society as a means of differentiation. The final analysis focuses on the participants' encounters in differing local fields. Results examine how participants operationalize the transnational and local capital gained as a result of their schooling filtered through their habitus in both advantageous and disadvantageous ways. The results use interview questions for the qualitative data which are supported by the quantitative regression analysis for differentation to provide reliability from a larger data set.

> RQ4: How do privileged students interpret and use the skills and dispositions acquired and refined in their international schools?

Quantitative results for RQ4. According to the final quantitative regression analysis, differentiation is comprised of the aforementioned cosmopolitan variable and feelings of belonging. Results indicate that privileged students refine cosmopolitan skills demanded by the global labor market. The result of these processes reproduced highly sought after status indicators and reproduced the logic of practice within Egypt's privileged class. However, this same process negatively influences students' ability to associate with Egyptians of other backgrounds.

In summary, the results indicate not only languages spoken at home but also the orientation of international schools play an important role in cultivating cosmopolitanism, while simultaneously deepening differentiation. Language, specifically the mother's language at home, plays a significant role in increasing differentiation. This is compounded by the lack of localization and focus on internationalization in international schools.

Qualitative results for RQ4. Consistent with the quantitative results, participants saw the acquisition of foreign language skills as largely beneficial. However, all participants noted the problems either they faced or fellow students faced as a result of their inferior Arabic skills. Again, linguistic capital was the most significant determinant of social class position. As a status indicator, students used linguistic capital as a means of within-group inclusion and exclusion.

This played an important role in the broader relationship students identified between international schools and social class. All students were aware of the relationship between social stratification and international schools. Additionally, students at the top of the international school hierarchy were acutely aware of the roles international schools played in within-group means of differentiation. Each of these results is now presented.

Individual differentiation. At the individual level, participants' relationships with the Arabic language were among the most influential. In general, participants felt alienated from the Arabic language. They lacked a feeling of comfort with the language largely regarding reading and writing. Such language difficulties inevitably had an impact on who and where participants chose to interact and form relationships. Additionally, for participants in the workforce, the lack of Arabic language skills significantly influenced where they could and could not work.

Individuals were significantly influenced by the linguistic habitus at school and at home. Most respondents stated they had some form of difficulty with the Arabic language as international schools did not encourage literacy in Arabic. In the most extreme cases, students who graduated from schools which were exempt from teaching the national curriculum classes even had difficulty in fluently speaking only in Arabic without needing to codeswitch to English. One participant started her journey towards improving her Arabic language skills when her own children began taking Arabic in school. She stated, *"Now my children they take Arabic, so I can't even begin to tell you, when they first moved here it was like Chinese. No, Chinese was easier than what I had to do." (Hend, high, AUC alumni)*

Three participants did not have Arabic language difficulties. One participant came from a public school. The second participant transferred from the national system to an international school in middle school. The third participant attended a school where Arabic was encouraged, Arabic class was held more frequently, and they had a larger percentage of Egyptian teachers. This participant did say, however, that you could still find students from her school with weak Arabic. The largest determinants, according to the participants, in having strong Arabic skills were speaking only Arabic at home and students who were self-driven and preferred to read and learn Arabic on their own. According to the participants, the aim of the international schools was to encourage fluency in a foreign language rather than in Arabic.

Group exclusion. Participants at the high and mid-high levels of the international school hierarchy did not have friends who could only speak Arabic. Additionally, these same participants only had friends who went to similar international schools. These results support the significant lack of social interaction between privileged students and the rest of Egyptian society. A discussion with Omar exemplifies these results:

> *Yeah, I think it is easier to connect [with people from an international school]. […] Because I am going to be honest with you, because you are like me. We are the same. I wouldn't be friends with, not me I am just saying, I don't look at them as [this], but I am just saying in life this is how things are. I don't have any friends who are in any public schools. Where would we meet? And how would we share our lives? And how would I have him come to my house and see [this]? And vice versa. I wouldn't feel comfortable if I go to his house. And I am sure it is even more, it is harder for the girls. I am a guy, so it is easy to interact with anyone. But for them, of course, they can't interact with any of the guys that are at that level.*
>
> *(Omar, mid-high, AUC student)*

Additionally, all participants identified the international school environment as akin to living in a bubble. This bubble is difficult to break as the social segregation of participants is amplified by their spatial segregation. All interview participants lived in compounds or wealthy enclaves in Cairo. Nearly 40% of survey respondents lived in a compound or gated community. Two participants who had greater interactions with Egyptians from a diversity of backgrounds went to a public school and a private school which taught the national curriculum before moving to an international school in middle school. These participants cited the difficulties students who attend international schools face their entire lives when they move into Egyptian society.

Belonging. Participants' social segregation is heightened by feelings of dissociation within Egyptian society. Not only did participants have limited interactions with Egyptians from a lower social class, but their experiences in the internationalized environments within international schools created mixed feelings regarding their sense of belonging in Egypt. As Hend, a graduate from the American embassy school states:

> *But I think if you're not going to be as a person grounded in who you are, then how can you be global? You know what I mean? Like, if I was a human being and I'm flying all around in the air trying to be a bit American, a bit French, a bit dah dah dah, then where am I? You know, and I live in my own country. It's not like my parents come from different nationalities or I lived abroad. No, I'm in my own country. My parents are Arabs, Egyptian, Muslims. They speak Arabic you know. So the science says and evidence states, if you want to maximize cognitive potential in young children, socially, emotionally, they have to be secure. And they have to be rooted well. And for children to be rooted well, social and emotionally, cultural identity plays a big role, you know what I mean? So what's the point of being a global citizen, with my cultural identity is in a crisis situation?*
>
> *(Hend, high, AUC alumni)*

Participants who are currently in the workforce identified more difficulties with belonging and socialization than participants currently in AUC. This result is consistent with the quantitative result that university level is a significant predictor of differentiation. Current AUC students lacked the relational frames and experiences outside their international school bubble to fully interpret their schooling experiences in the same way as older graduates. AUC is largely still within the bubble of international schools. The liberal arts education of this American university is not significantly different from that found in international schools in Egypt.

All participants except two stated their schooling experiences had an influence on their sense of belonging in Egypt. Only one of those participants stated her schooling experience cultivated her Egyptian identity at the expense of cosmopolitanism. Yet, nearly all cited some difficulties connecting with students who attended more localized international schools when they entered AUC or with Egyptians from different social backgrounds outside of their international school bubble. One participant even stated that his sense of belonging in Egypt is entirely the product of his home and not his international school. Yet still, he identifies himself as an international citizen. Another student from the same American embassy-affiliated school described it as such: "*If I were to symbolically represent that with like a cord, I'd have to say the school cut the cord, you know what I mean, between me and my country.*"

Differentiation within the field of international schools. The interviews and FGDs suggest differentiation within the field of international schools is closely linked to the hierarchical structure of the field of international schools. Quantitative results are consistent with the following qualitative results identifying the strong influence of student inputs on cosmopolitanism and differentiation. However, qualitative results indicated that those homes which attempted to mitigate these losses were largely overshadowed by the school environment. The power of the pedagogic habitus is one of the most significant results which is further explored in the following chapter.

This hierarchy was previously illustrated in Figure 19 showing connaisance and reconnaisance. The hierarchy also similarly follows levels of internationalization, with those at the top attending the most internationalized schools. Responses focused on the acquisition of linguistic capital and cultural capital related to a more liberal environment both socially and academically as well as a collective habitus or a sense of connection between those who shared a similar schooling experience and had a similar social class background. These can be further classified as differentiation based on a convergence between pedagogic habitus and collective habitus as they relate to socialization in international schools.

The further up the hierarchy students are, the more they have the connaissance and reconnaissance related to cosmopolitanism and internationalization but the less access they have to local forms of capital. Some examples included nuances related to the Arabic language, knowledge of Egypt's heritage and history, appreciation for teaching and learning styles prevalent in public schools, and an understanding of hierarchical authority present in the culture of Egypt's workforce. However, schools in the middle and low levels of the hierarchy were also largely perceived by participants in the mid-high to high level international schools as being more "*Egyptian*", less cosmopolitan, more "*localized*," and for some, people they would never interact with.

Schools at the apex of this hierarchy provide access to limited forms of local capital and provide limited opportunities to develop local connections. As one participant stated: *"The first one is that culturally it's so disconnected from my culture, from my country, from the people that are beyond the Egyptians that I knew in CAC [Cairo American College], my relatives and whoever. So I could not really bond with anyone except my group." (Hend, high, AUC alumni)*

The lack of local capital, however, was mitigated by both economic capital and symbolic capital of the schools' positions. Graduates of these schools as well as those in different field positions all acknowledged the difficulties such participants would have in local, Egyptian environments. Deficits in local capital can potentially be acquired at home. However, most of the students interviewed highlighted a pattern of convergence between the school and home which valorized and perpetuated the superiority of cosmopolitanism and transnational capital. Additionally, result indicate that students' transition into fields that were more similar both in degrees of internationalization and cosmopolitanism were less of a culture shock.

For example, students from the top of the international school hierarchy described the greatest culture shock during transitions, particularly to AUC. Participants understood the international schools' missions to be focused on sending their graduates abroad to the United States, France, or Germany. Yet in their new AUC context, students often described self-censorship and the need to talk differently and express viewpoints differently. All participants from the high international school category felt overqualified academically but socially in a bubble. The following excerpt is Farah, a graduate from the French embassy-affiliated international school.

> *At the same time the school was a bit, how do we say it, gated. Not physically but at least socially. So we always hang out together. This is like our friends, our community. We would go to the same club. Go to the same outings. Speak the same language. For extracurricular activities, it will usually be with CAC or DEO [two other embassy-affiliated international schools, American and German respectively]. So this was like, the not the comfort zone, but the familiar zone. But at university, we are exposed, or at least I was exposed, to so many different people from totally different backgrounds, from different schools. And it was a bit, it took some time for me to adjust. That I could not speak the same way. I could not talk in the same manner, share the same views. People would not be accepting other points of view as they did in Lycée.*

(Farah, high, AUC alumni)

These feelings were not felt by everyone. One student, Mona, emphasized her ability to navigate both local and transnational fields. These abilities are connected to both her home and pedagogic habitus that provided the structured system to mobilize her capital using a variety of strategies. Depending on the field she is in, she knows which will result in the greatest benefit. The difference between Mona and the rest of the participants was that she had a unique schooling experience which allowed her to accumulate both local and transnational capital. Mona attended a private school using the national curriculum until middle school, after which she moved to a private, international school. She describes the result of this experience as follows:

> *If I was born and lived my whole life in that bubble I would have been a totally different person. My language would have been different in a way I think. [...] I honestly think I have street smarts like I know how to interact with different kinds of people. I can literally interact with anyone and I have this ability to improvise so just I know how to speak to one person and how to use our, how to speak to them in their own language per se.*
>
> *(Mona, middle, AUC student)*

She links this ability also to her knowledge of the national curriculum and the kind of individuals it fosters. Mona has the advantage of exposure to these differing segments of society through her school experience, not only to teachers and students but the knowledge, evaluative structure, and tools used to develop certain characteristics in the national system. She has an abundance of local as well as transnational capital to mobilize in diverse field settings in often beneficial ways.

> This coexistence of cosmopolitanism and nationalism as institutional logic indicates that a larger volume of cosmopolitanism does not automatically translate into a better chance of success in labor markets and in other arenas of social life. What maximizes the chance of success seems to be the 'right' combination of cosmopolitan and national academic qualifications in both global and national arenas (Jarvis, 2013; Nukaga, 2013). (as cited in Igarashi and Saito, 2014, p. 233)

Unfortunately for participants from high and mid-high international schools, they lacked the right combination of local capital for the national arena. Overall, students' encounters at AUC were largely based on how similar they were to their previous schooling experience. In a sense, a convergence between the pedagogic habitus of both institutions. Similar schooling experiences, particularly those from who attended more internationalized schools at the top of the hierarchy cultivated a sense of collective habitus. Participants stating this means of within-group belonging could be senses from across the room between two people.

> *Hend: I would have to say it's just the attitude. I don't know, like I can spot a CACian [graduate of Cairo American College] from a different class if I was put in a room full of strangers. It's just the aura of, I don't know. [...] How they talk, in their behavior, how they carry themselves.*
>
> *Ericka: What's an example of how someone would carry themselves?*
>
> *Hend: First of all, if we're talking about within the Egyptians, they would definitely be very Americanized. Their accent is so American. It's unbelievable. You can actually think that they lived in America their whole lives the way they speak. Americans probably won't even speak that way, because they're Egyptians trying to fantasize about "America is cool" so the accent is a bit more. That's definitely one thing. Second, I don't know how*

> *to say like, it's not arrogance, it's more I don't know, I would have to say again a superiority thing.*

These results show that international schools and the international school hierarchy in particular is a important vector which inculcates students with status indicators or means of within-group differentiation. These means of differentiation are further reinforced through encounters between privileged students and Egyptian teachers. Results from pariticpants suggest most of these encounters reinforced the differences between privileged students and Egyptian teachers.

> *Nina: Egyptian teachers are Egyptian people coming from a middle class, or they're different. [...] They come from a different society, from a totally different society from DEO [the German school]. So when they see girls that are wearing, [like hot shorts], it's not something that they accept easily. So also not anyone can decide we're going to go be a teacher at DEO. It has to be a teacher that is a bit open-minded, but can still give them the religion they need, and Arabic they need, and not force them, and not to be too aggressive.*
>
> *Ericka: And you feel that some of them treated you differently then?*
>
> *Nina: No, but we always had an Egyptian principal, she was always very strict with the teachers, not with the kids. If you tell her, for example, this teacher looked at me in a bad way or told me, why are you wearing your tennis clothes to school, or did your mom see you wearing something that short or whatever, she go straight away to the teacher and tell him this is something personal you're not allowed to speak to her [...]. She can wear whatever she wants. Whatever she's comfortable in, because she has to [...] not want to wear the shorts because she sees them as inappropriate not be forced to. So this is actually the whole system."*

Nina's description of "this is actually the whole system" identifies the diverging value systems between many Egyptian teachers and the international schools in which they work that largely results in amplifying those differences.

Differentiation between public schools and international schools. Similar to differences between international schools, the lack of language skills and cosmopolitanism was often cited as a means of differentiation between public and international school graduates. Participants most often cited a divergence from the pedagogic habitus of public school students that focused on memorization, submission, and tradition. Two students suggested, however, that public school students would have greater grit than international school students. Nevertheless, participants often suggested graduates of public schools were largely conservative and had vastly different horizons for action or life trajectories. Three participants suggested public school students lacked the ability to stand up to authority, lacked agency to act as an individual, and were largely submissive to Egyptian authority and cultural norms. International school students, in contrast, acquired the needed critical thinking skills to stand up for themselves. These results identify the market: the valuation of the system of capital and habitus which defines international school students and the devaluation of capital and habitus which defines public school students. Students' experience in the national exams were the one of the few times international schools students encounter the public school system.

National Exams. All students, except those who were exempt from taking national curriculum classes, were required by the government to take the national curriculum exams in Arabic, religion, and social studies. To take these examinations, students are required to go to a nearby public school where they take the exams under the direction of moderators. This event for many is the first time they have entered a public school or encountered public school teachers or public school students in this local environment. For some in this study, the public school was shut down just so the students from the international school could take the exams, so they were not even confronted with public school students. Participants' perceptions of the encounter and their perceptions of the teachers and students can largely be described as resistant. Students felt out of place in the unfamiliar environment outside their bubble, where the classroom was controlled by teachers most students perceived with ill-intent.

The environment was foreign. Many described it as "*uncomfortable," "shocking*," and incomprehensible that these are "*actually considered schools"* in comparison to the clean, modern buildings of their international schools. The encounter highlighted differences in the perceived superiority of the learning environment and skills acquired in international schools versus public schools and their perception of the teachers' lack of valuing their knowledge, a clear indication of divergence between their pedagogic habitus. Participants described being "*dumbed down"* and "*looked down upon."* Participants described assuming teachers and students looked at them as foreigners, weak and internationalized, and the boys as being feminine. Nevertheless, these encounters merely reinforced for privileged students the superiority of their education despite it being preceived as inferior in these encounters.

Social stratification. All respondents were aware of the connection between social class and international schools. Simply put, "*it creates differences between people who come from an international school."* However, the degree to which this connection was perceived to be negative varied. A few participants remained slightly ambivalent, seeing the field as neither *"good or bad. It's just what happens, so like the other alternative isn't that great as well so we just need to find a way [...] to get past it."* The perception that "*it's just what happens,"* highlights the historical underpinnings of this process that has created a sense of normalcy in some. Results show that teachers, schools, parents, and students all play active roles in the legitimation of internationalization which heightens the power of this field and its resulting differentiation. All participants were aware of the role the field of international schools plays in the creation of social classes. Yet the perception that the unequal structure of Egypt's education system could or should be overcome varied, and the role the structure of this system played in providing privileged students with lucrative job opportunities was often misrecognized as accumulation of ability.

Horizons for action. The following section presents results regarding life opportunities, and the term *horizons for action* is employed. Results from participants suggest social stratification is reinforced through the unequal distribution of life opportunities. *Horizons for action* are:

> The perspectives on and possibilities for action given in any field or intersection of fields. […] We can see how the dispositions of habitus and the positions of education and the labour market both influence horizons for action and are inter-related. […] Because 'schemata' filter information, horizons for action both limit and enable our view of the world and the choices we can make within it. (Hodkinson, 1998, p. 94).

Horizons for action as discussed by participants focued on transitions into the workforce, career choice, and other life advantages or disadvantages as related to participants' experiences in international schools. The concept is used to frame the way in which the field of international schools and the development of their habitus shapes their perception of opportunities and limitations in their future endeavors.

Global opportunities. Following the definition of *horizons for action*, habitus provides the scaffolding for future opportunities, filtering students' perceptions of what is and is not possible. The qualitative results are consistent with previous literature and this study's survey results regarding current or future occupation with the perceived and existent opportunities present in the private labor market for the privileged class. Overall, participants perceived future opportunities largely to be in the private workforce. According to the survey results, 71% of respondents currently or intend to work in some sector of the private workforce. Based on these results, privileged students are aware of the value of their educational credentials and cosmopolitan skills, as exclusive indicators of their privilege to participate in the global marketplace. However, both the perceived superiority of their education, social class position, and the exclusivity attached to these two factors cultivated a sense of responsibility. Respondents stated they had "*brighter future[s]*" because these were "*people that can grow up and make a difference: provide job opportunities, open businesses, offer jobs for people who are not as privileged as they are.*"

International school students' job market was perceived on an international level, not confined to Egypt. Most students imagined jobs related to economics, business, development, education, and marketing. However, *Arabic jobs,* such as law or medical degrees that required the Egyptian national diploma were not options for graduates of international schools nor were they desired. The following participant's quote encapsulates the misrecognition of the educational capital associated with international schools as representing legitimate and superior ability and knowledge subsequently resulting in drastically different life trajectories:

> *I think international students, like, the world is their oyster. They can do whatever they want after they graduate. They have the opportunity to think outside the box and like whatever you want. Start your own business. Go to university, you don't have to go to*

> *university if you don't want to. All of this. But for a government student, if you don't go to university, you're not going to get a proper job, They're not going to pay you anything.*
>
> *(Hend, mid-high, AUC student)*

Many had the luxury of remaining undecided. Their knowledge of dealing with foreigners, a result of their cosmopolitan home habitus and their pedagogic habitus, was seen as a means to work in multinational corporations or abroad. Internationalization in schools then pushes students to imagine lives outside of Egypt. At times, it discourages students from imagining lives even within Egypt.

For example, 71% of total respondents intend to work or study abroad if given the opportunity. This result is consistent with the interrelationship between cosmopolitan habitus and the position of the field of international schools through internationalization filtering and reinforcing the perception of opportunities internationally while limiting the desire for and appropriateness of opportunities within the local labor market, specifically jobs within fields that require Arabic. Sherif, a graduate of a high embassy-affiliated school, clearly linked this point to the focus on global connections within these schools:

> *And you know this lack of localization or the push to globalization is getting more and more, not less and less. My son, if I was to tell him, by the way in terms of college choices we are only looking at Egypt, he would have a nervous breakdown. He can't imagine going to university here. He has his heart set on the next step is abroad, and I am ready for it, and that is why I am working hard, and that is why I am doing this, and why I am doing that. So yeah, there is this sadness that is there. But there is this whole world of opportunity out there you know. The world is much bigger than Egypt, so it is a trade off.*
>
> *(Sherif, high, AUC alumni)*

Arabic limitations. Participants who graduated from schools in the high and mid-high level of the international school hierarchy expressed greater feelings of resentment in their schooling experience and its effect on limiting their ability to belong to their country as well as its creation of significant language challenges in the workplace.

For many graduates in the workforce, at the beginning, their *horizons for action* were controlled by their language skills. For some, their foreign language skills were an asset. For others, they were the only language skills they had. Their ability to still be successful in the job market despite their lack of local capital is a testament to the global fields in which they participate. They are able to mitigate these effects through accessing the global marketplace, activating the transnational capital acquired in their habitus. Those who were thrust into the local occupational environment, largely as private business owners, overcame the lack of linguistic capital with great effort, a process described as *"a long and slow and tedious process. That's still going."*

Symbolic capital. Job opportunities were not only formulated by the educational and linguistic skills obtained in these schools. The school reputations also played a significant factor in students' perceptions of opportunities. Their schools were a form of symbolic capital. Even the public school graduate cited the symbolic capital exemplified by employers confounding international schools graduates with people from better social backgrounds. Sarah, a public school graduate and AUC student, also identified linguistic capital associated with English and the educational capital associated with a "*better sense of logic."*

The hierarchy of international schools reflects the level of symbolic capital. Graduates from schools at the top of the hierarchy largely cited their schools as their symbolic capital in the labor market. Participants cited employers seeking them out because of the international school they graduated from. As one moves down the hierarchy, AUC is perceived to be what will open occupational doors.

Additionally, the pedagogic habitus from the international school experience for many had an influence on what subject they studied at AUC. Many echoed these preferences by stating the schools with more emphasis on national curriculum classes produced students better in math and science fields. For Sarah, the public school graduate, her experience with a learning style that valued memorization and quantity of information influenced her preference for math and science. Classes in math and science were the only subjects she did not feel disadvantaged in compared to her international school classmates. She had difficulty in writing papers and synthesizing large amounts of text, for example. As a result, the learning styles of schools influenced students' perceptions of what university subjects might be a better fit for their pedagogic habitus.

Revolution. The "Revolution" or Egyptian uprising in 2011 provided an opportunity that many participants stated encouraged a desire for genuine engagement with and collective affinity towards Egypt. The violence and security threats for those weeks in January and February unwillingly forced many students to face a reality outside their social and spatial safety zone. These events also encouraged some to learn more about their own country while simultaneously highlighting their limitations. Salma, a student from the French embassy school, felt a significant loss of national identity as a result of her schooling stating:

> *The Revolution was an instance, a moment, when we all thought that we could actually, that we actually could belong here. That we actually would have had our say to integrate the society, not integrate the society, but to help society, and to build Egypt once again.*

> *Of course that dream faded away and all that's left of it is just a dream, but it did ignite some sort of curiosity to have a say in what Egypt would look like.*
>
> *(Salma, high, AUC alumni)*

The discussion continued with her reflecting upon a moment that exemplified a lack of legitimate local capital within the context of citizenship that amplifies why she will always carry with her a sense of social segregation, her lack of legitimate expressions of Egyptian citizenship:

> *Something that's really funny, and it hit me during the Egyptian Revolution, was that when it was time to sing the Egyptian national anthem, I don't know it. I know the French one by heart. I sing it to [my daughter] but I don't know the Egyptian one and I still don't know it.*

Her description of this realization as being "*funny*" alludes to her understanding of this fact as almost farcical in her attempts to "authentically" belong to the macrosociety. It also represents a complete lack of localization on the part of the school, an exemplification of the "exportation of cultural models from industrialized countries to the periphery, showing that what was promoted by hegemonic countries' national systems did not often favor the particular needs and situations of the Third World" (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). The fact that she attended school in her own country which taught her the national anthem of the country's previous colonizer rather than the country in which she and the school are located is telling. Again, these encounters resulted in momentary feelings of collective affinity which quickly faded as participants largely described acquiescing to national estrangement.

Summary of results for RQ4. The quantitative and qualitative results supports the statement that cosmopolitanism is institutionalized through this field and distributed unequally, reproducing and reinforcing social stratification. A pattern regarding internationalization and localization largely follows the structure of the field of international schools. This hierarchy also reinforces within-group means of differentiation and devalues the logic of practice outside of the international school field.

In conclusion, these results support the claim that the field of international education is often at odds with the traditional understanding of the purpose of education systems. What participants largely described, however, was the way in which this field provided distinction from the rest of Egyptian society, the differences in identity expression as a result of cosmopolitanism and the subsequent unequal social categorization it legitimated. How this system is at odds with traditional understandings of education is analyzed in the following chapter along with an interpretation of the results for RQ1 through RQ4.

Summary

The previous quantitative and qualitative results provide evidence to answer the main research question: how does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society? The previous Figure 7 global-local model provides visual guidance for the results of the socialization process in elite, international schools.

First, results indicate the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt prioritizes internationalization and neglects localization, as hypothesized. The degree of prioritization largely follows the hierarchy of the field of international schools. Second, the inputs which have the greatest significance in this process are foreign teachers, foreign curricula, and foreign languages of instruction. The prioritization of internationalization over localization reinforces students' predisposition to cosmopolitanism. The refinement of cosmopolitanism through linguistic and cultural capital often comes at the expense of acquiring local capital which students need to successfully interact in local fields. As a result, this socialization process reinforces status indicators representative of cosmopolitanism, which reinforce differentiation within international school groups as well as within Egyptian society resulting in deepening social stratification.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Introduction

The goal of the following chapter is to discuss the results through the mapping of the structure and practice of the field of elite, international schools and their privileged participants. The analysis follows the three level, vertical case study approach as described in Chapter Three where it was outlined using a Bourdieusian framework and terminology. The three level outline and use of Bourdieusian terms in this chapter are now presented.

Level one, the vertical level, analyzes the structured structures—accepted and conferred principles—which define, govern, and legitimize the field of international schools in Egypt. This level highlights the consistencies between the quantitative results and previous literature on international schools and internationalization. RQ1and RQ2, orientations and inputs, are discussed in relation to what principles govern the field of international schools and why global inputs and actors perpetuate the legitimization and valuation of this field. Level one provides the foundation for level two and level three discussions which focus on the relationship between the field of international schools and the habitus of privileged participants through examining the encounters, social interactions, and legitimation that occur in the following microlevels.

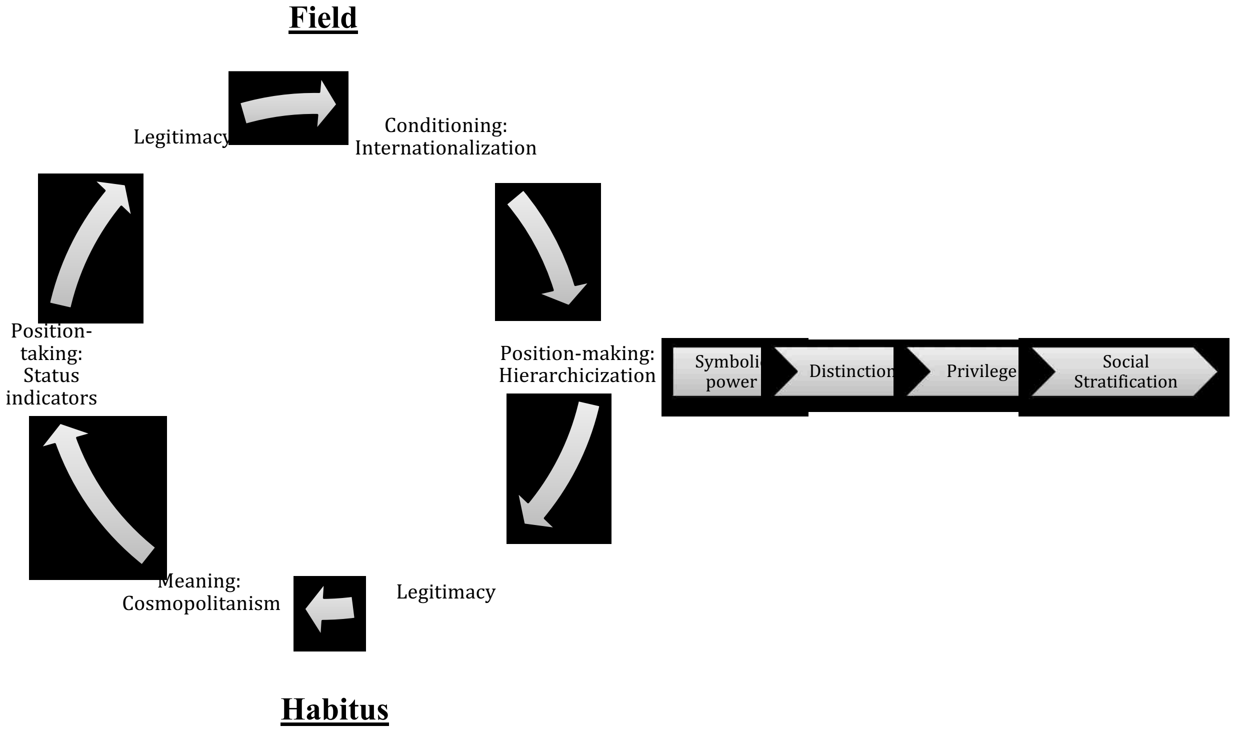
After mapping the structure of the field, level two analyzes the structure and positionality of individuals with a specific focus on habitus. Level two discusses RQ3. This level analyzes cosmopolitanism as habitus through the socialization process in international schools in Egypt, as well as how this socialization experience influences the development of students' habitus and the impact this has on the social construction of perceptions of internal and external group membership. Additional Bourdieusian terms that shape the analysis include pedagogic habitus, collective habitus, misrecognition, and symbolic violence.

Level three focuses on the long term implications of the structure of the field and positionality of students when (re)positioning into Egyptian society. It is this level of analysis that emphasizes the importance of differentiation and social stratification that results from the relationship between field and habitus. The level three discussion seeks to understand the structure of relations and practice that emerge as a result of encounters with fields outside the field of international schools, specifically seeking to answer RQ4.

The rules of the game and associated factors identified in the levels one and two analyses regarding legitimization and habitus are not necessarily reflective of the field students will find themselves in after they leave these international schools. Thus, level three seeks to identify the advantageous or disadvantageous influence students' international school experiences had on their encounters in local and national contexts and the subsequent adaptation to their views of themselves, others, and society. Bourdieusian concepts that shape this level of analysis include connaissance, reconnaissance, misrecognition, and symbolic power/violence.

The goal of these three levels is to answer the final research question: How does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society? Each level focuses on an indispensable component of class membership according to Bourdieu. These are positions within the economic and social hierarchy, collective (class) habitus, and cultural and social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Within the following discussion, level one maps out the hierarchization of the field of international schools which is directly related to schools' orientations.

Figure 33 below illustrates the conclusions which follow. To summarize level one as indicated in the cycle below, results from RQ1 and RQ2 are consistent with previous literature and indicate the orientation of the field of international schools is internationalization. The implications of this orientation are that internationalization is the dominant institutional condition within the field. Legitimacy of the field is further supplied by the global inputs, foreign teachers and diplomas, which are demand by the privileged class. The varying degrees of access to these factors also create a hierarchy which structures the field. The meaning, or cognitive structure provided by participants, is encouraged through the cosmopolitan habitus of privileged class members. Their access to schools within the hierarchy and their subsequent global inputs play significant roles in the position-taking or within-group positionality of privileged participants, which provides greater legitimacy to the field. The final output–symbolic power, distinction, privilege, and social stratification–identified below by the arrows on the right are discussed further in levels two and three.



Field
Legitimacy
Conditioning: Internationalization
Position-making: Hierarchicization
Symboli power
Distinction
Privilege
Social Stratification
Legitimacy
Meaning: Cosmopolitanism
Position-taking: Status indicators
Habitus

Figure 33. Relationship between field, habitus, and social stratification.

Level two examines the creation of individual habitus within the context of collective and pedagogic habitus which is related to students' orientation. Quantitative and qualitative results indicated that students are predisposed to cosmopolitanism in the home and these dispositions are refined in international schools. The implications of the complementary relationship between the cosmopolitan habitus of the privileged class and the conditioning of internationalization within the field is symbolic power which reinforces the social status quo. Level three examines the ways in which privileged participants operationalize the capital filtered through their habitus in differing fields after graduation which is related to social class membership and means of differentiation. The discussion concludes that the complementary relationship between field and habitus within this study reproduces status indicators, such as foreign linguistic capital, which provide distinction and can largely be acquired in their legitimate form through this interplay between international schools and cosmopolitan habitus. These forms of distinction reinforce the privileged social positions of group members. Despite the disadvantages that result from this relationship, largely in the loss of local capital such as Arabic language skills, the social status quo remains. Both internationalization, lack of localization, and cosmopolitanism reinforce means of differentiation for internal and external class membership. These boundaries are reinforced through the exclusive and unequal access to status indicators.

In conclusion, the discussion regarding the influence of elite, international schools on Egyptian students is as follows. The legitimization of internationalization as the dominant culture of the field of international schools resulted in the focused accumulation of transnational capital and refinement of cosmopolitan habitus. The simultaneous lack of local capital accumulation as a result created challenges for students later in life when they discovered their connaissance of cosmopolitanism and internationalization is not perceived in similar beneficial ways outside the field of international schools. The lack of local capital such as Arabic linguistic capital is a significant challenge. Again, many privileged students are unable to operationalize this capital in beneficial ways. However, their privileged positions provide ample capital to mitigate these disadvantages, and their cosmopolitan habitus predisposes these students to further social segregation by focusing participation in more comfortable cosmopolitan fields where their habitus and schooling experience is perceived as legitimate.

The orientations of schools and the home play significant roles in reproducing means of differentiation within the privileged class as well as within Egyptian society. These factors also play an important role in the development of students' social imaginations and construction of possibilities. The varying degree and quantity of barriers to localization described by students are dependent upon both home and school habitus.

Deficits in local capital can potentially be acquired at home. However, most of the students interviewed highlighted a pattern of convergence between the school and home which valorized and perpetuated the superiority of cosmopolitanism and transnational capital. Those homes which attempted to mitigate these losses were largely overshadowed by the school environment. The power of the pedagogic habitus, despite concerted efforts from the home, is one of the most significant results of the following discussion.

Level One Discussion

This level one, vertical discussion focuses on present day global and local forces which play a significant role in the continued legitimization of the field of international education and its resulting symbolic power. The symbolic power of this process is perpetuated by the complementary relationship between global agents and privileged, local participants. Specifically, the goal is to identify the implications of the reflection of the organization and functioning of these educational institutions (the field of international schools) in the positionality and practices of its privileged participants (habitus) (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

The multiple regression analyses provided results that described the orientation of international schools and inputs with the strongest relationship on the orientation of schools, students, and finally differentiation. Within the Bourdieusian framework, these results provide evidence of the dominant culture of these schools, which in turn dictates values associated with the school culture and orientation. The essential function of educational systems for participants in Egypt's field of international schools is enculturation of the dominant culture of these schools and the values of this culture (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Examining internationalization as the orientation of the field of international schools identifies the value system that is produced, assessed, and consectrated as a result. Furthermore, results also identify the agents and inputs which have the most significant and dominant role in the legitimization and (re)production of this value system.

Bourdieu identified two components of the relationship between habitus and field: the field's role in conditioning the habitus and the role of the habitus in providing the field with meaning and legitimacy. These components were also identified in Figure 33 above. The following section identifies the conditioning relationship between the field of international schools and their privileged participants through evidence of supply and demand within this market. The cognitive construction is further analyzed through this complementary relationship between participants and the field. The discussion starts with a reexamination of the legitimization of the field through its relationship with global forces. This is followed by a discussion of the results for RQ1 and RQ2 within existing literature, how these results determine the dominant culture of the field of international schools, and the implications of these results on the structure and logic of practice in this field. The following discussion addresses these aims and implications in the following order. First, a discussion on the legitimacy of the field and participants is presented. Second, the hierarchization of the field and participants and precipitating valuation system is examined through the interpretation of the logic of practice and associated capital and habitus.

Legitimization. Bourdieu and Passeron state the following, regarding educational insitutions:

> We must also take into account the particular past of the educational institution, whose relative autonomy is objectively expressed in its capacity at each moment in history to retranslate and reinterpret external demands in terms of the norms inherited from a relatively autonomous history. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 147)

The field of education has long been a pathway for social class reproduction. The sociohistorical process that crystalized the relationship between education and Egypt's privileged class was presented in Chapter Two. It is important to recall that this long history supported the legitimation of private education as a pathway for social class belonging as well as acquisition of cosmopolitan practices that have come to signify and define the collective habitus of Egypt's privileged class. The present day formation of this collective habitus is discussed in the level two discussion. The current discussion addresses the present day supply and demand of the field of international schools.

The relative autonomy of the field of international schools (Bunnell, 2015) means the demands for retranslation and reinterpretation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) are largely left to the discretion of the privileged class. Government influence in this process is minimal and largely confined to the constitutional requirement that Arabic, religion, and national history be included in the school curriculum. Apart from this, delivery of education, curriculum, and certifications is largely left to the discretion of international schools. The result of this relative autonomy is that the external demands which shape this field accentuate internationalization because of the complementary supply of global schemes alongside the demand from Egypt's local, privileged class. This complementary relationship results in symbolic power.

Symbolic power through supply and demand. The field of international schools is the vector through which cosmopolitanism is refined for privileged classes and acquired for the upwardly mobile (Igarashi & Saito, 2014). The powerful position of the field of international schools is promoted by global demand for U.S. and European credentials and the reproduction of post-colonial perspectives of legitimacy of foreign models of education (Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Rizvi, 2015; Song, 2013). The unequal access of Egyptians to this field perpetuates the unequal distribution of such advantages which often excludes non-members from reaping advantages associated with "globalizing social arenas" (Weenink, 2008, p. 1092) and lucrative global labor markets (Igarashi & Saito, 2014).

The inequality of access to the field of international schools is encouraged by the structure of the field as well as its privileged participants. Reinforcing the field's exclusivity is necessary for both the legitimacy associated with the field of international schools as well as for the maintenance of the social class positions of its participants. As a result, economic capital to pay the high tuition costs and cultural capital such as foreign language skills and cosmopolitan dispositions for acceptance are all required for access to this field.

Legitimacy is further acquired through the perpetuation of Egypt's colonial history and what interview participants referred to as *'aqdt al-Khwāgah*. *'Aqdt al-Khwāgah,* or the knot of the foreigner, is an Arabic term that refers to the colonial legacy of the superiority of all things western. The symbolic power behind British colonial rule continues today. It is described as symbolic power rather than violence, as symbolic power is associated with acceptance of the superiority of this symbolic system by the dominated. The perpetuation of this concept in the minds of Egyptians reinforces the superiority of the field of international schools. This field holds legitimacy and value based on its production of foreign models of education through the use of foreign curricula, foreign teachers, and foreign languages of instruction.

The analysis of the qualitative results identified that the symbolic power associated with the field is a product of sociohistorical relationships as well as current global demands for cosmopolitan dispositions. This provides the field with greater legitimacy and value while simultaneously reproducing its exclusivity and privileged social class positions of its participants who have the social, economic, and cultural capital for access to the field and its advantages.

The complementary relationship between global agents and privileged participants is determined by the connaissance, or productive power, of the global models, which perpetuates legitimization of this field. Connaissance is manifested through the previously identified factors: foreign teachers, foreign curricula, and foreign languages. Students, as the regression analysis shows, are predisposed to cosmopolitanism through their home habitus. This provides students with the basic reconnaissance, or interpretive power, to operationalize and follow the same valuation system attached to these factors. This complementary relationship is further heightened by the sociohistorical connection between foreign models of education as the foundation for Egypt's privileged educational track which subsequently plays a vital role in the development and perpetuation of the social space in which Egypt's privileged class occupies and obtains advantages (see Chapter Two).

The relative autonomy of Egypt's privileged class and their privileged educational track—that the field of international schools now occupies—encourages the unfiltered flow of global inputs into local level international schools with little external demand or control over adaptation. These results are consistent with the largely unmonitored and unregulated nature of the field of international schools globally (Bunnell, 2015). The unfiltered flow of inputs is supported by both the foreign-led process of delivery and implementation of educational models as identified by the results through foreign curricula, foreign languages of instruction, and foreign teachers.

The degree of foreign authority in these international schools increases in the highest levels of the field; however, evidence from the regression analysis also indicates the localized international schools have greater authority to shift the orientation towards localization. These results imply that localization is more likely to take place in schooling contexts where more local, Egyptian teachers are hired in schools, Arabic is taught more frequently, and the school culture and curricula more locally adapted. Whereas foreign-led processes of localization are less likely to result in localization but rather reflect foreign and international value systems.

However, lack of demand from consumers and producers for adaptation heightens the symbolic power associated with international schools and the education they provide. This is supported by qualitative and quantitative results which provide evidence of the valuation system of elite, international schools which produce, assess, and consecrate internationalization and related factors. The discussion now addresses this valuation system by identifying the dominant culture through the field's orientation and the factors which structure this orientation. Legitimization is related to the dominance behind international models of education identified in this study as foreign curricula, foreign teachers, and foreign languages of instruction. Therefore, the goal is to identify the evaluative schemes present in schools as a result.

Conditioning what? By analyzing the orientation of elite, international schools and the inputs which determine this orientation, a greater understanding of what is enculturated in these international schools is ascertained. The symbolic system which defines these institutions was identified in the regression analyses as schools' orientation towards internationalization. Again, internationalization is defined as educational policy and practices that transcend the nation by focusing on intercultural and international aspects in the mission, function, and delivery of education (Knight, 1996).

Indicators for internationalization as developed by Wang and Ho (2012) were determined as encouraging global citizenship (World Citizenship), encouraging awareness of international current events (Understanding International Affairs), learning more about other cultures than one's own (Appreciation of Other Cultures), and discouraging students from speaking Arabic (International Communication Ability). These results indicated that foreign diplomas and foreign teachers created an internationalized learning environment that focuses on creating global citizens with an awareness of international current events, history, and culture and fluency in a foreign, largely English, language.

Three important conclusions can be drawn from the quantitative regression results. First, the internationalization orientation of the field of international schools is the dominant institutional culture associated with this field. Second, the inputs—foreign teachers and foreign curricula—which have the greatest influence on this process also play an important role in perpetuating the legitimacy of the field through supply and demand. Third, the emphasis on internationalization as the orientation of the field increases differentiation, yet localization has the potential to decrease differentiation. This indicates the structure of the field, based on differentiation, is strongly associated with internationalization and the lack of localization.

Internationalization. First, quantitative results supported the hypothesis that responses to internationalization factors for elite, international schools were high. This result supports previous studies that indicate international schools focus on internationalization (Brooks & Waters, 2015; Hayden, 2012). However, initial quantitative results indicated that responses to localization factors were also high. Upon closer examination of both the structure of the internationalization factors that indicates a focus on internationalization at the expense of localization and the qualitative interview responses, evidence suggests that localization is emphasized far less than internationalization in elite, international schools in Egypt.

For example, qualitative responses to cultivating local connections at school suggest the actual implementation of this practice was neither consistent nor successful in endowing privileged students with greater local capital through these limited experiences. For many, these interactions often occurred within the confines of their own schools as they invited orphans to their school grounds or made lunches to be distributed by others.

The results are consistent with findings (Brooks & Waters, 2015; Kenway, 2013) that local engagement from elite schools should be "understood as a means of expiating the guilt that may be associated with privilege" (Brooks & Waters, 2015, p. 880). In fact, responses are also consistent with the finding that these interactions, for many privileged students, reinforced their legitimate place in society and the survival of such institutions for public benefit (Brooks & Waters, 2015). For example, most respondents' description of these encounters highlighted the legitimacy and superiority of their schools and social class positions. The discussions often painted less privileged in a submissive, receiving position. This subsequently cultivated feelings of responsibility which manifested in a patronizing position.

Finally, national curriculum classes were largely the means through which schools encouraged the localization factors valuing local culture and traditional knowledge. However, respondents consistently spoke about these classes and experiences in negative terms. The scheduling of the classes further devalued the knowledge associated with these classes as they were held far less frequently than foreign curricula classes. Respondents often cited Arabic day or other cultural days where they would celebrate Egyptian culture and the Arabic language. However, relegating the valorization of the national language and culture to only a few days out of the year covertly devalues traditional knowledge and local culture by insinuating they are only important during those celebrations in comparison to the consistent, daily valorization in these international schools of foreign languages and knowledge.

A surprising result within this discussion is the significant and positive influence of the national curriculum exemption. The regression results for localization indicate that being exempt from national curriculum classes, which occurs largely for embassy-affiliated schools, positively encouraged greater localization. These results indicate that national curriculum classes should not be the only means of encouraging localization. One possibility is that international schools exempt from such restrictions have greater flexibility in valuing local culture and traditional knowledge in ways that complement the pedagogic culture of the school in converging rather than diverging ways. International schools required by law to include national curriculum classes are restricted by the MOE in the delivery and content of these classes, which must reflect the final national exams. Further discussion of the convergence and divergence of pedagogic cultures takes place in the following level two discussion.

These results follow previous studies (Lin & Chen, 2013; Nukaga, 2003; Richards, 2000; Wang & Ho, 2012; Yang, 2001; Yemini et al., 2012;), which indicate internationalization is being encouraged at the expense of localization. Results also support the notion that localization and internationalization are not dichotomous, indicating schools and policymakers have the opportunity to find a greater balance between the two. Nevertheless, an examination of the inputs which have the greatest significant influence on the dominant culture in this field, internationalization, is necessary to identify what specific inputs perpetuate this process and have the greatest influence on the structure of the field.

Inputs. The hypothesis regarding internationalization was consistent with the findings. Foreign inputs predict internationalization in Egypt's international schools positively and to a greater extent than student inputs or national inputs. This result supports the dominance of global inputs in the global-local model and the complementary relationship between the supply side, global agents, and demand side, the local, privileged class. Specific individual variables diploma type and teacher composition are the most significant, positive predictors of internationalization. These results are consistent with what was predicted in the global-local model as well as previous literature (Law, 2003; Wang & Ho, 2012; Yemini et al., 2012), which identified curriculum, language, and teachers as significant predictors of the degree of internationalization and localization that occurs in schools.

Teachers. It was predicted that foreign teachers, who lack knowledge of the local context, instruct in a foreign language, and often stay only temporarily (Tarc & Tarc, 2015), encourage internationalization. As influential and powerful educational agents, teachers' inclination towards focusing on international current events and history as well as mundane daily interactions favor an understanding and openness to internationalization (Deveney, 2005; Woodward, 2001).

As predicted, foreign teachers play a vital role as suppliers of global, cosmopolitan knowledge, language, and dispositions (Zsebik, 2000). Teachers are also confined by their pedagogic habitus which they carry with them as a sort of “suitcase” of practices, ideas, and methods (Hayden, 2013) into these schools (Grenfell, 1996). Teachers’ pedagogic habitus embeds a predisposition towards valorizing internationalization, resulting in a the kind of cultural chauvinism (Heyward, 2002) others have warned against. Subsequently, local contexts, knowledge, history, and language are often devalued overtly and covertly (Zsebik, 2000).

Curriculum. The strong, positive relationship between internationalization and diploma supports literature on the hegemonic power and demand for U.S. and U.K.-based education system worldwide (Igarashi & Saito, 2014). Furthermore, results support claims that little contextualization occurs through the borrowing of these curricula in peripheral countries like Egypt (Arnove & Griffith, 2014). As a result, tensions develop within this macro-microlevel process over the valuation of culture and learning (Woodward, 2001). This result supports the global-local model and previous research that indicates a lack of culturally relevant curricula or pedagogical styles. Instead they are largely borrowed and transplanted from “school to school, country to country, through the movement of teachers, administrators, and students” (Hayden, 2012, p. 17).

Additionally, the positive, significant relationship between diploma, foreign teacher composition, and internationalization indicates that decision makers with more powerful roles in the curriculum and mission process are likely foreigners. This hierarchy not only devalues local, Egyptian hires (Richards, 1998) but also the fact that a diploma was a significant predictor of internationalization lends support for the claim that international education is potentially becoming “Western education” (Al Farra, 2000) as curriculum and textbooks will always reflect the political and ideological perspectives of the location in which they were produced (Wiseman, 2014).

Results also indicate that little effort is made in these schools to valorize Arabic or local culture. Although the Egyptian government requires international schools to teach the national curriculum, religion, history, and Arabic (ARE, 2014), some schools are exempt from this law. Additionally, according to interviews, the way in which the national curriculum is implemented in these schools leads to the devaluation of its importance in comparison to foreign curricula. Previous research supports this conflict between globalization and localization in education systems in East Asia which in response implemented policy changes encouraging the valuation of local languages (Law, 2003) and history (Yemini et al., 2014).

A persistent devaluation of national curriculum occurred in this field. Qualitative results indicated devaluation occured through the lack of importance given to national curriculum subjects, lack of respect for national curriculum teachers, lack of importance given to the knowledge associated with national curriculum subjects, and significant divergence between teaching styles and expectations between Egyptian teachers and Egyptian students as a result of Egypt’s high stakes exam system that encourages shadow education and rampant cheating (Loveluck, 2012). Additionally, students are expected to take courses that are largely irrelevant to their lives, such as U.S. history, in order to graduate with the foreign diploma. And as interviewees pointed out, very little effort was made to encourage any connections between the curriculum and students’ local contexts.

Language. Qualitative results, specifically, the significant Arabic difficulties AUC alumni described and indifference expressed by current AUC participants suggest that the focus on internationalization, and specifically international communication ability, devalues and negatively affects the development of Arabic language skills. This is to be expected when foreign teachers and foreign curricula demand the use of foreign languages of instruction for delivery. However, the value placed on foreign languages, English in particular, and the indifference most participants expressed in connection to their languishing Arabic abilities provides further support for the importance of foreign languages in perpetuating the legitimacy and value of this field at the expense of Egypt's national language. These results support studies in Sri Lanka (Wettewa, 2016) and South Korea (Song, 2013) which identify English language acquisition as one of the greatest proponents of the international schools. However, such school were also identified as playing culpable roles in the erosion of cultural identity associated with national languages.

In summary, the dominant culture of the field of international schools is internationalization. The structure of this dominant culture is further perpetuated by foreign inputs which supports the dominance of global educational agents and the complementary relationship with Egypt's privileged class which demand and provide legitimacy. These results support literature which highlights the demand for foreign diplomas and foreign languages necessitates the hiring of foreign teachers to teach the related foreign curricula (Igarashi & Saito, 2014) as well as the initial prediction of the importance of curricula, language, and teachers in this process. These are identified in both the quantitative results and qualitative results as highly sought after and largely what provides legitimacy to the field as well as to students' positionality within the field. The degree of internationalization dependent upon these factors structures the hierarchicization of the field itself.

Structure of the field. The discussion now turns to the hierarchy of the field. The hierarchy is determined by both the dominant culture as it relates to internationalization and localization as well as the perpetuation of the hierarchy by the gatekeepers and their perceptions of status indicators acquired as a result of schools' positions within the hierarchy. Foreign teachers, curricula, and language skills are the main inputs through which superiority of education is misrecognized within the hierarchy, when in fact, this misrecognition masks the economic, social, and cultural capital necessary for inclusion and exclusion.

Hierarchization. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) regarding social hierarchies and educational institutions state:

> The apparently purely academic cult of hierarchy always contributes to the defence and legitimation of social hierarchies, because academic hierarchies, whether of degrees and diplomas or establishments and disciplines, always owe something to the social hierarchies which they tend to re-produce (in both senses). So it has to be asked whether the freedom the educational system is given to enforce its own standards and its own hierarchies, at the expense for example of the most evident demands of the economic system, is not the quid pro quo of the hidden services it renders to certain classes by concealing social selection under the guise of technical selection and legitimating the reproduction of the social hierarchies by transmuting them into academic hierarchies. (p. 152)

The symbolic systems that define the privileged class and privileged class boundaries are linked to the hierarchy of international schools. Their positionality within the field is often reflective of students' positionality within society. The field, conditioned by internationalization, structures students' habitus, refining cosmopolitanism while simultaneously providing legitimacy to the field. This is further demonstrated through identifying inputs which influence the degree of localization and internationalization and thus the hierarchy of the field.

The qualitative results indicate that the degree of internationalization and localization takes place along a spectrum that is closely linked to the hierarchical structure of the field of international schools. These results are consistent with the prediction that this hierarchy reflects a spectrum of orientations, ranging from localization (low) to internationalization (high). It was predicted that localization becomes more difficult when one moves up the hierarchy as the aims and what is valued by the school become more internationalized.

This hierarchy previously illustrated in Figure 19 is associated with connaissance and reconnaissance (Grenfell, 1996; Grenfell & James, 2005). The further up the hierarchy students are, the more they have the connaissance and reconnaissance related to internationalization and transnational forms of capital from their interactions with foreign teachers, foreign languages, and foreign curricula but the less access they have to local forms of capital. The inputs which influence the degree of internationalization were previously discussed. These are schools with higher compositions of foreign teachers, more foreign-focused curricula, and those exempt from national curriculum classes.

The results suggest access and opportunities for students to refine their cosmopolitan skills are higher in schools at the mid-high and highest levels of the spectrum. Students from the highest social positions are endowed with greater operationalization abilities within the field of international schools which in turn supports their ability to utilize these skills as privileged class status indicators. The exclusive access to these schools further legitimizes the value associated with these skills as well as the social class position of participants with access to these schools. Next, the discussion moves to identifying the variables which are positive indicators of localization and negative indicators of internationalization, and thus influence schools positioned on the lower end of the hierarchy.

Localized international school was a significant, negative predictor of internationalization. This is consistent with the results and assumptions concerning the field's hierarchy. Foreign inputs, for example employing more foreign teachers and having a foreign-focused curricula, indicate the greatest degree of internationalization. In contrast, localized international schools have the lowest numbers of foreign teachers, greater connection to the national context, and less foreign-focused curricula. These schools were also largely perceived by participants in the mid-high to high level international schools as being more "*Egyptian*," less cosmopolitan, more "*localized*," and for some, people they would never interact with. These responses support the conclusion that students from these school have greater access to local capital and thus greater abilities to operationalize local capital than transnational capital.

Results regarding localization indicate the need for greater focus on the Arabic language. These results are consistent with the hypothesis H2b that national inputs predict localization in Egypt's international schools positively and higher than student inputs and foreign inputs. This supports previous literature on the importance of local context (Chen, 2005) and national language (Bassiouny, 2014; Suleiman, 2003) to localization. Lack of localization was further supported by the qualitative results which indicated a focus on foreign languages at the expense of the Arabic language. As a result, language is the most significant status indicator for this group. Evidence of this was consistently found across all participant interviews. As a result, foreign language skills rather than Arabic language skills provide the field with legitimacy and the greatest value. The symbolic systems are not valuable or legitimate if they are not exclusive. Thus, those who lack legitimate, foreign linguistic capital are immediately identified as belonging to a lower class and indicate a lack of access to “legitimate” international schools at the mid-high to high levels of the spectrum.

However, results associated with national curriculum exemption and localization suggest that the power of internationalization is far greater than localization and associated inputs in international schools. For example, quantitative results indicate national curriculum exemption to be a significant predictor of localization. However, these same results suggest the influence of foreign curricula, foreign languages, and foreign teachers are a far stronger and greater predictor of internationalization which subsumes the potential for national curriculum exemption to encourage localization. Further more, as previously mentioned, national curriculum exemption’s positive relationship with localization highlights the ineffective role of the national curriculum in encouraging localization. Yet, national curriculum exempt schools were still identified at the top of the hierarchy. Additionally, they were consistently identified as being the schools whose graduates that are the most internationalized. In summary, global inputs, in spite of the MOE’s attempts to encourage localization in this field, are the greatest indicators of internationalization as well as play the greatest role in determining school positionality and subsequently, within-group social class positions.

Logic of practice. The description of the field’s hierarchy was repeated by many in the interviews as largely determined by its level of internationalization. The hierarchy not only reproduces social class positions but also dictates participants’ abilities to find a balance between their transnational and local capital. Qualitative results identified the structure of participants’ economic and social positions as they related to the structure of the field.

First, symbolic capital associated with school names, as well as their linguistic capital, are the most pronounced signifiers of participants and their positions within the field. A conclusion echoed by many throughout the interviews. As Reem, graduate of a mid-high international school and current AUC student, stated, "*I feel like mainly they are kind of like a brand. If you go to an international school it's kind of like carrying a designer bag in Egypt.*" For some, simply the name of the school is all-encompassing: *"It is implicit because you already go to a very expensive school. There is a statement about it, like the parents feel there is a statement about it. And then it goes into clothing and to cars. Into everything else that you have, and it becomes this language. It's not spoken, but it's a basis of society in those schools"*. Graduates from schools at the top of the hierarchy largely cited their school as their symbolic capital in the labor market. As one moves down the hierarchy, AUC is perceived to be what will open occupational doors.

Additionally, the degree to which this hierarchy reinforces categories and characteristics of in-group and out-group belonging are very apparent through respondents' descriptions of the "*bubble*" or censoring of who belongs based on social capital. Respondents in the high and mid-high spectrum rarely described interacting with participants in other levels. These respondents often described those from the lower ends of the spectrum as being more "*Egyptian*" and having the legitimate capital to "authentically" express their Egyptianness. In contrast, those at the highest end of the spectrum described the difficulties they continue to face in their abilities to authentically express or "own" their Egyptianness, largely due to the lack of access to local capital as a result of their school experiences. Schooling experiences described by these participants often suggest hyper-internationalization. Production, assessment, and consecration of internationalization factors were so valued that localization was not demanded nor supplied.

These schools also had the greatest composition of foreign students. Thus, the student composition furthered deepened the need for localization and further prevented Egyptian students from acquiring local capital.

Additionally, the qualitative results suggest the student composition and culture of Egyptian students plays a significant role in determining the logic of practice within the school. Participants stated that schools where the student body was more "*localized*," that is speaking Arabic at home and at school, encouraged an environment where trying to be "too American" or speaking English all the time was frowned upon. In contrast, schools with more diverse student bodies and those whose families were more cosmopolitan, often codeswitching at home, were places where expression of cosmopolitanism through language and dress was valued and accepted.

In conclusion, a hierarchy exists in this study based on the privileged class at the top with the greatest understanding of "legitimate" forms of cosmopolitanism which are acquired and refined through these educational institutions' orientation towards internationalization. In contrast, those at the bottom of the hierarchy have less access and opportunity to refine these skills because they have less access to foreign teachers, foreign students, and less foreign-focused curricula. In the case of Egypt's field of international schools, it is predicted that those who come with a cosmopolitan habitus "will have a whole set of productive and receptive schemes of thought and valuing which will render the pedagogic process less problematic" (Grenfell & James, 2005, p. 165). This prediction is supported by the quantitative regression results for cosmopolitanism which suggests students matriculate with high levels of cosmopolitanism, thus a connection between habitus and school culture. Lack of cosmopolitan habitus from home and less internationalized school culture indicates lower positions in the school and social hierarchies.

However, this hierarchy is often misrecognized by participants as an indication of educational superiority. This was evident in the interviews. Respondents ascribed to the notion of *ʻaqdt al-Khwāgah* when describing attributes of their schools that make it superior to others. Specifically, foreign teachers, specific curricula such as the American curriculum, foreign language abilities, and liberal, less-traditional ways of dress were all described as indicators of higher status schools. However, these attributes mask the cultural, social, and economic capital required to access these schools. This misrecognition results in perpetuating the symbolic power associated with the hierarchy and the field itself.

Level one summary. The level one, vertical analysis, illustrates the multidirectionality of the legitimation process. Global models, teachers, schools, parents, and students all play active roles in the legitimation of transnational capital which heightens the power of this field. The legitimation of this field and the cosmopolitan habitus it cultivates is a reciprocal process between global capitalist players and willing local participants. Their willingness is also a result of the demand for international diplomas needed to access lucrative job markets and higher education in the United States and abroad (see Igarashi & Saito, 2014). Cosmopolitanism is institutionalized through this field and distributed unequally, reproducing and reinforcing the field's hierarchy and subsequent social hierarchies. All participants were aware of the role this field plays in the creation of social classes. Yet the perception that the unequal structure of Egypt's education system could or should be overcome varied.

Equally varying were the perceptions of what were deemed authentic expressions of being "Egyptian" along with varying desires to express oneself in such terms. The environment within the schools provided a varying degree of access to local and transnational capital. Those with greater access to local capital were viewed by others as having a greater means of expressing individual Egyptianness through localization. Legitimate perceptions of identity expression were largely based on positionality within the field. The higher up the structure one went, the less access students had to local capital. The lack of local capital, however, was mitigated by both economic capital and symbolic capital of the schools' positions. Graduates of these schools as well as those in different field positions all acknowledged the difficulties such participants would have in local, Egyptian environments.

A pattern was identified from the results of RQ1 and RQ2 regarding internationalization and localization that largely follows the structure of the field. The perceived challenge of this structure is how to acquire the missing capital for those on both sides of the structure. In conclusion, these results support the claim that the field of international education is often at odds with the traditional understanding of the purpose of education systems as, "among other state apparatuses, to institutionalize 'common forms and categories of perception and appreciation,' i.e. '(national) common sense...what is commonly designated as national identity' (Bourdieu quoted in Igarashi & Saito, 2014, p. 226). What participants largely described, however, was the way in which this field provided distinction from the rest of Egyptian society, the differences in identity expression as a result of cosmopolitanism, and the subsequent unequal social categorization it legitimated. How this system is at odds with traditional understandings of education is analyzed in what this field provides participants, the cultivation of a cosmopolitan habitus.

Level Two Discussion

The academic culture of schools "inculcate and consecrate the values linked to a certain organization of the educational system, a certain structure of the intellectual field and, through these mediations, the dominant culture" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 143). The previous discussion identified the dominant culture of schools and the symbolic system associated with the organization of the field and subsequent structure of social positions. The current level two discussion focuses on the cosmopolitan habitus of Egypt's privileged class. Specifically, the complementary relationship between the institutional orientation, internationalization, and students' orientation, cosmopolitanism. The level two discussion specifically addresses RQ3: What role do international schools play in legitimizing and cultivating cosmpolitanism in these privileged students?.

Qualitative results from the previous chapter indicated family reproduction, language, and access and opportunities played significant roles in the cultiviation and legitimization of cosmopolitanism. Results indicated cosmopolitanism is largely cultivated as a result of family reproduction and language acquisition and refined through access to foreign-language, international schools where they have access and opportunities for such refinement and subsequent acquisition of social distinction. The following discussion focuses on the complementary relationship between the field and its participants resulting in the refinement of cosmopolitanism in students through convergence between instutitional culture and the culture of Egypt's privileged class. This relationship perpetuated the legitimacy of the field, legitimacy and valuation of the capital acquired within, and legitimacy of participants' social class positions. Additionally, the divergence between the pedagogic habitus of Egyptian teachers and privileged, Egyptian students often reinforced these hierarchies resulting in the misrecognition of educational credentials and perpetuation of symbolic violence.

To support this conclusion, the following discussion examines the collective, pedagogic, and individual habitus of participants. This examination provides support to the role of international schools in the cultivation and refinement of cosmopolitanism as a necessary prerequisite for class membership. The process of refinement is directed by what the international schools can provide privileged students in terms of access and opportuntities to practice, refine, and operationalize advantageous transnational capital. This process is supported by the converging pedagogic habitus of international teachers, their connaissance, and privileged students' reconnaissance. The de-legitimization of fields other than the field of international schools is perpetuated by the diverging habitus of privileged, Egyptian students and their Egyptian teachers. These educational experiences resulted in patterns of symbolic violence which perpetuated the perception of the superiority of their educational experiences, capital, and habitus in comparison to non-members.

The following section starts with a discussion of cosmopolitanism as habitus and how results from the regression analysis and interviews are consistent with this assumption. The discussion then focuses on individual habitus of participants and the development of the individual habitus as a result of both home and pedagogic habitus. This discussion focuses on the influence of teachers, curriculum, language, and culture. Finally, the discussion moves into an analysis of how the convergence or divergence between differing habituses results in symbolic violence.

Cosmopolitanism as habitus. Previous research supports the link between cosmopolitanism and international schools. In fact, cosmopolitanism and nationalism have been used synonymously for internationalization and localization (Yemini, et al, 2014). Additionally, many studies focus on the cosmopolitan cultural acquisition that occurs in international schools (Pearce, 1998; Peterson, 2011; Wettewa, 2009). In fact, Hayden's (2013) analysis of international schools' mission statements determined that international schools envisioned their mission to produce global, cosmopolitan students, and "cosmopolitan ways of being" (p.7). These studies concluded that schools aim to produce students deeply imbedded and predisposed to cosmopolitanism rather than merely acquiring cosmopolitanism as a skillset, or capital.

Studies continue to debate the understanding of cosmopolitanism as habitus or capital. As previously discussed in Chapter Two, descriptions of cosmopolitanism by Hannerz (1990) and Weenink (2008) suggest cosmopolitanism is better understood as habitus. That is privileged participants are predisposed to an understanding and openness to foreign individuals, localities, and languages as a deeply embedded structure. Habitus is the filter through which students from international schools perceive their world and experiences. This study started with the assumption that students had a cosmopolitan habitus rather than simply cosmopolitan capital. This assumption was further tested in the quantitative regression analysis, and results are consistent with the qualitative assumption and subsequent quantitative hypothesis.

Cosmopolitanism and quantitative results. The regression results for the dependent variable cosmopolitanism were largely consistent with H2c: Student inputs are the greatest significant predictor of cosmopolitanism followed by internationalization in Egypt's international schools. Specific individual variables, parents' language, parents attending private school, and national curriculum exemption, are the most significant, positive predictors of cosmopolitanism.

Specific statistically significant individual student inputs include mother and father's languages and father's occupation. As hypothesized mother and father's languages were both positive and statistically significant predictors in all four models of cosmopolitanism in students. A mother speaking a foreign language at home was strong and more significant than the role of the father, although a father speaking a foreign language at home was also a significant predictor of cosmopolitanism. These results further support the influence of foreign languages as well as language spoken at home in the process under study.

Results of father's occupation are not consistent with what was predicted. Father's occupation was a negative predictor of cosmopolitanism suggesting that the higher status a father's occupation was, the less likely cosmopolitanism was encouraged. These results, however, may be influenced by the coding of the occupation variable. A particularly large number of survey respondents stated *business owner*. In general, a business owner holds a high level of prestige in Egypt. However, the significantly high number of such responses does not provide enough evidence to allow for more specific categorization which would make the occupation variable more reflective of within-group occupational classifications. Additionally, parents' attending private schools was not a significant predictor of cosmopolitanism as hypothesized. Nevertheless, and most importantly, the collective student variable did support the hypothesis as the greatest significant predictor of cosmopolitanism.

The results are consistent with the quantitative hypothesis that students are predisposed to cosmopolitanism from their homes. Approximately 24% of the variance in the model associated with cosmopolitanism was explained by the student, demographic inputs. As the habitus acquired at home is assumed to be the most influential (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), these results further support the importance of approaching cosmopolitanism as habitus and the importance of cosmopolitanism, and its exclusivity, to the reproduction of this social class through the converging needs of the home and school.

Additionally, as the hypothesis predicted, internationalization orientation of schools also had a strong and significant relationship to a student's orientation towards cosmopolitanism. Internationalization orientation explains another 12% of the variance in the model. Thus, the complementary relationship between the institutional orientation, internationalization, and cosmopolitanism is strengthened by these results. This suggests that privileged students' cosmopolitan habitus is initially cultivated at home, refined through internationalization in elite, international schools, and results in the reproduction of status indicators related to cosmopolitanism.

In conclusion, results support the assumption of cosmopolitanism as habitus. Supporting this assumption is important because the habitus controls perceptions and potential actions which are structured into individuals that organize their perception of the world. The complementary relationship between the field of international schools and the privileged class, like internationalization and cosmopolitanism, determines the values and rules of the game. To better understand the complementary relationship between cosmopolitan habitus as acquired and refined in this field and other participants, an examination of encounters between privileged participants and foreign teachers as well as Egyptian teachers is undertaken. The negotiations within these encounters highlights the convergence and divergence between habitus, specifically pedagogic habitus, of individuals in this field and outside this field. Before delving into these encounters, however, identification of the collective and individual habitus of privileged students is now provided.

Embodiment. The collective habitus identifies practices shared by members of the same group, the embodiment of which is often most distinctive to fellow members. Participants are often "better harmonised than the agents know or wish" (Bourdieu, 1990b). The shared experiences of students who attended similar schools created a bond or connection that reinforced social positions and means of within-group belonging.

Distinction is discerned through expressing an identity reflective of one's school background. The purposeful lack of localization and desire to overemphasize their non-Egyptian dispositions is a clear indication not only of their educational background but also its inextricable link to this practice as an indicator of social class position. This distinction is a result of the refinement of cosmopolitanism through the most exclusive, high-status international schools. Recognition of this distinction and sense of collective belonging is not misrecognition in these encounters, but in fact, recognition of social class positions through these exclusive status indicators that participants immediately associated with social, cultural, and economic capital. The sense of harmony collective habitus illicits as well as what is implicit in this recognition was identified in the qualitative results. This harmony and recongition was most clearly described by Sherif:

> *[...]these were the people who their parents could afford to put them in there. These are the kids with connections. They got good jobs. They own businesses. They went to family businesses and so on. So there is this separation. Where today, as sad as it is, I can meet somebody like yourself for the first time, and I think Lycée Français? Or are you BISC [the British school]? It happened to me just this weekend. I was speaking to somebody, and I don't know what, I was like are you BISC? Just out of nowhere. And he was like yeah, all my life BISC. And I was like, yeah, me too. Just the little nuances in the way we*

> *speak, the English. There aren't the little mistakes, maybe, or there was something I noticed in the way he was speaking maybe. I don't know. So there is that aspect as sort of nasty as it is, this sort of socio-economic aspect.*
>
> *(Sherif, high, AUC alumni)*

What Sherif is describing really encapsulates this whole process. He describes the hierarchy that exists within the field, the capital that provides access to this field, and the importance of its refinement through elite, international schools as an indicator of social status. He then goes on to describe the collective habitus and the embodied characteristics that gatekeepers can distinguish. His inability to verbalize exactly what it is that distinguishes members is exactly what this idea of embodied capital and habitus represent. Students most often described the embodiment of an internalized habitus which exudes cues that at times only within-group participants can recognize and value. These are similar characteristics as described in the sociohistorical examination of Egypt's privileged class and the *effendiya* (Ryzova, 2014) as well as present day accounts (Barsoum, 2004; Peterson, 2014). Again, these cues reflected cosmopolitanism through language, mannerism, dress, and educational capital. Thus, the "right" embodiment of the cosmopolitan collective habitus is a compilation of both pedagogic and home habitus. This process is what I turn to next.

Individual habitus. The individual habitus is influenced first by the structured structures, the collective habitus previously described. This discussion highlighted the importance of cosmopolitanism as expressed through language, mannerisms, and education for the collective habitus of Egypt's privileged class. The individual habitus is described as the headlights of a car:

> From childhood, young people amass conceptual structures (schem[es]) which serve as tools for understanding aspects of their experiences (Rumelhart, 1980). A schema

> structures what a person knows of the world, by filtering out 'irrelevancies' and allowing sense to be made of partial information. In this way, two lights seen from a car in the dark can be turned into a cat or an approaching vehicle. A repertoire of schemes contributes to the dispositions that make up habitus. (Hodkinson, 1998, p. 97)

The following will outline the habitus as one headlight powered by the home habitus and the other headlight powered by the pedagogic habitus. Together these two comprise the individual's habitus. Factors are identified in Figure 34 below.

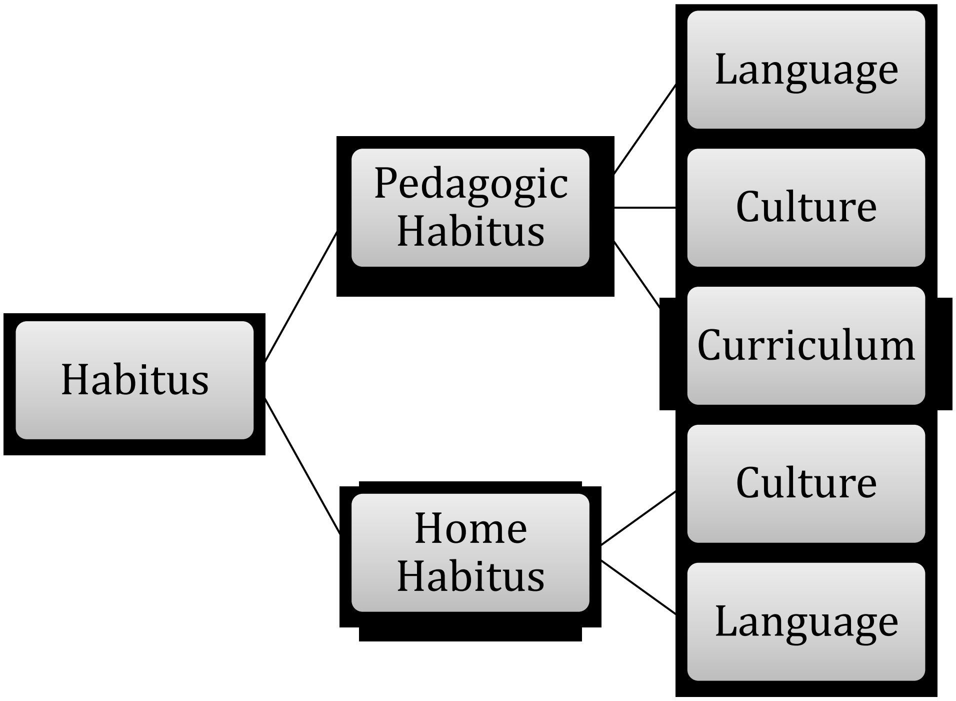


Figure 34. Individual habitus.

Home habitus. An analysis of the home habitus is beyond the scope of this study; however, characteristics were identified previously in the discussion of the collective habitus, through the interview discussions, and the survey results. Overall, there was a spectrum of home habitus described by participants. In a more internationalized home habitus, parents spoke English, French, or German as a result of private schooling. In more localized home environments, parents largely attended public school and frequently spoke only Arabic at home. Participants whose parents spoke a foreign language at home largely attended a high and mid-high level international school. Those whose parents attended public schools and spoke only Arabic at home often went to mid to low level international schools. Thus, following Figure 34 above, those at the top of the hierarchy often had a home habitus that was more cosmopolitan as determined by the language and culture of the home, converging with their pedagogic habitus that was defined by greater levels of internationalization as identified through language of instruction, curriculum, and culture of the school.

Patterns emerged in the qualitative results that largely focused on a spectrum of convergence and divergence between home habitus and students' pedagogic habitus, as well as between the individual habitus of students and pedagogic habitus of teachers. The most striking result of this pattern is the power of the pedagogic habitus in the cultivation of the individual habitus for those at the higher end of the field's hierarchy and the distinguishing power of the home habitus on those from the lower end of the social structure.

Again, this process follows the legitimacy of cosmopolitanism, which those on the lower end of the social structure lack at home, yet is present at both school and in the home for participants as they move up the structure of the field of international schools. It is this convergence that provides greater legitimacy, yet simultaneously increases the potential for an identity crisis later in life due to the lack of local capital accumulation in this relationship. Additionally, students whose home habitus differed more significantly from their pedagogic habitus experienced greater difficulties in transitioning between the home culture and the internationalized subculture at their international school. Results from RQ4 showed these tensions often resulted in feelings of confusion and identity crises.

Pedagogic habitus and symbolic violence. Quantitative results as well as the previous level one discussion provide evidence of the pedagogic habitus in Egypt's international schools which is defined by culture (internationalization), language (foreign languages), curriculum (foreign-focused curricula). The following discussion highlights the ways in which symbolic violence through the valuation of foreign languages, foreign curricula, foreign teachers, and orientations are legitimated by students and schools at the expense of the Arabic language, national curriculum, Egyptian teachers, and "traditional" cultural norms—the local inputs in the global-local model. The result of this symbolic violence is the misrecognition of the superiority and distinction assoicated with the value system and skills acquired in this field as well as reinforcement of the status quo of the social system indentified by RQ4 results concerning differentiation and social stratification.

The discussion will now focus on patterns of valuation of internationalization over localization which results in a scheme which predisposes most to valorize cosmopolitanism. This process is the result of daily covert and overt encounters with foreign teachers, foreign curriculum, foreign languages, and, in some instance, foreign students. The goal of this discussion is to provide an understanding of the factors characterizing the pedagogic habitus of students in international schools and the resulting symbolic violence that is most often present in encounters between Egyptian students and Egyptian teachers. These instances are again perpetrated by the converging value systems between home and the field that provides greater legitimacy and valuation to these global inputs at the expense of local inputs.

*Teachers***.** Qualitative results suggest symbolic violence was most often present in descriptions of encounters with Egyptian teachers. The inferiority of the national curriculum was strongly connected to the perceived inferiority of Egyptian teachers. Divergence in habitus and subsequent symbolic violence describe most interactions between Egyptian teachers and Egyptian students. Much of this goes back to the pedagogic habitus of the teachers. Qualitative results indicate the teaching style of most foreign teachers was preferred. This is predictable, as it converges with students' own pedagogic habitus that they have been accustomed to since preschool. As Omar, an AUC student, stated, "*To be honest, I feel I have been raised like that since I was four or five, in school I'm talking about in school. So I am used to dealing with foreign thoughts and ideas and ways of dealing.*"

Students often clashed with Egyptian teachers for a variety of reasons largely focused around social class differences, lack of support from the school administration, and divergence in teaching styles that value skills vastly different from those of their foreign teachers. What this reflects is an encounter between two individuals with differing habituses and the subsequent legitimization of foreign teachers. The following figure from Grenfell (1996) frames these encounters. Again, Figure 35 is the structure used to identify the framework in these encounters focusing on inputs such as capital, structured structures in the habitus, and outputs related to perceptions between the two individuals, such as teachers and students. Two important components in this process are curriculum and language which will be discussed next. It is important to note the role of these inputs in legitimizing systems and structures that reach beyond the field of international schools.

Students and teachers enter into these encounters with their own particular habitus which frames perceptions of legitimate knowledge and is culturally derived (Grenfell and James, 2005), below (1) indicates the objective structures or fields within fields which comprise the structured system of an individual's habitus. Many Egyptian teachers were not members of the privileged class, so their understanding of the value systems which exist in the field of international schools is not strong. In Figure 35, (2) indicates the fact that habitus is structuring and structured, illustrated as generating systems and perceptions. Egyptian teachers' lack of collective and pedagogic habitus legitimized and valued in this field results in a clash of generating systems and perceptions between Egyptian teachers and their privileged, Egyptian students. This results in producing systems which are differing and distinguishable in stage (3). Within this field in stage (4), the production, assessment, and concescration results in the devaluation of the value system associated with the national curriculum, and subsequently local knowledge, while valorizing and legitimizing the value system produced by international schools. The field or fluid space where activity takes place in stage (4) in turn stage (5) conditions the individuals thoughts and practices in largely diverging ways that reinforce students' precieved distinction (Grenfell & James, 2005, p. 163). The consequences of stages 4 and 5 are the legitimization of the value system of the field of international schools through symbolic violence. Thus, privileged Egyptian students' perceptions of Egyptian teachers often reinforce teachers' inferior social class position as well as the inferiority of teachers' education.

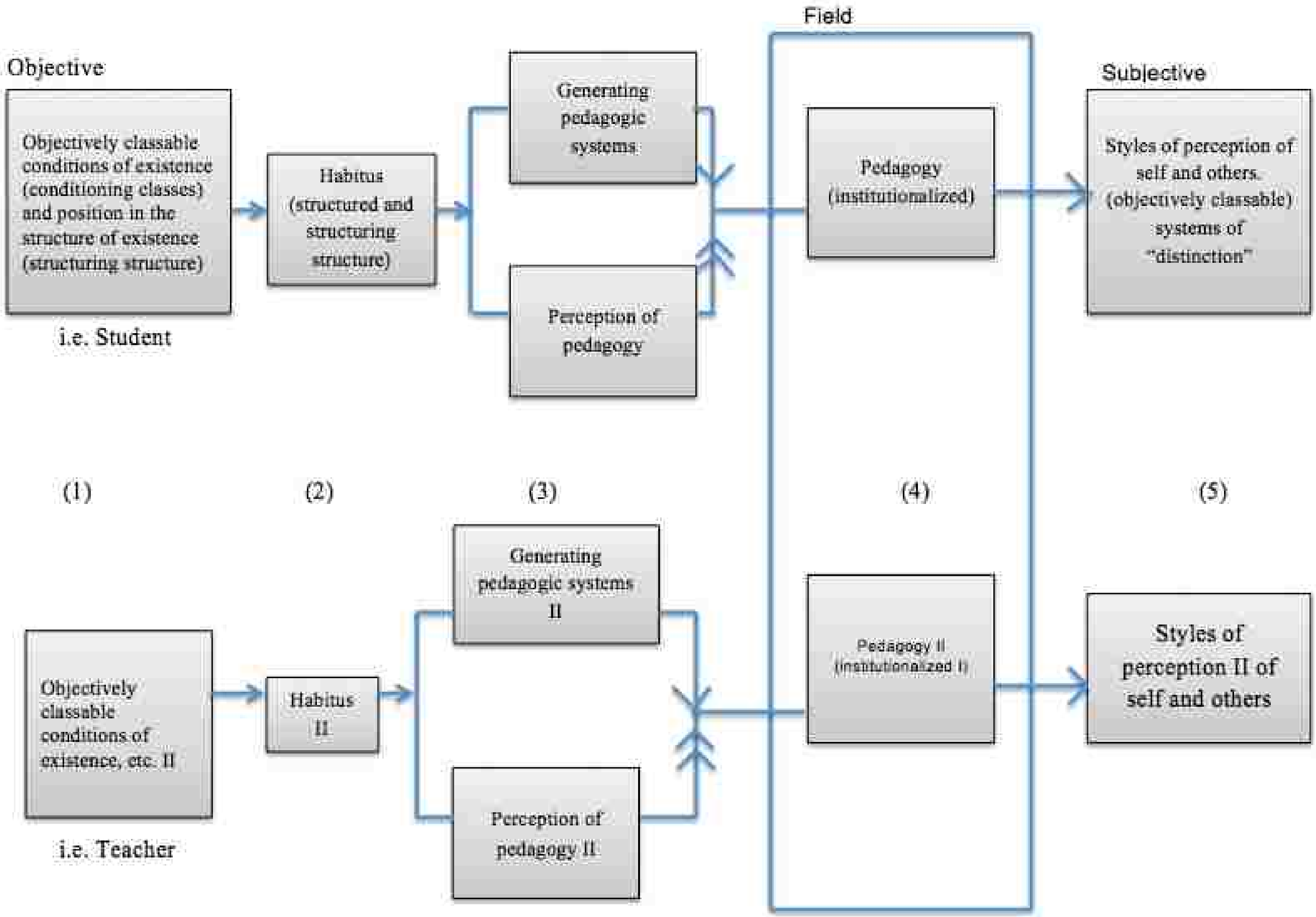

Field
Objective
Objectively classable conditions of existence (conditioning classes) and position in the structure of existence (structuring structure)
i.e. Student
Habitus (structured and structuring structure)
Generating pedagogic systems
Perception of pedagogy
Pedagogy (institutionalized)
Subjective
Styles of perception of self and others. (objectively classable) systems of "distinction"
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
(5)
Objectively classable conditions of existence, etc. II
i.e. Teacher
Habitus II
Generating pedagogic systems II
Perception of pedagogy II
Pedagogy II (institutionalized I)
Styles of perception II of self and others

Figure 35. Pedagogic habitus dyad. (Grenfell and James, 2005).

Again, qualitative results suggest most students preferred foreign teachers' style of teaching. They were more "*flexible*," "*interactive," "serious*." Egyptian teachers were seen as more aggressive and as having ulterior agendas. An example of the clash between the pedagogic habitus of these students and national curriculum teachers follows:

> *I had an Arabic tutor. He tutored me for my [national curriculum exams]. And for him, when I talk to him about IB and stuff like that, IB is out of 45 points. So for him, he's like that's so easy, because it's out of 45 points. Like he doesn't know how the system works here or anything. But for him, because the [national curriculum exams] are out of percentages. It's out of 100, so you need to get 97. So for him, me, my grading system is out of 45 points. So oh, that's so easy. So there is this very discriminatory us versus them. And if I'm underprivileged, it's because you're privileged. So I think this goes back to a very political issue. There is this engraved us versus them, so that the underprivileged they hate the privileged. Because they think that they are stealing from them. Although that's not really the case. It goes back to the government, but it's a very conspiracy theory when you say it out loud.*
>
> *(Alia, AUC student)*

Students were keenly aware of the embedded cultural differences between them and their Egyptian teachers that often resulted in "othering" and the devaluation of the habitus and resulting capital present in these teachers. In the previous story, not only was the teacher's perception of legitimate modes of assessment devalued by the student, but in this encounter, she perceived this experience in terms of discrimination and victimization. Symbolic violence in this instance extended beyond this singular encounter to describe an entire social group through membership or non-membership in this field. Again, symbolic violence as a result of these experiences often culminated in reinforcing the superiority of privileged students' social class positions and the knowledge they acquired. The consequences were misrecognition of the superiority of their knowledge, skills, and educational credentials acquired in international schools.

Egyptian teachers, on the other hand, were often pushed to adhere to the culture of the schools in which they were working, representing the imposition of "legitimate" cultural orthodoxy which many in the macro environment would classify as significantly unorthodox. Students were often aware of the cultural divergence between the school culture and teachers' culture, the schools' lack of support for the teachers, and that the tensions between the microschool environment and broader Egyptian context often de-legitimized Egyptian teachers. Results indicate the need for Egyptian teachers to accept this system identifies the symbolic violence present in these encounters and the clash of value systems, structure, and practice that are significantly different in the field of international schools.

However, not all of these encounters were negative. Responses from participants regarding experiences with Egyptian teachers with similar pedagogic habitus to foreign teachers were actually preferred. Multiple females mentioned maternal in reference to one of their female Egyptian teachers and noted the positive relationship they cultivated. They could relate to each other through commonalities not present in foreign teachers. Another student stated that her Egyptian teachers were more dedicated to the students than the transient foreign teachers who lacked genuine concern for the students. Nevertheless, qualitative results overwhelming support students' preference for foreign teachers largely as a result of similar pedagogic habitus and the symbolic power associated with foreign teachers' qualifications. They converged in their understanding of the value systems and logic of practice present in the field of international schools.

Curriculum. The diverging perceptions of value systems and logic of practice between teachers and students are connected to the legitimacy of foreign curricula in comparison to the national curricula in the field of international schools. The following concepts were identified in the qualitative results and largely described the preference for the teaching and learning styles associated with students' foreign curriculum experiences: critical thinking, language skills, higher ethics and standards, professionalism such a punctuality, discipline, and respect. These are examples of the consecration of particular skills which are produced and assessed as a result of these educational models.

Regarding the national curriculum, results indicate students devalued the teaching and learning styles associated with these experiences such as: memorization, brainwashing, constraining, and lax. Overall, students saw the speaking, writing, and critical thinking skills they acquired in their schools as outweighing the fact that the content of the courses was not relevant to the Egyptian context. They all felt academically well prepared for AUC. Despite, the acquisition of skills, some still felt this lack of relevance caused learning difficulties and alienation from the curriculum and material.

Much of the continued valuation of these skills is also connected to the fact that they continue to participate in fields that similarly valorize these forms of capital and habitus, such as AUC and the global, private labor force. Interactions between these fields provide greater support for the domination of the schemes that are espoused in international schools. The national curriculum, by contrast, was perceived to be significantly inferior, at times described as a "*joke*" or "*continuation of recess*."

These skills largely relate to memorization and rote learning of material that is at times incorrect and largely inhibits novel cognition. All participants significantly devalued the national curriculum class, even Sarah the public school graduate. Aside from negative perceptions of the content and learning styles associated with the national curriculum, the schools themselves played an important role in reinforcing the inferiority of the national curriculum through their neglect for localization. For example, schools outside the umbrella of the MOE are exempt from teaching any classes on Egypt or the Arabic language. The remaining international schools are required to provide Arabic, religion, and national history. However, according to the interviews, many of the schools hold these classes only once a week, and in some cases, every other week. A few schools such as Hayah International Academy, an Islamic-leaning school, made a significant effort to hold these classes more frequently.

However, for a majority of the schools, the policies surrounding the frequency of these classes demotes their importance. How schools represent the Arabic language and national curriculum to their students denigrates its importance and in some schools it is excluded all together. According to international schools, the national curriculum is unorthodox in the context of international schools. These schools' policies represent a form of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence precipitates as a result of the dominance of the field of international schools and legitimacy behind foreign models of education to impose the devaluation of localization, local values, knowledge, culture, and language through misrecognition of the superiority of internationalization and foreign models.

*Language***.** Another means of cultivating and legitimizing cosmopolitanism was through the demand by parents for foreign languages and the devaluation of Arabic in schools as a consequence. Aside from two students who spent significant amounts of time in the national system, all participants had some kind of Arabic language difficulties. These difficulties are further supported by the quantitative survey results where 60% of total respondents stated they agreed or somewhat agreed that they had difficulty maintaining a high level of Arabic after graduation.

This problem is tied to school policies which devalues Arabic through infrequent, and in some schools non-existent, Arabic classes. All international schools discouraged the speaking of Arabic in some way. Students recalled acquaintances who could barely read or write their own names and were proud of such a feat, a testament to the symbolic capital attached to foreign languages in this field. One student recalled being hit on the hand any time the teacher heard her speak Arabic, so eventually she stopped completely. In this case, symbolic violence manifested in the form of corporal punishment.

Overall, students often preferred to express themselves in their languages of instruction or through code switching. This indicates the influence foreign language instruction has on the devaluation of Arabic, whereby a foreign language has become the main means of communication and signifier of belonging to this privileged class. The home habitus in this process must also be acknowledged as many parents chose to speak to their children in a foreign language in order to prepare their children for entrance into these schools. Parents speaking to their children in a language other than Arabic was most prevalent amongst interviewees who attended the most elite, or embassy-affiliated, international schools. For example, Nina, an AUC alumni, supports the correlation between parents attending private schools and speaking a foreign language: "*It's my choice, because I come from a background from a family where my mom speaks German all the time. So we meet and my friends speak German, so there's no need for me to use the Arabic.*" If the parents were not explicitly speaking a foreign language with their children, many participants expressed the emphasis and importance their parents placed on acquiring fluent English skills. This same emphasis was not expressed in regards to Arabic.

*Culture***.** Qualitative results assoicated with differences between public school and international school graduates suggest participants perceived the influence of the pedagogic habitus as having far reaching implications on appropriate gender roles and social norms. This perceived connection amongst participants further supports the power of the pedagogic habitus on shaping the individual habitus. Students graduating from public or government schools were described:

> *…[as going to be] very narrow minded. They will be very conservative. They are more inclined towards following culture, adhering to culture, being very rigid, by the book. They wouldn't really be open too. So maybe if they are girls from a governmental school, they would unintentionally oppress themselves and oppress other girls. Because there are these socialized notions that are inherent that girls are not allowed to do this and that. They're not allowed to really work and be involved in the workforce and provide for their families. Men would be typical eastern Egyptian men. Whereas the international [school], that's not to say that Egyptian guys from international schools are open minded because there is a huge difference, it depends, it really depends, it's very relative. Who are we talking about? And how the family is. Like, because also parents can be very conservative. They could be very adamant adherents of culture, but their kids turn out to be something totally different.*
>
> *(Mona, AUC student)*

The description of "*their kids turn out to be something totally different*" highlights the potential divergence between the dominant culture of international schools and the less cosmopolitan home habitus that some students face. Mona’s description above highlights the strength behind the pedagogic habitus and socializing experience in the dominant culture of the international school which has the potential to overpower the home habitus. Additionally, the consistent use of the word “*oppress”* and similar adjectives used by Mona and many other female participants suggests the deflection of the privileged classes own perceptions of the submissive social class positions of these non-members.

In contrast:

> *The kids who went to international schools, he was taught how to think logically, which is something that they don't provide at a governmental school. And he was taught self-respect. You cannot humiliate me. You cannot, you cannot, you cannot. You cannot push me. You cannot grab me. You cannot humiliate me, even if you're my teacher. And in a government school, it's not like this. And I see this is a very important aspect, because I mean, you can't allow the girl to get hit from her teacher and then one day [wonder] why she's ok staying with a husband who hits her every morning. So it's to me, it's much deeper than he just hit her, because she didn't do her homework. It's actually introducing the idea and the fact that this is allowed, when actually this is not allowed. I see it like this.*
>
> *(Nina, AUC alumni)*

Here, Nina is addressing the cultural differences that are perceived to exist between government and international schools. The authoritative culture of government schools instills in students the fear of authority and submission. On the contrary, international schools were perceived to cultivate a sense of empowerment, particularly in women.

In summary, all of these discussions suggest the way in which schools cultivate a particular habitus within students. The effect of symbolic violence perpetrated in the pedagogic environments of international schools largely results in the embodiment of an individual habitus predisposed to symbolic violence described here. The effects of symbolic violence in this study provide further support for the influential power of the pedagogic habitus in the development of the individual habitus as the valuation of foreign models of education, or as previously discussed *ʻaqdt al-Khwāgah*, was often reinforced at home. Thus, they are a component of the structured structures at home as well as within schools.

However, a paradox exists between the cultivation of the home habitus and the pedagogic habitus. This paradox is defined by a convergence between pedagogic and home habitus where participants' misrecognized superiority of the value systems present in the field of international schools legitimizes values and status indicators associated with foreign languages, cultures, teachers, and curricula. Yet, simultaneously, the legitimacy behind this value system at times diverges from the culture and language at home by relegating these factors as inferior. This paradox often results in a kind of identity crisis described by many participants.

Convergence and divergence. The clashes between home and pedagogic habitus largely resulted from a clash between what is valued at school through internationalization and what is valued at home through localization as identified in the RQ4 results assoicated with belonging. Many students cited this divergence and noted strategies they developed to deal with this reality. This divergence was often described as "*coming from two worlds.*" The greater the home habitus diverged from the pedagogic habitus, the more participants identified conflicts. The first example below cites a story about Nina's acquaintance moving between an international school and her home environment. This student's family is new to this field and lacks the home habitus compatible with her newly acquired pedagogic habitus. As a result of this divergence, her inferior social class position is easily identified by Nina, who can be described as a gatekeeper:

> *Nina: People suffer. It’s as if they live two lives. Even if the mom is, she really does an effort, but she [the student] can't for example have a play date at her mother's, for example. Are you getting what I'm saying, getting my point? And everything, whether it's in food or doing the homework or whatever it is, it's just different. You wouldn't find someone at [the German school] that puts makeup all the time and does her hair all the time.*
>
> *Ericka: The girl or the mother?*
>
> *Nina: The girl. It's not there. Or the mother after she becomes a mother. Afterwards it's not there. You learn that there are things that value you much more. You should look decent of course, but it's not your $10,000 or whatever. It's not your purse that's going to give meaning to you whatever. Or it's not gonna make me respect you more. No, for all I care you could be wearing brands from I don't know. Like your shoes, your belt, your jeans, your I don't know, your coat, everything. And you still say ‘becine’ [instead of pacine, pool].*

She goes on to describe this woman’s inability to legitimately participate through her extreme emphasis on Americanizing “inauthentically” her Arabic and English words.

This story highlights the complexity that exists between home and school which many participants described. The ability to navigate this complex process to acquire the capital deemed “right” for participation is difficult and generationally reproduced. In this story, the home habitus failed to provide culturally appropriate ways of dress and speech to participate advantageously in this field. Her overemphasis on utilizing English words and inability to pronounce the letter “p,” a sound absent in the Arabic language, are immediate distinguishers of not belonging. Furthermore, the fact that you simply would not find someone from such an “illegitimate” background at the German school, DEO, signifies the perceived exclusivity associated with the school and the role of the home habitus in group membership.

However, divergence was not only found in discussions of those from perceived lower class positions. Many participants discussed an inner dialogue, about how and if localization was possible, and their abilities to navigate tensions that ensued. All participants described a clash of cultures, perspectives, and tensions that arose. However, these tensions were not described necessarily as negative but rather cultivated strategies which allowed them to maneuver between these differing worlds and experiences. Yet, unlike the woman in the previous story, these participants are already members of the privileged class, and thus carry pre-existing structures and capital to more advantageously maneuver between the home and pedagogic habitus reinforcing their privileged positions.

A pattern emerged amongst participants that indicates divergence depends not only on differences between home and pedagogic habitus but also the convergence between value systems, specifically the lack of demand for Arabic and religion classes in national curriculum exempt schools and lack of demand for increased frequency of these classes in all other international schools except the one Islamic-leaning school. Thus, the home and pedagogic habitus largely converged in their devaluation of national curriculum classes and, thus, local knowledge and localization. The result of this convergence over devaluation was a loss of local capital.

However, a pattern was also discernible regarding descriptions of a few privileged class members who demanded Arabic and religion classes. These descriptions largely perceived such families as being more “Egyptian” and thus unorthodox in comparison to the more “liberal” orthodoxy of the school. For example, the most unorthodox school, as described by many, was Hayah International Academy. Hayah was described as unorthodox because it is an Islamic-leaning school and thus incorporates Islam into the structure and programs of the school. However, Alia, the participant who graduated from this school, was significantly more confident in her identity. She connected this directly to the convergence between home and school and the importance of communicating the same messages in both arenas.

One interesting conclusion can be drawn from Alia’s discussion. Throughout the interview, her avoidance of discussing the importance of Islam in her school indicated her knowledge of the perspective held by many in this social class that overt expressions of religion are counter to legitimate characteristics of cosmopolitanism. She was acutely aware of her audience and topic of discussion. As a result, she censored herself accordingly. This self-censorship highlights the tension between expressions of Egyptian identity which is strongly linked to religious identity in Egypt’s macro-society and legitimate expressions of cosmopolitanism that favor forms of secular expression in this micro-society. The veil, for example, when discussed by participants, was identified as being more “Egyptian” and largely an illegitimate means of expressing cosmopolitanism in this field. Liberalism often associated with the cosmopolitanism present at schools was often in direct conflict with the more conservative, religious means of expressing one’s Egyptian identity.

Results from RQ3, cosmopolitanism, and RQ4, belonging and differentiation, in connection to habitus suggest when what is legitimated at home regarding culture, religion, and language converged with school, students were less likely to describe having an identity crisis. The need to acquire a foundation based in local capital was cited by many participants who did and did not struggle with an identity crisis, again highlighting the importance of access to local capital to identity formation and cultivation of local connections. The more the home and pedagogic habitus diverged in cosmopolitan character, the more a participant described tensions and internal conflicts as a result. Divergence largely resulted in a kind of identity crisis that for many was never resolved.

Level two summary. In summary, this section highlighted the cultivation and legitimization of cosmopolitanism at home and at school present in results from RQ3. Although students enter the field of international schools with a significant degree of cosmopolitanism from home, schools play a significant role in the refinement of cosmopolitanism, the means of which were identified by the factors associated with the pedagogic habitus: teachers, language, curriculum, culture. However, the relationship between home and pedagogic habitus is tenuous and fraught with conflicts of identity as described by nearly all participants as suggested by results from RQ4. However, these tensions provide many with significant advantages through their abilities to move between two differing worlds, a skill that many understand is necessary to participate globally.

However, as the analysis moves into the final level three discussion, transitions into local fields proved to be extremely challenging for participants. These challenges were a result of the socialization process previously discussed. The dominant culture of schools, internationalization, and the dominant culture of students, cosmopolitanism, as well as the devaluation of localization and local capital left many participants incapacitated once they left the field of international schools. The following section will focus on the advantages and disadvantages of the interplay between field, level one, and habitus, level two, for privileged class participants and the dominating power behind their social class position that mitigates these disadvantages.

Level Three Discussion

The following discussion delves into understanding the interplay between the structured structures from level one as well as the influence of orientations, internationalization, and cosmopolitanism on students when (re)positioning into Egyptian society. Specifically, it seeks to discuss results associated with RQ4. Results show that privileged students interpret and use the skills and dispositions acquired and refined in their international schools in ways that creates social segregation through individual differentiation and group exclusion, dissociation through estrangement from one’s country, and differentiation within the field of international schools and between public and international school fields. The result of these means of differentiation is social stratification.

Level three is an examination of the structure of relations, practice, and agency as a result of the socialization process in elite, international schools. The previous discussion indicated that positionality is largely dependent upon internationalization. Specifically, the more internationalized a school is as reflected by curriculum, students, teachers, and language policy, the higher up the international school hierarchy they are. There appears to be a misrecognition that the more foreign-led, the more prestigious the schools are perceived. What this misrecognition masks are the disadvantages associated with the hyper-valuation of foreign curricula, languages, and teachers. These disadvantages, as pointed out by participants from these schools, are related to loss of national identity, loss of Arabic linguistic capital, and feelings of estrangement.

Qualitative results suggest that the socialization process in elite, international schools is defined by the interplay between the orientation of the schools and the degree of cosmopolitan orientation of students. It is through this interplay that students acquire legitimized skills and dispositions and refine their ability to operationalize these skills in local and national level fields. They are interrelated because differentiation is largely the means through which social stratification within societies is reproduced. Differentiation is acquired through status indicators such as cosmopolitanism and spatial positions related to belonging. These microlevel outcomes help determine the formation of social stratification in Egypt's society at the mesolevel. The role of orientations and student demographic inputs on reinforcing differentiation in society was consistent with the quantitative regression results.

The following section presents a discussion of results starting with the structure of relations as determined by the home and internationalization and lack of localization at school, which determines the acquisition of status indicators used as means of distinction. Qualitative results from both RQ3 and RQ4 indicate that linguistic capital is one of the most distinctive social indicators sought after in this field which deepens social and spatial segregration as well as dissociation which increases along the field's hierachy. The discussion then presents the implications of these forms of distinction in practice. Specifically, the discussion explores participants' encounters with fields outside the field of international schools and the ways in which social stratification are reinforced as a result.

Structure of relations. The interpretation of the habitus and capital acquired in this field is used as a status indicator which in practice acts as a means of internal and external differentiation. Results from the quantitative regression model for the dependent variable differentiation provide further evidence of the influence of the structure of relations in this process. The collective student variable and orientations, internationalization and localization, had significant relationships with differentiation consistent with the hypothesis. As predicted, differentiation is strongly and positively predicted by internationalization and negatively predicted by localization. This implies that elite, international schools' emphasis on internationalization plays a significant role in (re)producing differentiation. Localization, on the other hand, has the potential to reduce differentiation. The focus on internationalization and lack of localization results in differentiation for many graduates of international schools which reinforces both the cosmopolitan predispositions as well as means of differentiation. These results suggest that rather than the actual global inputs, the delivery of such inputs and the subsequent culture of the school these orientations produce are what reinforce the means of differentiation.

Student inputs, or home demographics, also play a significant role. These results are consistent with the previous section's discussion of the complementary relationship between cosmopolitanism from the home and internationalization at schools. Although only the mother's language and university level were the most significant predictors of differentiation, the collective student variable accounts for a significant and positive amount of variance in the model. As predicted, university level was a significant predictor of differentiation. This result supports the conclusion that the more encounters and experiences graduates have outside the field of international schools, the more likely these experiences influence the reexamination of their relation to and place within Egyptian society.

The mother's language, indicating homes where the mother speaks a foreign language, again highlights the importance of language in this process and to identity formation. The predictive power of mother's language as a vital indicator in transgenerational inheritance of status is consistent with results from Maxwell (2015) who found that "parents (and especially mothers) will be actively shaping the processes of intergenerational transmission of status through efforts around cultivation and the consumption patterns of these groups" (p. 880). The results also indicate that a mother's speaking a foreign language at home has a significant influence on the development of their children's sense of belonging within Egyptian society. These results are consistent with previous literature on the connection between language and identity formation (Bourdieu, 1991). Arabic tethers students to their culture and local identity (Bassiouny, 2014; Suleiman, 2003). These results further support the need to valorize Arabic both in the home and at school where Arabic frequency was determined to be a positive predictor of localization.

Distinction. Forms of status indicators act as means of distinction, identifiers of social class. The interplay between the field of international schools and privileged families is significant in the cultivation of distinction. This is supported by the results of RQ3 regarding the reproduction of social class through families and inheritance of linguistic capital which is reinforced through access and opportunities available in international schools. As a result, distinction can be inherited through families and refined through elite, international schools. The significant influence of the home on cosmopolitanism suggests these dispositions are transgenerationally inherited. However, the field of international schools plays a vital role in this process. The field provides access to opportunities to refine such indicators of distinction in ways that provide privileged students with the greatest accumulation, greater social distinction. The most significant form of distinction is foreign linguistic capital. This process reinforces and deepens social stratification and differentiation identified in the results for RQ4.

Linguistic capital. Foreign linguistic capital is the optimal social class status indicator. It is the most immediate and significant identifier of social class. Linguistic capital, as identified by participants as accent, use of slang, and hyper-accentuation, is an immediate indicator of external or internal class belonging. Those who lack the legitimate form of foreign linguistic capital are easily identified through their de-legitimate use of accent, incorrect use of English and Arabic words while codeswitching, and excessive emphasis on sounding American.

The reason why linguistic capital is the most highly sought after and greatest indicator of class is because it is the most powerful and immediate indicator of social class rather than economic class. Specifically, within Egyptian culture, the differentiation between the two is significant as those from higher social classes are classified as “old money families” and those from only high economic classes are considered “new rich” (Russell, 1994). Even if one’s economic capital wanes, inheriting and maintaining through schooling foreign linguistic capital can help maintain one’s social class position. However, economic capital cannot guarantee full acceptance by gatekeepers to the highest echelons of Egypt’s privileged class. The partnership between inheriting linguistic capital from the home and refinement at school for many is one of the most important aspects of the field of international schools as identified by the qualitative results. The field of international school’s hierarchy is similarly based on this acquisition.

The connection between the use of foreign languages as an indicator of social class and its necessary acquisition through elite schooling is problematic. As previously discussed, this same process significantly erodes privileged students’ acquisition and comfort with the Arabic language. Results further suggest this process has significant implications on individual differentiation, within-group differentiation, dissociation, and students’ positions within the Egyptian community. Desire for family transmission of foreign linguistic capital comes with consequences. Many participants were aware of the problem they inherited as a result of their home and school. This convergence largely revolved around language use. Parents who spoke a foreign langauge at home deepened the valorization and legitimacy associated with foreign langauges in international schools and subsequent dissociaton participants would experience later.

This implies there are two important distinctions of the collective habitus, foreign linguistic capital, and cosmopolitanism. Here the most legitimate means of acquiring this capital and habitus is through foreign teachers highlighting the influence of foreign teachers found in the quantitative results. However, the institutionalized legitimacy present in the insistence that foreign languages and cosmopolitanism can only be acquired through foreign teachers and private schools simultaneously results in de-legitimizing Egyptian teachers and the parallel public school track as well as resulting in the identity crises so many graduates of these schools face.

Spatial and social segregation. Distinction is further deepened through the spatially and socially segregated lives the privileged class have created. Quantitative and qualitative results showed that participants in this field are for the most part significantly spatially and socially segregated. According to the survey, nearly 40% of respondents live in new suburban developments largely comprised of gated communities. These gated communities in some instances also contain the international schools under study or are in close proximity to the suburban district comprised of gated communities. The schools which remain in the more urban districts of Cairo are still contained to the wealthiest neighborhoods in Cairo. As a result, the changing urban landscape of Cairo towards suburban sprawl is both accelerating and aiding the rate of spatial segregation of Egypt’s privileged class (Mohamed, Van Nes, Salheen, & Khalifa, 2013).

Results of the quantitative analysis suggest that internationalization and student demographics play a significant role in constructing the barriers to who privileged students socialize with and where they socialize. Students were far less likely to have monolingual, Arabic-speaking friends as well as friends outside the field of international schools. This suggests that the relationship between the spatial and social segregation of both the field of international schools and the privileged class embeds students with a socially constructed understanding of within-group belonging as attached to the shared experiences at home and within schools as well as the status indicators which exclude others.

For example, all interview participants described their schooling experience akin to living in a bubble. The bubble was even more restricted for students coming from the high levels of the international school hierarchy. Participants' interactions outside their international schools were significantly limited. Many merely described outings to sporting clubs as their means of exposure to society which have membership costs hundreds of times more than the average Egyptian salary. Additionally, the increasing urban sprawl poses a significant challenge to breaking these spatial and social barriers. As one participant stated, the newer generations will not know how to navigate in the social and geographical spaces outside of the privileged class. They do not have the experience of interacting with local shopkeepers in the neighborhood streets. Lack of experiences also suggests many do not see these spaces suitable given "their social trajectory" (Savage et al., 2005, p. 12).

The inappropriateness of such social relationships was at times overtly described in the interviews. Participants' perceptions of appropriate close social relationships were largely confined by their habitus, specifically their ability to feel the connection present in the collective habitus of the privileged class. Again, participants self-censored who and where to cultivate relationships. Self-censorship was the product of the interrelationship between social class membership and international schooling experience present in the results associated with differentiation between public and international school graduates.

Finally, results regarding *horizons for action* further supports the interrationship between the field of international schools and the habitus it cultivates which creates a means of filtering possibilities and limitations for students' future which largely reproduces their privileged social positions. Not only does this relationship reinforce social and spatial barriers between social classes as previously described, but it also reinforces where students imagine they belong.

Belonging. Again, this study utilizes the definition of belonging from Savage (2005):

> Belonging should be seen neither in existential terms (as primordial attachment to some kind of face-to-face community), nor as discursively constructed, but as a socially constructed, embedded process in which people reflexively judge the suitability of a given site as appropriate given their social trajectory and their position in other fields. (p. 12)

The previous discussions on social segregation and *horizons for action* exemplify the outcomes of the interrelationship between the socialization process in the field of international schools and the reproduction of social class membership. This relationship also has a significant influence on cultivating feelings of belonging or estrangement within Egyptian society. The negative side effect of the aforementioned relationship is the loss of local capital which significantly limits privileged students' ability to feel comfortable participating in local fields. As a result, the lack of local capital and subsequent discomfort in such fields causes many participants to simply retreat into the comfort of the social spaces occupied by the privileged class. The consequences of this practice are the reinforcement of social segregation and acquiescence to a life of as one participant stated "*being lost in the middle.*"

The following discussion presents implications of the loss of local capital. Results suggest the hyper-accumulation of transnational capital at the expense of local capital creates significant disadvantages which manifest as dissociation from Egyptian society. However, the advantages largely in the form of economic capital and cultural capital which provides them access to lucrative occupations in the private, often multinational, workforce often outweighs the disadvantages as well as reinforcing their high social class position. The following discussion presents implications of dissociation in terms of identity formation and ability to participate in local fields.

Egyptian versus cosmopolitan. The consequence of focusing on internationalization in the field of international schools was the loss of local capital. As previously argued, a pattern regarding internationalization and localization largely follows the structure of the field. The perceived challenge of this structure is how to acquire the missing cosmopolitan capital for those on the bottom and how to acquire local capital for those on top of the structure. As previously mentioned, loss of Arabic linguistic capital was the greatest example of loss of local capital. However, participants also cited the lack of knowledge of Egyptian history, culture, and events. Participants often stated that this information could be acquired through their local environments at home through family members or in discussions with friends. However, these channels do not carry the same symbolic power and subsequent legitimacy needed to bestow greater value on these forms of local capital. As a result, they continue to hold an inferior position and market value within this social class. Demand for local capital will remain low as long as the supply and legitimacy associated with the usefulness of such capital is not present within this social class and field.

Those who accumulated more local capital as identified through their linguistic capital, home habitus, and attendance at a more localized school were consistently referred to as "*Egyptian*." The consistent use of the word Egyptian to categorize those from more localized schools who had the legitimacy to express being Egyptian through their use of the Arabic language is revealing. What it suggests is many graduates of high and mid-high international schools feel a loss of national identity by lacking the legitimacy to express being Egyptian in ways deemed authentic by the rest of society. Just as privileged students can immediately identify Egyptians who belong and do not belong by their foreign linguistic capital, participants often mentioned encounters where Egyptians from lower social classes immediately identified them as not being authentically Egyptian. Some participants who graduated from embassy-affiliated schools even described being called a foreigner, reinforcing the perceived reality that they will remain lost in the middle.

Encounters in local fields. As participants transitioned into fields dissimilar from their schooling experience, participants encountered fields where the logic of practice and value systems are often significantly different than the field of international schools. They lack the ability to operationalize the little local capital they have in profitable ways. This is because of the spatial and socially segregated nature of the field of international schools, the consistent focus on internationalization as the dominant culture of the schools, and the legitimacy of cosmopolitanism at home and within schools. These experiences resulted in the reinforcement of social class boundaries. For example, when transitioning into AUC, a lack of social preparedness and over-preparedness academically was expressed by many respondents from high levels of the international field hierarchy. As a result, their collective bond was heightened when participants found themselves in an unfamiliar field, and they subsequently sought out and stayed close to students from similar schools.

The results regarding dissociation and means of differentation support the conclusion that a dialectic occurs between habitus and field as these students encountered fields other than international schools (Grenfell & James, 2005). The spatial and social segregation of students, their valorization of transnational capital, and their predisposed cosmopolitan habitus created individuals who largely lacked the cultural competence and familiarity to seamlessly participate within the dominant culture of Egypt (Vyrondies, 2007). As previously argued, experiences in international schools were akin to a *bubble.* Experiences outside this bubble often created a new sense of "striving, resistance and/or new awareness" (Reay, 2004, p. 438). Habitus is central to the encounters between new and unknown fields:

> Implicit in the concept is that habitus operates at an unconscious level unless individuals confront events that cause self-questioning, whereupon habitus begins to operate at the level of consciousness and the person develops new facets of the self. Such disjunctures between habitus and field occur for Bourdieu when individuals with a well-developed habitus find themselves in different fields or different parts of the same social field. (Reay, 2004, p. 437)

Three events were often mentioned regarding moments of new awareness: transitioning into AUC, taking the national exams, and the revolution. These encounters encouraged disjunctures described in terms of resistance or new awareness. The result of these initial encounters with more local, Egyptian fields was largely disillusionment and feelings of not fully belonging. Again, a pattern amongst the descriptions of these encounters resulted in us-versus-them divisions which reinforced the legitimate existence of these class boundaries as they relate to these two differing educational tracks, international private schools versus public schools.

These encounters for many were the first time students were confronted with a differing value system. It was the first time their habitus and skills were not viewed as legitimate and profitable. Even for those coming from more localized international schools, the experience was largely uncomfortable, highlighting the severity of the rift between students from international schools and public schools and the subsequent social class rift. Without even speaking to each other, the differences were clear. Participants described the severe discomfort of merely occupying the same space. For example, their national examination encounter created awareness of the severity of the differentiation between social class boundaries. However, participants did not necessarily view this as negative. Rather for many, the encounter simply reinforced these boundaries and their desire to participate in cosmopolitan, international fields that value and benefit from their capital and habitus.

These encounters highlight two important results. First, the connection again to the importance of the pedagogic habitus on creating notions of what is legitimate capital. In these encounters, a cosmopolitan habitus and the ways in which privileged students strategized their cultural capital was not beneficial in this context because the audience had a vastly different perception of what was legitimate and valued. Second, the effects of this experience are described largely as resistant. For example, participants, as a result, emphasized the legitimacy of their differences in these encounters.

Thus, symbolic violence was not carried out by the privileged class because the dominant, orthodoxy in this situation was not that of the privileged class but of the macrosociety which students in the privileged class found themselves uncomfortably forced to confront.

Symbolic violence in this instance was largely carried out by the dominant macroculture, who interviewees described as seeing them as the outsiders, even foreigners. Their cosmopolitan ways of dress, language, and international knowledge were perceived as inferior and unorthodox in this local field. The value system in these encounters was produced, assessed, and consecrated by the field of public education in Egypt. The skills valued in these situations were those skills that were consistently devalued by the privileged class. However, in this situation these exact skills are what would reap greater profits in this field defined by rules dictated through the field of public, national schools. As a result, such encounters merely reinforced their desire to remain segregated from such fields and participants.

Encounters that resulted in self-assessment rather than resistance occurred largely amongst students who had already graduated from AUC, a result which supports the quantitative results that university level is a significant predictor of social segregation. The qualitative results regarding differentiation emphasize this point and a conclusion can be made that AUC is still similar to the pedagogic habitus of many students graduating from international schools. Encounters with more localized and diverse fields after university had the most influence on students' assessments of their experiences and habitus. Students often described these encounters as shocking and uncomfortable. Such encounters often highlighted the differences in habitus and resulted in a re-examination of their perceived place in Egyptian society. As a result, some students made great self-initiated efforts to acquire the local capital needed for greater or more acceptable forms of localization needed to adapt to their schemata in these fields.

Overall, encounters with local fields had a profound impact on reassessing one's place in Egyptian society. For many, it meant acquiring the local capital which they lacked or practicing the mobilization of this capital which laid dormant. For others, it resulted in resistance to the dominant macrosociety. Both experiences resulted in reinforcing social boundaries and a heightened awareness that they will not fully belong to the macrosociety because their *“definition of Egypt is very different,”* a challenge that for many would never be overcome nor was it desired.

Concerted encounters. The field of international education for many provided the illusion that they could belong to the society from which the educational system was modeled. For example, participants from the French school described feeling a sense of collective affinity with the French. However, encounters abroad and encounters in local fields reinforced the reality that for many, they belong neither here nor there. Nevertheless, the economic and social privilege associated with the distinctions they receive as a result of their habitus and schooling outweigh the disadvantages associated with loss of identity and lack of local capital. This was overtly stated by many participants. To compensate for the loss of local capital and future disadvantages, participants with children try to mitigate these losses through concerted encounters with local fields at an early age. The intention is to provide opportunities to acquire and practice the local capital absent in the field of international schools. The following examines the results of this practice.

The long term effects of schooling were echoed by all AUC alumni. In response to their perceived deficiencies, participants have started to undertake a form of concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2011) in regards to their own children. Their goal is to provide their children with the opportunity to acquire and strategize the use of local capital through organized encounters with other fields at an early age. This strategy is largely used in regards to acquiring much needed Arabic skills. Parents often stated that Arabic “*doesn’t come naturally for me*.” This is a reflection of the long-term effects of the pedagogic habitus and internationalization which focuses on international communication abilities. Parents described the influence of the home, in which most do not speak solely Arabic, and the English-speaking social life at international schools. As a result, their children already self-censor by choosing to play with English-speaking classmates. In response, parents organize encounters at sporting clubs and in all-Arabic speaking locations.

The discussion with parents highlighted three important points: first, the inferiority associated with the Arabic language embedded in privileged class children from an extremely young age; second, the impact this has on their sense of belonging in Egyptian society; third, the symbolic violence present in such situations, a result of both social class positions and educational institutions. "Although the habitus is a product of early childhood experience, and, in particular socialisation within the family, it is continually modified by individuals' encounters with the outside world (Di Maggio, 1979)" (as cited in Reay, 2004, p. 434). Most of these children's encounters with the outside world reinforced social imaginations in which they distinguish and disconnect themselves from belonging to the larger Arabic-speaking community. In these cases, the lack of Arabic at home and the lower social class position of the participants with whom they practice speaking Arabic imbed these children with an assumed inferiority of the Arabic language that is legitimized and perpetuated by international schools. The following describes the relationship between the educational institutions in this study, knowledge they transmit, and subsequent symbolic violence:

> The transmission of knowledge in educational institutions doubly imposes artificially constructed objectifications because both the abstracted knowledge that is taught and the institutions themselves within which it is taught are products of the basic inclination to

> achieve distinction by imposing dominant conceptualizations (‘symbolic violence’). (Robbins, 2005, p. 35)

For example, these experiences often were described as encounters of embarrassment which merely reinforced for the children the inferiority of Arabic and monolingual fields. Parents described their children as already looking down on monolingual Arabic speakers. One father described his son’s encounter in a barber shop where the child described the individuals present at “*Arabics*.” At the age of six, the class boundaries were already crystalized for this child and he immediately discerned through us-versus-them who did and did not belong based on the location and language spoken. Those present in the barbershop also categorized the child as a foreigner and tried speaking to him in English. This encounter highlights the difficulty in breaking those class boundaries and the role languages play in reinforcing membership.

The symbolic violence perpetrated in parents’ stories highlights the power of the English language in both the home and school environments despite the concerted efforts by parents to mitigate the desire of foreign linguistic capital and the inequalities such capital bears though its role as an exclusive status indicator. However, these concerted encounters where parents delegated individuals of less privileged positions to imbue Arabic language skills within their children only heightened the inferiority of the Arabic language and perpetuated their differences.

Localization, strategizing local and transnational capital in local contexts in a manner deemed authentic by participants, is a necessary means to developing a tactfulness that will, according to some, lessen the potential for this phenomenon to occur. As a result, concerted cultivation is only successful if these encounters occur in persistent, immersive local environments where participants share a degree of perceived equality in social standing. Conditions must reduce the potential for the perpetration of symbolic violence on the part of the privileged participant. Otherwise, such encounters only crystallize social stratification and widen divides.

Level three summary. This discussion showed that the acquisition of privileged class distinction is determined at home and through international schools. Through this acquisition privileged students acquire forms of distinction, the most significant being foreign linguistic capital. However, this socialization process significantly influences means of differentiation within society. Despite reassessment of relational belonging through encounters in local fields, such encounters largely result in symbolic violence and reinforcement of social segregation. This discussion further highlights the desire and importance of acquisition of means of distinction despite the disadvantages such distinction transmit related to dissociation, social segregation, and identity crises through the loss of local capital and experiences in local fields.

Summary

The preceding discussion is an examination of the field of international schools, participants' pedagogic habitus, the capital gained, and students' reassessing or reinforcing their position within society as a result of encounters with diverse, local fields outside international schools. Together, this discussion provides evidence to answer the main research question: How does the international and local orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt influence Egyptian students' orientations towards the self, others, and the broader society?

Re-examining the global-local model from Figure 7 which initiated this study, the conclusions show that the inputs and orientations all play a significant role in the socialization process in Egypt's international schools and subsequent reinforcement of social stratification. The discussion concludes that the orientation of elite, international schools in Egypt is significantly influenced by the legitimacy and symbolic power behind the global inputs foreign curricula, foreign diplomas, and foreign teachers. The lack of legitimacy and symbolic power behind local inputs reinforces the dominance of global inputs in this process. The effect of this is that international schools' orientation is defined by internationalization and lacks localization. This result is further perpetuated by the demands of Egypt's privileged class for global inputs and the complementary relationship between the cosmopolitan habitus of privileged class families and the field of international schools as a means of social class reproduction.

The field of international schools promotes and legitimizes the standards, habitus, and social positions of Egypt's privileged class. This is accomplished through a complex relationship between home and pedagogic habitus, which supports the cultivation of a cosmopolitan habitus and the acquisition of transnational capital that students then operationalize in similar fields such as the private workforce. The field in turn endows advantages to those who possess this form of cosmopolitan habitus and subsequent capital, and these privileged participants provide further legitimacy to the field.

However, the limits of these advantages become apparent when the knowledge promoted and legitimated by this field is utilized in more local fields where less cosmopolitan dispositions are warranted. The socialization process in Egypt's elite, international schools incapacitates students during these encounters and transition phases. At times, these encounters can be advantageous, particularly when they have similar cosmopolitan predispositions. Other times, these encounters are uncomfortable and reinforce individual differences as well as social class positionality. Yet often, privileged students' dominant social class position simultaneously amplifies these differences and nullifies the disadvantages in these encounters.

The result of the relationship between the field of international schools' orientation towards internationalization and students' cosmopolitan habitus reinforces barriers to social mobility through the exclusive control over production, assessment, and consecration of privileged class status indicators through which class boundaries are enforced. The hierarchical structure of the field reinforces the control of connaissance of these status indicators where position-making and position-taking rely on the perpetuation of this relationship and its exclusivity. Thus, they control the means of distinguishing within-group belonging through access to foreign teachers, foreign credentials, and refinement of cosmopolitan dispositions in elite, international schools. These experiences create a sense of collective belonging amongst members with similar relational experiences. However, the fact that a majority of Egyptians have vastly different experiences and privileged students lack local capital produces representations of the self that do not fully fit within the broader Egyptian society. Together, these means of differentiation reproduce social stratification in society by encouraging the field and privileged class members to seek ways to retain the exclusivity of the field and access to its exclusive status indicators to maintain the symbolic power and dominance of the field's position in society and the positions of its social class members.

Limitations

As with any self-reported data there will always exist the potential for the respondents to misrepresent themselves in their responses. Further limitations are related to the use of a Likert scale. The use of this scale also means that one can never truly say that the self-reported answers are "true" measures of reality (Fowler, 2014). However, the goal of this study is to examine students' perceptions, not necessary an objective "truth." Students' perceptions are in fact shaped by habitus and field, and as such self-reported data are representations of the logic of practice which defines the field of international schools.

Despite piloting the survey, a few limitations were discovered after survey distribution. The first occurred with question 23:

> How often do you travel outside of Egypt? 1. Never traveled outside Egypt; 2. Once a year; 3. Two to three times a year; 4. Four or more times a year.

Responses were limited because a category reflecting sporadic but not yearly travel was not included as a choice. Thus, respondents were limited by the available choices, which did not reflect all possible answers. An additional choice should be added in the future. However, this limitation does not impact the analysis since those responses were used only for frequency counts to describe participants and identify characteristics surrounding the students who travelled most frequently. Thus, such responses were still available for students who travelled frequently.

The second limitation occurred with question 44:

> What I learned in my international school is relevant to my life in Egypt.

Since the survey was also distributed to public school students, many simply did not answer this question. However, public school students' responses were not included in the final statistical analyses anyway, so this limitation had no effect on the data analysis. In the future, the word "international" should simply be removed to ensure it applies to all potential participants.

Although data gathered is intended to be reflective of the target population in this study, alumni of international schools in Egypt, there will always remain the potential for selection bias. It is possible that voluntary responses may introduce bias as they may reflect a specific profile different from those who choose not to participate (Fowler, 2014). However, I made significant efforts to gather responses by a variety of students in differing schools and departments as well as through random sampling on campus. The data provide vital evidence to support trends found in the survey, provide greater in-depth discussion and perspectives from the participants related to the phenomenon under study, as well as validate the use of the theoretical framework in Egypt's field of international schools. Additionally, with the use of multiple linear regression, it must be stressed that causation should not be assumed from the results.

External and internal validity. Although the research seeks to corroborate theoretical concepts related to cultural capital theory within Egypt's field of education as well as develop a global-local explanatory framework regarding the socialization in elite, international schools, the findings are not truly generalizable as the case study is specific to Egypt and this particular population. However, the use of theory, extensive literature review for contextualization, and mixed methods approach is intended to increase external validity for the purpose of undertaking similar studies that could be used for cross-national comparisons. Additionally, internal validity is increased through the mixed methods approach, which uses multiple sources of evidence that can corroborate trends and observations, provide alternative explanations, or explore rival explanations (Yin, 2013). Situating the findings within the sociohistorical context of Egypt and connecting it to the theory through triangulation was also done.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research should delve deeper into any one of the three previously described levels of analysis. Perspectives of differing participants such as teachers, administrators, and international school owners would add diverse and important vantage points to this process. Future research should focus on employing differing research methods to mapping this field. For example, the use of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), a statistical analysis often used by Bourdieu, would be a beneficial method. MCA could provide a visual representation of the field and further evidence of the hierarchical structure of the international school field, positionality, and distribution of capital.

Although this mixed methods, vertical case study is of a particular population and site, elite, international schools and alumni in Egypt, which has its own unique socio-cultural, historical and political context, many similar schools with a similar composition of host country nationals and foreign teachers exist throughout the world. The in-depth description and ethnographic elements contextualize macro-level forces within this particular location. However, this research question is extremely relevant and transferable to countries around the world which harbor similar international schools.

Taking contextual particularities into consideration, the ecological validity of transferring the research question to other countries is highly probable. Such research would be an important stepping stone to investigating similarities and differences in the unique socialization process in international schools, undertaken by foreign educators using foreign curricula and foreign language instruction, and the influence of this process on host country nationals in different contexts throughout the world. Such research opens the door for important and much-needed comparative work in the field of comparative and international education which focuses on the influence of global-local connections in a variety of contexts.

Conclusion

This study concludes that social class position and specifically within-group positionality is inextricably linked to cosmopolitanism from the home and internationalization in the field of international schools. The rules of the game require access to the opportunities provided in the field of international schools to refine cosmopolitanism. Increased focus on internationalization indicates greater levels of refinement through access to foreign teachers, foreign languages of instruction, and foreign credentials. As localization is largely foreign-led as a result of the dominance of these global inputs, localization is largely neglected prioritizing internationalization and the accumulation of high status indicators and distinctions associated with this orientation. This results in the simultaneous loss of local capital resulting in increased social differentiation and reinforcement of social class boundaries. The implication of this conclusion is that desire for distinction in the form of transnational capital and social class position trumps the desire for strong national ties and the disadvantages that follow.

Examining how internationalization in elite, international schools in Egypt complements the predispositions of Egypt's privileged class to reinforce and reproduce social hierarchies is a novel approach to theories on education and social class reproduction. These results highlight the importance of making the connection in research between elite schools also being international schools in many developing countries. From a national perspective, the growing field of international schools, as this study indicates, is an important means of social class reproduction. Explicitly making this connection is foundational to examining the connection between schools and elites in many developing countries like Egypt in the reproduction of cultural practices that identify "what is elite about the elites" (Maxwell, 2015, p. 22). However, approaching elite schools in these contexts as also international implies important contextual differences between national systems of education and these often parallel, globally-focused systems of education.

The outcomes described in this study related to differentiation and loss of national language, culture, and heritage runs largely contrary to traditional expectations of national education systems. If the goals of the Egyptian government are to instill in citizens a sense of national identity, pride and knowledge of the country's culture and heritage to promote unity and cohesion (MOE, 2014), what transpires in foreign language, international schools is contrary to these goals. Results indicate what transpires in this system is symbolic violence and legitimation of cosmopolitanism and internationalization, which limits localization and subsequent acquisition of important means of developing a cohesive society. How can an Egyptian with limited Arabic skills, limited connections to local communities and peoples, and limited knowledge of Egyptian history and heritage be fully accepted within Egyptian society in a way that promotes social cohesion? In fact, the outcome of these experiences perpetuates social segregation and the reaffirmation of the superiority of the social class positions and private education. Thus, the misrecognition of the capital and habitus acquired and refined in this field by the privileged class and further legitimized by the global capitalist system masks the unequal access to and distribution of the advantages associated with this system.

These results support the paradox which exists in our increasingly globalized world where national institutions such as education:

> [prioritize] the 'nation' over other categories, thus legitimizing education policies, school curricula, and reforms that are consistent with its logic. By contrast, cosmopolitanism prioritizes the "world" and transnational or transcultural categories and legitimizes discourses and practices that transcend the nation. (Yemini et. al, 2014, p. 710)

The tension between these two contrasting aims are motivated by differing factors and beliefs. These diverging aims are present in the parallel education system in Egypt where the field of international schools legitimizes cosmopolitanism and internationalization while the public school system, perceived inferior, prioritizes the nation.

However, this paradox is reinforced by understanding the aims of the field of international schools as serving an important and vital purpose to the Egyptian nation. That is, these schools do in fact provide valuable language skills, experiences, opportunities, and educational credentials that enable these graduates to lead Egypt in the global capitalist system. Results suggest that localization will help decrease these social differences. And surprisingly, the regression results for localization suggest that allowing these schools the freedom to implement and deliver national curriculum classes in ways that better fit their school culture and environment is a potential way to reduce the tension that exists between these diverging aims. The following is a list of recommentations for key stakeholders:

School policies:

- Inclusive language policy which valorizes Arabic
- Balance and adapt national and foreign curricula
- Equality and transparency in hiring, recruitment, pay
- More local hires
- Training for foreign hires
- Collaboration between local and foreign hires
- Communication with parents
- Needs assessment for localization

Government policies:

- Require all schools and schools registered as cultural centers to incorporate Arabic and national social studies
- Allow flexibility in delivery and content of these required courses
- Regulate or remove international schools' foreign language requirement for acceptance in Pre-K through Grade 1

Parents:

- Speak ONLY Arabic at home
- Persistently encourage participation in a variety of environments in Egypt, and encourage discussions in Arabic with all persons capable of speaking Arabic

- Valorize and value local language, culture and heritage at home
- Re-examine own perceptions and value judgements

Valuing localization has the potential to reduce the hyper-valuation and legitimacy associated with internationalization that results in weakened local connections and erosion of national language and identity. In conclusion, this study represents the need for more local case studies to examine the impact of local and national conditions to the adaptation of global models of education and the diverging aims and expectations amongst agents from global, national, and local levels.

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Appendix A: Survey

Part One: Please answer the following questions.

1. What is your gender?
    1. Male
    2. Female

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Male	29.48%	74
2	Female	70.52%	177
	Total	100.00%	251

2. How old are you?

____

N	Mean	Min	Max
222	22	18	47

3. What is your current level in university?
    1. Freshman
    2. Sophomore
    3. Junior
    4. Senior
    5. Graduate student
    6. Alumni

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Freshman	3.98%	10
2	Sophomore	19.52%	49
3	Junior	26.69%	67
4	Senior	30.28%	76
5	Graduate student	3.19%	8

6	Alumni	16.33%	41
	Total	100.00%	251

4. What type of school did you attend?
    1. Private, international school
    2. Private, non-religious language school
    3. Religious, non-Arabic school
    4. Government/public school
    5. Al Azhari school
    6. Other: please specify_______
    7. Did not complete secondary school

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Private, international school	82.07%	206
2	Private, non-religious language school	7.17%	18
3	Religious, non-Arabic school	5.58%	14
4	Government/public school	2.39%	6
5	Al Azhar School	0.80%	2
6	Other: Please specify	1.99%	5
	Total	100%	251

5. What is the name of the school you graduated from?
____

6. What diploma did you earn? (circle all that apply)
    1. International Baccalaureate (IB)
    2. American high school diploma
    3. IGCSE/GCSE/GCE
    4. French Baccalaureate
    5. German Abitur
    6. Egyptian diploma (Thanawiya ‘Amma)
    7. Other: specify ___________________________

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	International Baccalaureate (IB)	12.88%	30
2	American high school diploma	33.05%	77
3	IGCSE/GCSE/GCE	32.62%	76
4	French Baccalaureate	6.01%	14
5	German Abitur	3.43%	8
6	Egyptian diploma (Thanawiya 'Amma)	4.29%	10
7	A-levels	3.43%	8
8	Other	4.29%	10
	Total	100%	233

7. What school did you attend for a majority of your primary/elementary school years?

   ____

8. Have you ever attended a school where a majority of your classes were taught in Arabic?
   1. Yes
   2. No

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	No	89.24%	224
2	Yes	10.76%	27
	Total	100.00%	251

9. In what area do you and your family live? (i.e. Maadi, Heliopolis, 6th of October, Dokki, etc.)

   ____

10. Do you live in a compound or gated community?
    1. Yes
    2. No

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
2	Yes	35.60%	89

1	No	64.40%	161
	Total	100.00%	250

11. What type of school did your mother attended?
    1. Private, international school
    2. Private, non-religious language school
    3. Religious, non-Arabic school
    4. Government/public school
    5. Al Azhari school
    6. Other: please specify_______
    7. Did not complete secondary school

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Private, international school	28.77%	63
2	Private, non-religious language school	3.65%	8
3	Religious, non-Arabic school	14.61%	32
4	Government/public school	38.36%	84
5	Al Azhari school	0.00%	0
6	Other: please specify	14.16%	31
7	Did not complete secondary school	0.46%	1
	Total	100.00%	219

12. What was the name of the school your mother graduated from?

    ____

13. What is the highest educational level received by your mother?
    1. Less than secondary school
    2. Secondary school degree
    3. B.A. or B.S. degree
    4. M.A. or M.S. degree or equivalent graduate degree
    5. Ph.D. or equivalent

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Less than secondary school	0.81%	2

2	Secondary school degree	6.10%	15
3	B.A. or B.S. degree	68.70%	169
4	M.A. or M.S. degree or equivalent graduate degree	14.63%	36
5	Ph.D. or equivalent	9.76%	24
	Total	100.00%	246

14. If she received a university degree, from which university was her highest degree earned?

____

15. What is your mother's current occupation?

____

16. What type of school did your father attended?
    1. Private, international school
    2. Private, non-religious language school
    3. Religious, non-Arabic school
    4. Government/public school
    5. Al Azhari school
    6. Other: please specify_______
    7. Did not complete secondary school

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Private, international school	17.70%	43
2	Private, non-religious school	14.81%	36
3	Religious, non-Arabic school	4.12%	10
4	Government/public school	53.91%	131
5	Al Azhari school	0.41%	1
6	Other: please specify	9.05%	22
7	Did not complete secondary school	0.00%	0
	Total	100.00%	243

17. What was the name of the school your father graduated from?

____

18. What is the highest educational level received by your father?
    1. Less than secondary school
    2. Secondary school degree
    3. B.A. or B.S. degree
    4. M.A. or M.S. degree or equivalent graduate degree
    5. Ph.D. or equivalent

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Less than secondary school	0.41%	1
2	Secondary school degree	3.28%	8
3	B.A. or B.S degree	61.07%	149
4	M.A. or M.S. degree or equivalent graduate degree	18.03%	44
5	Ph.D. or equivalent	17.21%	42
	Total	100.00%	244

19. If he received a university degree, from which university was his highest degree earned?

____

20. What is your father's current occupation?

____

21. Do you currently work/intern or intend on working?
    1. Public sector workforce (i.e. Egyptian government or military)
    2. Multinational corporation (i.e. PepsiCo)
    3. Non-governmental organization (i.e. United Nations)
    4. Private company
    5. Entrepreneur (i.e. start your own company)
    6. Undecided

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Public sector workforce (i.e. Egyptian government or military)	2.37%	5
2	Multinational corporation (i.e. PepsiCo)	18.48%	39

3	Non-governmental organization (i.e. United Nations)	12.32%	26
4	Private company	24.17%	51
5	Entrepreneur (i.e. start your own business)	15.64%	33
6	Undecided	27.01%	57
	Total	100.00%	211

22. If given the opportunity, would you leave Egypt to work abroad or continue with your studies?
    1. No
    2. Yes
    3. I currently live or work abroad

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	No	26.67%	64
2	Yes	70.83%	170
3	I currently live or work abroad	2.50%	6
	Total	100.00%	240

23. How often do you travel outside of Egypt?
    1. Never traveled outside Egypt
    2. Once a year
    3. Two to three times a year
    4. Four or more times a year

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Never traveled outside Egypt	5.04%	12
2	Once a year	65.97%	157
3	Two to three times a year	24.37%	58
4	Four or more times a year	4.62%	11
	Total	100.00%	238

24. Do you have a passport from a country other than Egypt?

1. Yes
2. No

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	No	83.95%	204
2	Yes	16.05%	39
	Total	100.00%	243

25. What language do you primarily speak at home?
    1. Arabic
    2. English
    3. French
    4. Code switching (mixing between Arabic and another language such as English)
    5. A language other than Arabic, English or French

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Arabic	48.35%	117
2	English	3.72%	9
3	French	0.83%	2
4	Mixing between Arabic and another language such as English (Code switching)	45.87%	111
5	A language other than Arabic, English, or French	1.24%	3
	Total	100.00%	242

26. What language does your mother primarily speak at home?
    1. Arabic
    2. English
    3. French
    4. Code switching (mixing between Arabic and another language such as English)
    5. A language other than Arabic, English or French

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Arabic	66.12%	160
2	English	3.31%	8

3	French	1.65%	4
4	Mixing between Arabic and another language such as English (Code switching)	27.27%	66
5	A language other than Arabic, English, or French	1.65%	4
	Total	100.00%	242

27. What language does your father primarily speak at home?
    1. Arabic
    2. English
    3. French
    4. Code switching (mixing between Arabic and another language such as English)
    5. A language other than Arabic, English or French

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Arabic	78.33%	188
2	English	2.08%	5
3	French	1.25%	3
4	Mixing between Arabic and another language such as English (Code switching)	17.92%	43
5	A language other than Arabic, English, or French	0.42%	
	Total	100.00%	240

28. What language do you primarily speak with your friends?
    1. Arabic
    2. English
    3. French
    4. Code switch (mixing between Arabic and another language such as English)
    5. A language other than Arabic, French or English

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Arabic	22.31%	54
2	English	5.79%	14

3	French	0.83%	2
4	Mixing between Arabic and another language such as English (Code switching)	71.07%	172
5	A language other than Arabic, English, or French	0.00%	0
	Total	100.00%	242

29. Do you have close Egyptian friends who did not attend an international or private school?
    1. Yes
    2. No

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	No	61.16%	148
2	Yes	38.84%	94
	Total	100.00%	242

30. Do you have close Egyptian friends who can only speak Arabic?
    1. Yes
    2. No

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	No	69.83%	169
2	Yes	30.17%	73
	Total	100.00%	242

31. How often did you have Arabic class at your international school?
    1. Never
    2. One to two times per week
    3. Three to four times per week
    4. Everyday

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Never	5.37%	13
2	One to two times per week	43.39%	105

3	Three to four times per week	30.58%	74
4	Everyday	20.66%	50
	Total	100.00%	242

32. Did you take private Arabic lessons at home? If Yes, at what age did you start taking Arabic lessons?
    1. Yes, Age: ___________
    2. No

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	No	28.93%	70
2	Yes	71.07%	172
	Total	100.00%	242

33. Please indicate what language/s you use most often for the following:
    1. Social media:_________________
    2. TV shows:_________________
    3. Movies:_________________
    4. Newspapers:_________________
    5. Books:_________________

34. Were you required to take an English class upon entering AUC? If yes, what English language class were you required to take?
    1. No
    2. Yes, Class: __________________________

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	No	40.25%	97
2	Yes	59.75%	144
	Total	100.00%	241

35. Were you required to take an Arabic language class at AUC? If yes, what Arabic language class were you required to take?
    1. No

2. Yes, class: ___________________

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	No	86.78%	210
2	Yes	13.22%	32
	Total	100.00%	242

36. A majority of my teachers at my school were:

1. Egyptians
2. Foreigners
3. Both

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Egyptians	42.56%	103
2	Foreigners	23.55%	57
3	Both	33.88%	82
	Total	100.00%	242

37. A majority of my classmates at my school were:

1. Egyptians
2. Foreigners
3. Both

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Egyptians	87.19%	211
2	Foreigners	3.72%	9
3	Both	9.09%	22
	Total	100%	242

38. My school encouraged me to be a:
    1. Global citizen
    2. National citizen
    3. Both

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Global citizen	10.56%	17
2	National citizen	4.35%	7
3	Both	85.09%	137
	Total	100.00%	161

39. I have greater opportunities getting an internship or job because of my language skills.
    1. No
    2. Yes

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	No	8.75%	21
2	Yes	91.25%	219
	Total	100.00%	240

40. I have greater opportunities getting an internship or job because I have: (check all that apply)
    1. Oral English skills
    2. Written English skills
    3. Oral Arabic skills
    4. Written Arabic skills
    5. Other linguistic skills

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Oral English skills	30.48%	217
2	Written English skills	28.37%	202
3	Oral Arabic skills	15.31%	109
4	Written Arabic skills	14.04%	100
5	Other language skills	11.80%	84

	Total	100.00%	712

Part three: Please answer by indicating the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

41. My school encouraged me to respect my own culture.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	2.50%	6
2	Somewhat disagree	6.67%	16
3	Somewhat agree	35.42%	85
4	Agree	55.42%	133
	Total	100.00%	240

42. My school encouraged me to learn about Egyptian history.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	9.13%	22
2	Somewhat disagree	13.28%	32
3	Somewhat agree	34.02%	82
4	Agree	43.57%	105
	Total	100.00%	241

43. My school encouraged connections and outreach to our local community. (i.e. multiple field trips to local sites, volunteering in impoverished areas in Cairo, interacting with Egyptians of other social classes)

1. Disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	14.52%	35
2	Somewhat disagree	14.52%	35
3	Somewhat agree	24.90%	60
4	Agree	46.06%	111
	Total	100.00%	241

44. What I learned in my international school is relevant to my life in Egypt.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	9.13%	21
2	Somewhat disagree	21.30%	49
3	Somewhat agree	42.61%	98
4	Agree	26.96%	62
	Total	100.00%	230

45. My school discouraged me from speaking Arabic.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	40.83%	98

2	Somewhat disagree	20.00%	48
3	Somewhat agree	24.58%	59
4	Agree	14.58%	35
	Total	100.00%	240

46. After graduating from my school, I had difficulty maintaining a high level of Arabic whether in writing, reading or speaking.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	25.52%	61
2	Somewhat disagree	15.06%	36
3	Somewhat agree	29.71%	71
4	Agree	29.71%	71
	Total	100.00%	239

47. My school encouraged me to be aware of international current events.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	10.00%	24
2	Somewhat disagree	14.58%	35
3	Somewhat agree	31.25%	75
4	Agree	44.17%	106
	Total	100.00%	240

48. In my school, I learned more about other cultures than my own culture.

1. Disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	14.64%	35
2	Somewhat disagree	24.69%	59
3	Somewhat agree	30.13%	72
4	Agree	30.54%	73
	Total	100.00%	239

49. My school encouraged me to feel a sense of pride in Egypt.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	9.70%	23
2	Somewhat disagree	15.19%	36
3	Somewhat agree	37.97%	90
4	Agree	37.13%	88
	Total	100.00%	237

50. I have difficulty socializing with people who did not go to a similar school.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No.	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	53.97%	129

2	Somewhat disagree	17.99%	43
3	Somewhat agree	18.83%	45
4	Agree	9.21%	22
	Total	100.00%	239

51. As a result of my schooling, there are times when I have had a feeling of estrangement or not belonging within my own country.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	42.86%	102
2	Somewhat disagree	17.23%	41
3	Somewhat agree	25.63%	61
4	Agree	14.29%	34
	Total	100.00%	238

52. I have made social connections in my international school that will help me in my future.
    1. Disagree
    2. Somewhat disagree
    3. Somewhat agree
    4. Agree

No	Answer	Percent	Count
1	Disagree	12.24%	29
2	Somewhat disagree	13.08%	31
3	Somewhat agree	30.80%	73
4	Agree	43.88%	104
	Total	100.00%	237

Appendix B: Interview and FGD Questions

Appendix B includes the semi-structured questions used in interviews and focus group discussion. Additional questions were asked for participants who had graduated AUC. These questions included a focus on the workforce. Following each question is the code used to categorize the questions according to inputs, orientations, and influence.

Current AUC Participants

1. How well do you feel your school prepared you for your university experience? (Influence)
2. How well do you feel your school prepared you for life in Egypt? (Influence)
3. Do you feel your classes were relevant to your life in Egypt? (Orientation/Localization)
4. Did your school encourage you to be a national or global citizen? How? (Orientation/Internationalization)
5. Were most of your teachers foreigners? Classmates? Was this beneficial? (Input)
6. Did your school engage with your local community? How? (Orientation/Localization)
7. Did you have friends outside of your school? Where? (Influence/Differentiation)
8. Do you have difficulty socializing with people who did not go to a similar school? (Influence/Differentiation)
9. What was your experience like in the classes, which taught the national curriculum? Foreign curriculum? (Orientation)
10. How much focus was placed on Egyptian history and culture in comparison to international culture and history? (Orientation)
11. How much did you discuss and learn about Egyptian current events compared to international current events? (Internationalization)

12. How did this focus on international (or local/national) events influence you? (Influence)
13. Do you think your teachers adapted lessons or the information to fit the Egyptian context? Why or why not? (Orientation/Localization)
14. Were you allowed to speak Arabic at school? (Orientation/Internationalization)
    a. How did this make you feel?
15. Do you have difficulty maintaining a high level of Arabic? English? (Influence/Differentiation)
16. Did you have any language difficulties in university? (Influence)
    a. If yes, why do you think you faced these difficulties?
17. Do you think your schooling had an influence on your sense of belonging in Egypt? (Influence/Differentiation)
18. In what area do you want to work? In Egypt or abroad? (Orientation/Cosmopolitanism)
19. Do you think your schooling has an influence on your job opportunities? How? (Influence/Cosmopolitanism)
20. What is the difference between someone who went to your school and other international schools? (Influence/Differentiation)
21. What is the difference between someone who went to an international school and a government school? (Influence/Differentiation)
22. What role do international schools play in Egyptian society? (Influence/Differentiation)
23. What could your school do better?

Additional Questions for AUC Alumni Participants

24. In what area do you work? (Demographic)

25. Do you have any language difficulties in the workplace? (Influence)
    a. If yes, why do you think you face these difficulties? (Influence)
26. Would you send your kids to your school? Why or why not? (Influence)

Appendix C: Quantitative Codebook

Table A1

Quantitative Coding and Variables

Dependent Variables	**Coding**
School outcomes	
Internationalization Cronbach's Alpha = .7	Sum of items 38, 45, 47, 48
(World citizenship)	38. My school encouraged me to be a: 0 = national citizen; 1 = both; 2 = global citizen
(International communication)	45. My school discouraged me from speaking Arabic. 1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree
(Understanding international affairs)	47. My school encouraged me to be aware of international current events. 1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree
(Appreciation of other cultures)	48. In my school, I learned more about other cultures than my own culture. 1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree
Localization Cronbach's Alpha = .7	Sum of items 41, 42, 43, 44, 49
(Valuing local culture)	41. My school encouraged me to respect my own culture. 1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree
(Traditional knowledge)	42. My school encouraged me to learn about Egyptian history. 1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree
(Cultural innovation)	43. My school encouraged connections and outreach to our local community (i.e., multiple field trips to local sites, volunteering in impoverished areas in Cairo, interacting with Egyptians of other social classes).

1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree

(Contextualization)

44. What I learned in my international school is relevant to my life in Egypt.
1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree

(National identity)

49. My school encouraged me to feel a sense of pride in Egypt.
1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree

Student outcomes

Cosmopolitanism
Cronbach's Alpha = .5

Sum of the following ten items.

21. I have greater opportunities getting an internship or job because of my language skills.
0 = no; 1= yes

22. If given the opportunity, would you leave Egypt to work abroad or continue with your studies?
1 = no; 2 = yes; 3 = I currently live or work abroad

23. How often do you travel outside of Egypt?
1 = never; 2 = once a year; 3 = two to three times a year; 4 = four or more times a year.

28. What language do you primarily speak with your friends?
0 = Arabic; 1 = Code switching; 2 = language other than Arabic, French or English; 3 = French; 4 = English

33. Language you primarily use to read books.
0 = Arabic; 1 = Arabic and a foreign language; 2 = foreign language

33. Language you primarily use to watch TV.
0 = Arabic; 1 = Arabic and a foreign language; 2 = foreign language

33. Language you primarily use to watch/read the news.
0 = Arabic; 1 = Arabic and a foreign language; 2 = foreign language

	33. Language you primarily use on social media 0 = Arabic; 1 = Arabic and a foreign language; 2 = foreign language
	35. Were you required to take an Arabic language class at AUC? If yes, what Arabic language class were you required to take? 0 = no; 1 = yes
	Internationalized Home. 0 = no; 1 = yes (Internationalized home is a proxy for home habitus; determined if students stated they have a passport from another country and language spoken at home is one other than Arabic)
Differentiation	
Cronbach's Alpha = .6	Sum of the cosmopolitan variables and the following belonging variables. Categories are based on self-concept identifiers from Brewer and Gardner (1996).
(Group)	51. As a result of my schooling, there are times when I have had a feeling of estrangement or not belonging within my own country. 1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree
(Relational)	50. I have difficulty socializing with people who did not go to a similar school. 1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree
(Personal)	46. After graduating from my school, I had difficulty maintaining a high level of Arabic whether in writing, reading, or speaking. 1 = disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = agree
(Relational)	30. Do you have close Egyptian friends who can only speak Arabic? 1 = no; 0 = yes
(Relational)	29. Do you have close Egyptian friends who did not attend an international or private school? 1 = no; 0 = yes

Table A2

Independent Variables	**Coding**

Student inputs	
University level	0 = Freshman; 1 = Sophomore; 2 = Junior; 3 = Senior; 4 = Alumni
Father's language	0 = Arabic; 1 = Code switching; 2 = Language other than Arabic, English, French; 3 = French; 4 = English
Mother's language	0 = Arabic; 1 = Code switching; 2 = Language other than Arabic, English, French; 3 = French; 4 = English
Father private school	0 = no; 1 = yes
Mother private school	0 = no; 1 = yes
Father's occupation	0 = unemployed; 1 = low; 2 = mid; 3 = high-mid; 4 = high
Father's education	0 = < secondary; 1 = secondary; 2 = B.A./B.S.; 3 = M.A./M.S.; 4 = Ph.D.
Mother's education	0 = < secondary; 1 = secondary; 2 = B.A./B.S.; 3 = M.A./M.S.; 4 = Ph.D.
National inputs	
Localized international school	2 = localized; 1 = less localized; 0 = least localized
National curriculum exemption	0 = no; 1 = yes
Arabic frequency at school	Times per week: never = 0; 1-2 = 1; 3-4 = 2; everyday = 3
Attended Arabic school	0 = no; 1 = yes
Foreign inputs	
National curriculum exemption	0 = no; 1 = yes
Diploma type	8 = A-levels; 7 = American diploma; 6 = Canadian diploma; 5 = French Baccalaureate; 4 = German Abitur; 3 = International Baccalaureate; 2 = IGCSE; 1 = Egyptian national diploma and foreign diploma; 0 = Egyptian national diploma

Teacher composition	0 = Egyptian; 1 = Both; 2 = Foreigners
Student composition	0 = Egyptian; 1 = Both; 2 = Foreigners

Occupational Codes

Coding for fathers' occupations was assessed based on the International Standard Classification of Occupations from the International Labour Organization, supported by their educational background and titles generally given to those from the corresponding occupations. These classifications, however, were modified so as to categorize within-group classification of occupational prestige for Egypt's privileged class. Aside from category 0 and category 1, most of these families are considered to be at the highest SES category. However, to determine any within-group predictive power, I have utilized the following coding scheme. The categories included:

- Unemployed (0).
- Low (1) included occupations classified as Building and Housekeeping Supervisors.
- Mid (2) included Military Officers; Translator, Interpreters and Other Linguists; Business Services and Administration Managers; Retail and Wholesale Trade Managers; Accountants; Journalists; Interior Designers and Decorators; Legal Professionals; Public Sector (Ministry of Foreign Affairs); Lawyers; Administration Professionals; Sales and Purchasing Agents and Brokers; Finance Managers; Aircraft Pilots; Financial and Insurance Services Branch Managers; Veterinarians.
- Mid-high (3) included Science and Engineering Professionals; Economists; Architects; Dentists; Businessman.

- High (4) included Managing Directors and Chief Executives; Business Owners; Senior Government Officials (Ambassadors); Judges; Military Generals; Medical Doctors; University and Higher Education Teachers; Legislators and Senior Officials.

Because of the prestige associated with being a business owner in Egypt, I added that specific category to the High category. However, businessman was classified as Mid-high (3) as such a response could not necessarily be equated with a business owner.

International School Codes

Coding for both the localized international school model, elite and non-elite categories, and the international school hierarchy relied on my extensive 12 years of experience working in this field, data gathered from interviews and FGDs as well as the following criteria which are based on the foreign inputs–foreign curricula, foreign teachers, foreign students, and foreign langauges of instruction–to support the coding methods. Websites of individual schools were checked to gather additional information related to type of curricula offered, teacher composition, student composition, and when necessary, school mission. If any additional questions remained regarding where to code the international school, I referred to school-specific information provided by survey participants to questions regarding teacher composition, student composition, and if a majority of their classes were taught in Arabic.

The elite and non-elite categorizations are based on codes 1 and 2 from the localized international school model. These schools generally have the highest tuition costs and were more established. These schools reflect the mid-high and high position schools in the international school hierarchy i.e. mid-high (older established, high fee schools; i.e., Modern English School), and high (the longest established, embassy-affiliated schools). Additionally, many of these schools were identified by Mehrez (2010) in her research on Egypt's globalized elites at AUC. Coding largely follows the scale of tuition fees but could not be the only criteria because the French embassy school and German schools are subsidized by their respective governments resulting in lower tuition costs. However, the price point also makes acceptance particularly competitive. Subsequently, exclusive linguistic capital and social capital are often necessary for admittance despite the lower fees. Schools in circles 1 and 2 classified as elite are largely well-established in Egypt. As a result of their high tuition fees and/or connections to foreign embassies, they also hire mostly foreign teachers, adding to the symbolic capital associated with these elite schools.

The remaining schools were largely staffed by Egyptian teachers such as newly established, for-profit international schools as well as previously established private schools which now offer the possibility to entrol in the national system or foreign system. These schools were coded in circle 3. Circle 3 schools are classified according the international school hierarchy as low (new, low tuition), middle (established, private, religiously-affiliated schools; i.e., Sacré Coeur and new, higher fee schools; i.e. International School of Elite Education).

- Ciricle 1 criteria: Foreign diploma, majority foreign teachers, exempt from national curriculum classes, well-established.
- Circle 2 criteria: Foreign diploma, majority foreign teachers, required to include national curriculum classes, established.
- Circle 3 criteria: Foreign diploma and national system offered, and/or newly established international school, majority Eygptian teachers.

Appendix D: Pearson's Correlation Matrix

	UNI	MEDU	FEDU	MLANG	FLANG	MPR	FPR	FOCC	NTEX	TCOMP	SCOMP	DIP	LOCSC	ARSC	ARFR	INT	LOC	COSM
MEDU	-0.13																	
FEDU	0.06	.36**																
MLANG	0.15	.21**	.19*															
FLANG	0.03	0.02	0.14	.35**														
MPR	0.01	0.10	0.03	.17*	0.04													
FPR	0.10	0.11	0.10	.16*	.22**	.48**												
FOCC	.20*	0.03	.43**	-0.01	-0.01	0.07	0.04											
NTEX	.30**	-0.01	0.02	.16*	0.05	0.10	0.06	0.11										
TCOMP	.24**	-0.02	0.06	0.14	.18*	0.13	0.09	.17*	.35**									
SCOMP	.21**	-0.02	0.00	0.13	0.02	0.06	0.05	0.04	.71**	.39**								
DIP	0.02	-0.02	-0.06	0.04	-0.06	-0.06	-0.02	-0.03	0.11	.18*	0.11							
LOCSC	-.174*	0.00	-0.04	-0.10	-0.06	-0.07	-0.09	-.162*	-.577**	-.668**	-.407**	-.179*						
ARSC	0.01	-0.14	0.07	-0.02	-0.09	-.221**	-0.13	0.03	0.04	-.233**	0.01	-0.03	.163*					
ARFR	-0.01	-0.13	0.13	0.01	0.04	-.172*	-0.08	0.02	-.303**	-.164*	-.282**	0.06	.159*	0.11				
INT	0.13	0.04	-0.03	0.15	0.11	0.12	0.10	0.03	.279**	.497**	.217**	.284**	-.471**	-0.13	-0.07			
LOCAL	0.03	0.07	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.07	0.14	0.05	-.301**	0.03	-.220**	0.08	0.08	-0.05	0.17*	-0.07		
COSM	.166*	0.06	0.08	.395**	.320**	0.06	.191*	-0.11	.268**	.258**	.207*	0.15	-.269**	0.00	-0.04	0.32**	-0.11	
DIFF	.215**	0.04	0.04	.379**	.270**	0.06	0.13	-0.08	.288**	.333**	.219**	0.15	-.35**	-0.10	-0.09	0.38**	-0.12*	.89**

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PUBLICATIONS AND SCHOLARSHIP

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GRANTS AND PROJECTS

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