Constructions of the 'educated person' in the context of mobility, migration and globalisation

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This special issue showcases ethnographies with young people in the Global South which draw on the common conceptual umbrella of the 'identity of the educated person' to unpack novel intersections between mobility, migration and education in the context of globalisation. Overarching themes include how definitions of the educated person are shaped by diverse identity constructions and axes of difference, notions of discipline and hardship, and global discourses and concepts which travel across international space. Definitions of the educated person are contested through migration processes, and young people's agency within and beyond schools, through consumption practices and appropriation of popular culture.

Keywords: Migration, mobility, globalisation, youth, education, ethnography

In Ghana, Daniela (19) and Neil (16), teenagers who have come from a south London working class neighbourhood to attend a rural boarding school in their parents' homeland, lament having to hand-wash their own laundry. In their view, what is the point of learning how to do this when washing machines are standard household appliances in the UK? On other accounts, however, they evaluate their experience in Ghana positively. Neil finds the work ethic and achievement culture in the school rather motivating. None of his teachers in London cared quite so much about the effort he put into his studies.

Some 3,000 kilometers from Daniela and Neil, in Dakar, Senegal, 14-year-old Abidine talks about his experiences living and attending school in an underprivileged part of Detroit, USA, where many of the people he interacted with associated Islam with the Islamic State and terrorism. In Senegal on the other hand, a majority Muslim country, he finds that 'you could be anything you want'. While he doesn't always agree with the way things are done in Senegalese schools, he enjoys being in an environment where being Muslim is 'nothing different'.

Meanwhile, in Dubai, 17-years-old Piyush, a middle-class 'foreign resident' of Indian origin, explains his planned return from the United Arab Emirates to India to pursue a university education there. By returning to India, he hopes to enhance his chances of eventually returning to Dubai. Without citizenship or residency rights in Dubai, he will depend on an employment contract to re-enter, and he hopes that an 'Indian education', connoting the ability to cope with pressure and large workloads under tight deadlines, will turn out to be a valuable asset in this endeavour.

How do migration and education intertwine in the lives of young people coming of age today? What can we learn about contemporary migration processes by looking at education? How can paying attention to migration help us better understand educational practices? In this special issue, we tell untold stories of the intersections between mobility, migration and education in the context of globalisation, foregrounding insights from long-term ethnographic research conducted with young people in different parts of the Global South. We use the common conceptual umbrella of the 'identity of the educated person' (Levinson, Foley, and Holland 1996) to capture both the educational ideals underpinning mobility and migration projects, and the consequences - whether intended or unintended - of mobility and migration for people's understandings of what it means to be 'educated'.

Our articles challenge the ways that the intersections between education and migration have commonly been studied in several respects. First, we seek to defy common perceptions of the Global North as the ultimate destination for achieving a worthwhile education. To return to the opening vignettes, Daniela, Neil, Abidine, and Piyush all travelled either from the North to the South, or from one Southern destination to another, to pursue educational experiences valued by them or their families. Looking more closely at the cultural and social underpinnings of such moves can help us decentre taken-for-granted assumptions about where valued educational experiences are located. Second, we highlight the value in exploring learning

practices which take place outside classrooms and conventional school settings. For Daniela and Neil, having to hand-wash their clothes was not part of the official school curriculum but was nonetheless part and parcel of what a Ghanaian education is about. Similarly, for Abidine, living in a social environment in Dakar where being Muslim is 'nothing different' is a formative experience. However, such non-classroom-based experiences have often been neglected in the literature on education and migration. Third, young people take centre-stage in this special issue. To bring their often overlooked perspectives to the fore, all of our authors draw on long-term ethnographic fieldwork, during which they listened closely to what young people themselves had to say about their education and migration experiences.

The first part of this introduction reviews the existing literature on the nexus of education and migration/mobility, and elaborates how the articles in this special issue build and expand upon it. In the second part, we provide a brief overview of the concept of the 'identity of the educated person' as elaborated by Bradley Levinson, Douglas Foley and Dorothy Holland (1996). We describe the ways that our authors have built upon this framework to reflect the so-called 'new mobilities paradigm' in the social sciences (Sheller and Urry 2006), in order to do justice to the influences of mobility and migration in educational processes in the context of globalisation.

We then present several broad themes which cross-cut our six papers. Themes which connect all of the papers include young people's agency in shaping their trajectories and identities, including through contesting the views or objectives of parents and institutions, appropriating popular culture and engaging in particular consumption practices. Our authors also show the importance of discipline and hardship in constructions of the educated person, and how such notions are contested through the process of migration. Furthermore, our papers illuminate the ways that identity constructions and axes of difference (gender, socioeconomic status, nationality, legal status, race and religious affiliation) intersect with constructions of the

educated person. Finally, the papers reveal how global discourses and concepts travel across international contexts, and how they are mobilised by different actors in defining the educated person.

Dominant trends and gaps in the study of the intersections between education and migration

Research on the relationships between migration and education in the context of globalisation has grown significantly over the past two decades. Key areas of scholarly interest include the contribution of South-North migration to the depletion of human capital in migrant-sending countries through brain drain (Beine, Docquier, and Rapoport 2008), or its accumulation through the transfer of remittances which are used to support children's education (Antman 2012; Amuedo-Durantes and Pozo 2010; Bredl 2011; Calero, Bedi, and Sparrow 2009; Edwards and Ureta 2003; Kuhn 2006). A second popular theme concerns identity dynamics, educational attainment, pedagogical challenges and post-school outcomes of 'first', 'second' or 'third' generation migrants,[1] usually in the Global North (Kristen and Granato 2007; Bekerman and Geisen 2012; Darmody, Byrne, and McGinnity 2014; Schneeweiss 2011; Bravo-Moreno 2009; Stromquist 2012). Student mobility in the context of the internationalisation of higher education, usually in the South-North direction, has also received significant attention from education scholars (Teichler 2017; Yemini and Sagie 2015; Robertson 2013; Guruz 2011; Riaño, Van Mol, and Raghuram 2018). The educational

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[1] Despite their prevalent use, we are cognizant of the pitfalls of looking at people's experiences of migrancy merely through the lens of 'generation'. Such a perspective prioritises a family's first international move, and neglects subsequent moves as well as homeland 'returns' (see van Geel and Mazzucato 2017).

strategies of parents in transnational families is another area of preoccupation (Finch and Kim 2012; Huang and Yeoh 2005; Lee and Koo 2006; Waters 2006; Nukaga 2013; Ryan and Sales 2013). In the midst of unprecedented levels of internal and international displacement, the challenges that refugees, internally displaced persons and asylum seekers face in accessing education is also a growing focus within educational research (Dryden-Peterson 2015, 2011; Stevenson and Willott 2007; Hek 2005; Taylor and Sidhu 2012; Miller, Ziaian, and Esterman 2018; Crea and McFarland 2015; Zeus 2011; Morrice 2013). However, we suggest that, while important, the emphasis on these research topics has meant that other dynamics in the overlap between migration and education have tended to be overlooked. Our intention in organising this publication project was, therefore, to shed light on under-explored dynamics.

Exploring a diverse range of learning experiences within – and beyond – school settings

We have noticed a tendency for the literature on education and migration to study dynamics within state school classrooms and universities, to the neglect of other forms of educational experience.[2] To address this bias, our authors have all used a very broad definition of education to capture a wider diversity of learning practices, experiences and forms of knowledge. Such definitions remind us that schools are but a subset of the broader practices of education that occur throughout everyday life. Focusing only on schools misses the wider, continual but less visible efforts people engage in to transform the behaviour of others as well as their own conditions (Friedman Hansen 1979; Varenne 2008b, 2008a). The definition of education

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[2] See Sara Delamont's (2012) critique of both the anthropology of education and educational ethnography for focusing primarily on schools and neglecting other forms of education.

provided by anthropologist Hervé Varenne (2008a) is useful for acknowledging these everyday micro-practices:

> The deliberate, systematic, and sustained effort to transmit, evoke or acquire knowledge, attitudes, values, skills or sensibilities, and any learning that results from the effort, direct or indirect, intended or unintended. It includes a whole host of individuals and institutions and relations between them, and effects of each on the other.

Our authors also reject the labels of 'formal', 'informal' and 'non-formal' education in favour of less loaded terminology. These terms are problematic as they implicitly privilege the 'formal' over other types of education. Furthermore, characteristics of 'formal' education "commonly correspond with the style and characteristics associated with school-based learning that were developed in and then exported from the 'industrializing West' (Froerer 2012, 371). According to this framework, it is assumed that in non-industrialised contexts, informal education, or the non-directed learning that individuals participate in within everyday activities, predominates (Strauss 1984, 195). This definition is ethnocentric as it implies that organized training, or the systematic transfer of advanced or abstract knowledge, does not exist outside of the Western school model (Niyi Akinnaso 1992), and, conversely, that all learning in the West is 'organized' and 'systematic'. Indeed, 'discussion and research on the formal/informal dichotomy *really* seems to be about the difference between Western-style schooling and other forms' (Strauss 1984). The analytical use of the terms 'formal', 'informal' and 'non-formal' also assumes that these different types of education reflect distinctly different types of learning processes. This notion has also been challenged by empirical evidence which shows that multiple types of learning, ranging between more and less structured and deliberate, co-exist within spaces variously labelled 'formal' or 'informal' (Lave 1982; Lave and Wenger 1991; Scribner and Cole 1973; Strauss 1984).

Problems also arise when this framework, developed based on the Western experience, is applied to other cultural contexts. For instance, many of the Qur'anic schools in Senegal, described by Hoechner in this special issue, are not recognised by the national government, international organisations or donors. They are described in development discourse (and much educational scholarship) as 'informal' because their form, content and training'of teachers do not conform to international definitions of the 'school' – definitions which reflect secular and rationalist biases (c.f. Newman 2016). The labelling of Qur'anic schools as 'informal' occurs despite the fact that such schools are institutionalised with strict norms guiding content, pedagogies and the accreditation of teachers and students, according to Islamic cultural norms which date back centuries and span a wide geographical range (see also Breidlid 2013). Thus, all of our authors engage with 'institutionalised' types of education, whose form and content are relatively standardized (Niyi Akinnaso 1992). These include the familiar models of state schooling (Halfman), private international schools (Abotsi, Sancho) and universities (Fert) but also Islamic schooling (Hoechner) and learning opportunities provided by NGOs (Kaland).

In addition, however, the papers presented all embed learners' experiences within broader social dynamics which can equally be considered 'educational'. Some anthropologists of childhood have explored young people's mobility within networks of kinship and patronage (Goody 1982; Bledsoe 1990), and as part of their working lives (e.g. Hashim 2005; Punch 2007; Thorsen 2012). These authors have highlighted how mobility and migration further, hinder, or intertwine with young people's educational projects, and how mobility in itself can be a formative experience (e.g. Olwig and Valentin 2014). Our authors similarly look at 'educational' experiences beyond classrooms, including parents' strategies to encourage the development among their children of characteristics and behaviours which they consider desirable, including through sending them on 'return' visits to their country of origin (Abotsi, Hoechner, Sancho). The papers also highlight the ways that young people strive to acquire

desired knowledge, skills and dispositions through participation in their immediate environments. In the context of Dubai, Sancho explicitly coins this process one of 'exposure' or the 'acquisition of skills and knowledge through diffused formative experiences, social contacts and sources of information which encompasses, but it not limited to, formal education'.

Paying due attention to migration towards and within the Global South

In our initial exploration of the research on education and migration, we found an overwhelming focus on South-North or North-North migration flows, and the privileging of the study of dynamics taking place in Northern or Western contexts. It is rare to see analyses of North-South migration within educational studies, which would upset the balance of the Global North usually being framed as the pole of reference in the global knowledge economy (Kea and Maier 2017). North-South or South-South migration are neglected, as are the experiences of people in Southern settings. When the South is studied, particular regions receive far more attention than others.[3]

Our authors are aware of the limitations of the Global South/North dichotomy, and how it readily conjures a homogenizing division between materially rich and materially poor countries. This is, we agree, problematic on at least two important counts. First, lumping together a large variety of societies into one or two categories will undoubtedly tend to obscure

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[3] For instance, Sara Delamont (2012) argues that Anglophone anthropologists of education have overwhelmingly examined the school experiences of indigenous populations, African-Americans, ethnic minorities and recent migrants to the US – particularly when they are 'failing'. When studies are conducted on populations outside the US, they still tend to be in areas where North American political influence is strong.

the differences between countries and regions supposedly part of the Global South/North. It could be argued that the diversity among the places where our authors work – Ghana, Senegal, China, the United Arab Emirates, or Sint Marteen – is such that they cannot meaningfully be subsumed under one concept. Second, working with such all-encompasing categories like the global South/North may also obscure wealth differences and processes of class formation within countries. By aiming to challenge the common perception that the Global North is the ultimate destination for achieving the most exclusive and desirable forms of education with accounts of other forms of migration (i.e. North to South, or South to South), we might seem to imply a sort of migratory determinism whereby processes of social mobility, may appear to be inextricably linked to the ability to be mobile. We do not intend to argue such thing, and we are aware that processes of elite formation take place within the so-called global South, often times in close connection with the exclusive 'internationalized' educational credentials acquired within the Global South (Hayden 2011, Sancho 2015). In this special issue we do, however, retain the convention of the Global South/North as it help us highlight important phenomena that have not yet received their due attention: i.e. southwards migratory flows within educational studies.

The contributions in this special issue address this bias by illuminating less commonly-studied migration flows and experiences. Fert's article on Congolese university students in Rwanda is a unique case study, not only of refugees in higher education in the Global South, but on the perspectives of African university students moving within Africa more generally. Furthermore, several papers (Sancho, Abotsi, Hoechner) look at the role played by institutions in the Global South in driving North-South or South-South migration for educational purposes, demonstrating that this process is increasingly polycentric. Abotsi and Hoechner look at educational 'return' visits of 'second generation' youth from the US and UK to West Africa.

Hoechner notes that scholars researching Islamic education in Western settings tend to overlook homeland 'returns', even though sending children 'back' to acquire religious knowledge is a widespread practice among Muslim minority groups, especially those of West African origin. Similarly, Sancho documents the practice of Indian parents in Dubai opting for internationalised forms of schooling, or sending children 'back' to India for moral and academic purposes. Indeed, Sancho suggests that such South-South movements for education are likely to increase, as a result of the emergence of 'centres of excellence' there (Harriss and Osella 2010, 158) and the kudos of internationalised education (Hayden 2011). These opportunities can offer potential migrants an alternative to obtain prestigious, exclusive educational credentials at a lower price. This is certainly the case in Dubai, where private schooling and universities are becoming increasingly instrumental in facilitating the movement of young people across national borders in new directions.

Foregrounding young people's voices and perspectives

Until fairly recently, much of the scholarship on the intersections between education and migration has tended to neglect young people's perspectives[4]. When children and youth are seen as interesting topics of research they are often seen as 'objects' of research, observed but not asked for their views, rather than as 'collaborators' or 'subjects' (Levey 2009). More

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[4] There are, of course, notable exceptions including in the domains that we have identified as being common preoccupations in the study of the intersections between migration and education. For instance, research has been undertaken on children's perspectives regarding the impact of their migrant parents' absence on their education and well-being (Asis 2006; Graham et al. 2012; Fog Olwig 1999); migrant youths' experiences of integration within schools (Moskal 2014); young people's aspirations in relation to migration and education (Newman 2018; Hampshire et al. 2010; Azaola 2012; Crivello 2011); and the experience of being an international university student (Caluya, Probyn, and Vyas 2011; Forstorp, Per-Anders Mellström 2013).

specifically, within migration studies, researchers have been guilty of portraying young people as passive recipients of migration processes beyond their control (Dobson 2009; Newman 2018).

Our authors have corroborated these observations by identifying bodies of research guilty of this omission in their respective domains of interest. Kaland notes that, in the scholarship on education and learning in China, a focus on parental aspirations for their children pre-dominates, with little attention accorded to children's views. Sancho argues that research on transnational families tends to analyse investments in children's education as part of parental strategies of capital accumulation. He notes that 'young migrants' experiences and perspectives have been overshadowed by a concern for family migration decisions and strategies'. Likewise, Abotsi states that the existing work on educational 'return' visits looks at the rationales among parents for sending their children back, paying little attention to the ways these youth experience – and actively shape - this process. Finally, Fert focuses on the viewpoints of refugee university students, as existing literature has been limited to explaining the social, political and economic barriers which restrict refugee participation in higher education.

While we are keen to highlight young people's roles as active 'collaborators' and 'subjects', we are cognisant of the larger political and economic power structures in which their lives are embedded (Katz 2004; Hart 2008; Gardner 2012). Arguably, transnational migration is intimately connected to the workings of global capitalism, with direct effects on family life and social reproduction, for example when 'states "dodge" the costs of social reproduction, by not allowing labour migrants to settle, meaning that children have to stay behind' (Gardner 2012 citing Meillassoux 1981). The case studies in this special issue all highlight how global economic and political forces affect young people's opportunities to become educated and condition their opportunities for social and spatial mobility. In Kaland's contribution, China's

strategy to achieve global competitiveness through reliance on cheap migrant labour translates into stunted educational opportunities for the children of rural migrants. Hoechner's and Abotsi's studies both highlight how West African immigrant families in the West often find themselves confined to the lower echelons of the service industry and neighbourhoods riddled with social problems, limiting young people's opportunities for social advancement. Finally, Sancho highlights the consequences of Dubai's restrictive residency and citizenship laws for the Dubai-born sons of immigrants who are allowed to stay there in the long term only if they find gainful employment, highlighting how rights are contingent upon people's perceived economic utility.

Reconsidering the identity of the educated person in the context of globalisation and the 'new mobilities paradigm'

Our authors all speak to the concept of the 'identity of the educated person', as articulated by Bradley Levinson, Douglas Foley and Dorothy Holland in their edited volume *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person* (1996: 2):

> … anthropologists recognise all societies as providing some kind of training and some set of criteria by which members can be identified as more, or less, knowledgeable. Distinct societies, as well as ethnic groups and microcultures within those societies, elaborate the cultural practices by which particular sets of skills, knowledges, and discourses come to define the fully "educated person".

'Being educated' therefore involves not only technical skills but also the ability to carry out tasks 'according to established expectations and rules' and the acquisition of 'a habitus which may be arbitrary and irrelevant to the task being carried out' (Cremin, 2008, p. 9). We have found the concept of the educated person useful as it provides a productive theoretical framework which can address many of the gaps we have identified in mainstream literature on

migration and education. First, Levinson and Holland (1996, 2) stress, as our authors do, the importance of looking at educational processes beyond the school:

> Regardless of whether they are legitimized by formal institutions, we consider local forms of education significant. Some educators may have difficulty treating these forms seriously or considering them alongside those enshrined by schools. Yet such a vision is necessary. Otherwise, there is no vantage point from which to appreciate the shape and degree of contestation that goes on around schools, even in places where modern schools have been in place for over a century.

Second, these scholars emphasise the need to situate educational dynamics within broader social contexts, including the global dimension. They make this point in the following description of the chapters in their co-edited volume (1996, 2), which could equally be said of our contributors to this special issue:

> Such research is fundamentally local and ethnographic, yet moves beyond the school to examine links between local cultural practices and the community, the region, the state, and the economy. […] Challenging the Eurocentrism of most prior critical research, we draw on studies of schooling in a variety of locales in order to address the global dimensions of educational process and change.

In this regard, the local and ethnographic accounts in this special issue also offer new evidence in support of recent calls to 'unsettle' the normative discourses of childhood within which powerful global actors, such as the World Bank, UNESCO, and the OECD, operate (Hopkins and Sriprakash 2015). Such discourses, invariantly oriented towards the moral imperative of 'saving childhoods', help to naturalise a modern bourgeois childhood as the norm against which its implicit other, the child-at-risk' (e.g. the 'poor' child, the 'street' child, the 'refugee' child, the 'trafficked' child) is measured and evaluated (Balagopalan 84). Invariantly, here mobility stands out as a key signifier of risk and vulnerability (Donson 2009), as illustrated in how child migration is more often than not addressed through categories such as 'child forced

mobility' (Doná and Veale 2011), 'asylum-seeking children' (Crawley 2011), 'child exploitation' and 'trafficking' (Mai 2011). Thus, both research and policy concerning child migration operate under the assumption that 'ideal childhoods' occur in the context of immobility. Our accounts of educational migrations, unsettle this narrative, emphasising that mobility plays a crucial role in our respondents' definition of the ideal 'educated person'.

Third, Levinson and Holland cite the importance of the *cultural production* of the educated person, namely the recognition that education is far from being a deterministic process through which social reproduction (and frequently the reproduction of hierarchy and inequality) occurs. According to such theory, 'subjects were imagined as being "interpellated" by ideology, and without agency' (1996, 14). Rather, the notion of cultural production frames education is a site for struggle in which participants, including children and youth, actively shape the space, resist oppressive elements and construct their own subjectivities (1996, 14):

> Through the production of cultural forms, created within the structural constraints of sites such as schools, subjectivities form and agency develops. These are the processes we seek to evoke with our phrase, "the cultural production of the educated person". Indeed, the very ambiguity of the phrase operates to index the dialectic of structure and agency. For while the educated person is culturally *produced* in definite sites, the educated person also culturally *produces* cultural forms.

They further argue that this process of cultural production takes place in, and influences, a wide range of settings and relationships that go beyond institutionalised education (1996, 14–15):

> [Cultural production] generates understandings and strategies which may in fact move well beyond the school, transforming aspirations, household relations, local knowledges, and structures of power. This […] allows us to go beyond a solely school-based angle on what we are referring to as "the cultural production of the educated person." Outside the school, in

diverse spaces of street, home, and family, other kinds of "educated persons" are culturally produced as well.

Finally, the concept of the cultural production of the educated person acknowledges how educational dynamics are cross-cut with 'the contingent and fluid identifications of the actors involved' such that 'hegemonic definitions of the educated person may be contested along lines of gender, age, and in stratified societies, ethnicity and class' (1996, 2).

Despite the strong foundation that this conceptual framework provides, we aim to push forward theorising around constructions of the 'educated person' by looking at its elaboration and contestation in light of the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller & Urry, 2006) in the social sciences. This paradigm demands that scholars acknowledge that movement is now a defining feature of modern life in the context of globalisation, brought about by modern communication technologies and unprecedented transnational flows of people, products, ideas and capital (Appadurai 1990). Recognition of the iniquitousness of mobility in everyday life demands new analytic resources adequate to understanding its multiple social effects.

Our authors respond to the new mobilities paradigm in their analyses of constructions of the educated person by paying attention to movement and migration, in a variety of ways. They also draw on ideas, concepts, and strategies developed within migration studies and human geography, as well as by globalisation scholars, to study and theorise these dynamics. For instance, most of the authors have used multi-sited ethnography, whether spanning different sites in the same country (Fert, Kaland) or across countries and even continents (Abotsi, Hoechner and Sancho) to capture how learners move and negotiate their identities in different spaces, and sometimes across significant geographical distances. Kaland also engaged in mobile ethnography (Sheller and Urry 2006) which involves moving with informants (in this case, accompanying Chinese migrant youth from Shanghai to their rural villages of origin).

Some of our authors challenge the state-centric and sedentary bias in research and policy-making on education, which is grounded in territorial nationalism (Sheller and Urry 2006). This has been largely concerned with the role of schooling in the social and economic integration of children of migrant backgrounds, thus tending to take stasis rather than mobility, and (eventual) belonging to a nation-state through citizenship, as the norm (Margaret A. Gibson and Koyama 2011; Surarez-Orozco 1991). In contrast, Sancho argues, the children of Indian migrant workers born in Dubai will never be entitled to Emirati citizenship, and their experiences growing up therefore fall outside the dominant state-centric frame of scholarly analysis. Similarly, Halfman argues that policymakers and educators tend to believe in the potential of schooling for inculcating a sense of national identity based on an imagined 'we' defined by common and essentialised characteristics, rooted in the dominant political order of sovereign states and citizenship. She demonstrates that any basis for this assumption quickly dissolves in the plural context of the Caribbean island of Sint Maarten. Such educational projects are confronted by the reality of an extremely diverse population with a variety of different migration experiences, among whom constructions of 'national' identities reflect transnational notions of belonging which transcend borders.

Mobility is also central to our authors' accounts of their informants' understandings of the activities needed to become educated (c.f. Sellar and Gale 2011). Kaland found that the idiom of movement, and particularly a sequence of moves, recurred often in his informants' narratives about 'becoming someone' through education. For the migrant youth he befriended in Shanghai, these moves could include travelling from the city to the countryside, then back to the city, or onwards to another country. Fert also shows how Congolese refugees in Rwanda perceived that 'moving on in life' required a sequence of physical moves; out of the refugee camp and into university, and then back to the camp (in Rwanda) or to the country of 'origin' (DRC), or to pursue settlement in a third country. Similarly, Sancho also finds that Indian youth

living in Dubai developed their own definition of educated subjectivities, including an openness to multiculturalism and travel, through return visits to India as well as through growing up in a highly diverse urban space. Another recurrent theme in respondents' narratives was the notion of an 'ideal educational environment', which could encourage mobility to pursue access to these spaces. Indeed, Abotsi and Hoechner found that parents in the West African 'diaspora' were convinced their children could only obtain an education that would enable them to thrive in their host countries through 'return' visits to Ghana and Senegal respectively.

The new mobilities paradigm warns, however, against romanticising migration and mobility, but rather obliges us to situate these processes within power relations and constraints: on who can move, how and when, and in terms of discourses framing what kinds of mobility are 'desirable'. As Sheller and Urry note, '[t]he forms of detachment or "deterritorialization" associated with "liquid modernity" (Bauman 2000) are accompanied by attachments and reterritorialisations of various kinds (Sheller, 2004a).' Our authors address these tensions, for instance, Kaland finds that, although they were excluded from the legal status to settle in Shanghai, youth from rural migrant backgrounds nonetheless developed a strong sense of belonging to the city, which in turn shaped their educational aspirations for the future. In a similar way, Sancho shows that despite their lack of Emirati citizenship, Indian youth born in Dubai developed a strong sense of belonging to the city and hence a hybrid identity as 'Dubai-Indian'.

Key cross-cutting themes of the special issue

Insights from long-term ethnographic research with young people

In line with the observation that ethnography is becoming 'a new orthodoxy in childhood research' (Qvortrup 2000 quoted in James 2001, 246), all of our authors have used long-term ethnography with the young people in their studies. They have been trained within the anthropological tradition where the ethnographer immerses him/herself in people's daily lives, over a lengthy period of time and across diverse social contexts. A range of methodological techniques are used, from semi-structured interviews, casual conversations, 'participatory' or visual methods, and observations to full participation in activities, in order to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Ethnography has proven to be a very useful method for studying youngsters, in educational settings but also wider institutional and social contexts, as it allows the researcher to observe everyday occurrences that without a familiarity of the context would be unlikely to be interpreted as having significance or meaning (James 2001). It also illuminates the ways in which children and youth actively strive for their desired identities, including educated identities, through negotiations with adults (Lombardini 2001) and activities with peers (Katz 2004). This method demonstrates how agency is exercised differently in different spheres, such as within the domestic setting as compared to in institutional spaces like schools (Durham 2000). While young people's agency is often constrained related to that of adults by virtue of their legal position, limited access to economic resources or cultural authority, they can also redefine existing models of kinship, authority, gender and gerontocracy through their actions (De Boeck and Honwana 2005).

Our authors have all used ethnographic methods to analyse how young people's negotiations of education play out in relation to mobility, migration and globalisation. Abotsi,

Hoechner and Sancho show that the parents in their studies all shared a common project of wanting to inculcate specific models of the 'educated person' among their children. Nonetheless, while young people may have agreed with some elements of their parents' definitions of the educated person, these models were far from entirely accepted and young people did not remain passive in such instances of disagreement. Similarly, educational institutions, teachers and other policy makers have agendas and notions of the ideal 'educated person' they wish to transmit to learners. Hoechner, Abotsi, Halfman and Fert all demonstrate how young people contested these expectations and imperatives. Through their negotiations they were able, in some cases, to reconfigure dominant definitions of the 'educated person' with impacts on other young people and the wider educational practices around them. Thus, definitions of the educated person shifted through the dual processes of migration across physical space and the experience of being in a different place, but also through translation (and transformation) from one generation to another.

Our authors do not, however, romanticise children and youth's agency, and are careful to situate their behaviour within structural constraints. For instance, Sancho explains how the options of Indian youth were extremely limited by their legal status, as although they were born in Dubai they were not entitled to Emirati citizenship. This situation made imperative their securing further study or employment after the age of 18. These youth's educational aspirations, feelings of belonging, and hopes and fears for the future, were therefore developed in the context of significant barriers to their permanency in their country of birth. Similarly, Kaland describes how the migrant youth he interviewed in Shanghai were limited in terms of access to good schools, and hence national level discourses of 'quality' educated persons, by the restrictive household registration system specific to China. In such these cases, youth only had so much room for manoeuvre and their agency, or strategic action, was combined with

unplanned 'judicious opportunism' which involved seizing opportunities as they came (Johnson-Hanks 2005).

Identities and moralities intersecting with definitions of the 'educated person'

Notions of the 'educated person' also include ideas of how to form 'good' or 'desirable' persons. They are therefore embedded in broader value frameworks present in a given context, and include an implicit moralising element. Several of our papers show evidence of such moral judgement in their accounts of educational processes, and reveal how these ideas are contested through the process of migration. In some cases, the moral frame is explicitly religious, for instance Hoechner shows how, for parents in the Senegalese diaspora, the project of educating their children intersected with an equally important imperative to form them as 'good Muslims', the perceived solution to which was a stint of Islamic schooling in Senegal. This education involved not just the learning of religious knowledge, but also acquiring an embodied habitus which structured their bodily comportment according to local Islamic norms. Youth had different reactions to the moral disciplining that their education entailed; some appreciated the fact that they acquired greater mastery in performing religious rituals and felt a stronger sense of Muslim identity, while others disagreed with the imposition of locally-specific restrictions on hairstyle and clothing, feeling that these details were not necessary in order to be a good person.

Abotsi also shows how ideas of a 'Ghanaian education' among parents in the diaspora reflected the colonial influence of Christian missionaries and their constructions of 'civility' and 'modernity', and an emphasis on personal restraint. They desired boarding schools in Ghana for their British-born children, for their Christian ethos. Similarly, Halfman shows how contestations over religious identity and morality intersected with notions of national belonging in Sint Maarten. One faction of the state elite and pupils celebrated 'African' forms of religion

reflected in Voodoo and Carnival. Meanwhile a teacher, affiliated to a transnational evangelical Christian group, condemned such practices for their immorality, and further took their popular appeal as evidence of the inferiority of Sint Maarteners as a national group. Constructions of morality are not always religious, however. Kaland shows that morality in the Chinese context is framed with reference to the state discourse of *suzhi*, or the 'quality citizen'. Socioeconomically and educationally disadvantaged migrants from rural backgrounds were positioned unfavourably within this moral discourse, a reality which youth struggled with and challenged on a daily basis.

In addition to national and religious identity, other identity constructions also intersected with notions of the 'educated person'. Gender was, predictably, a key axis of difference shaping educational expectations and young people's experiences. Sancho shows how young Indian men in Dubai faced far more precarity, as they were not entitled to remain in Dubai after the age of 18 compared to women who could remain as dependents within their parents' households. This gendered difference in legal status translated into a more acute preoccupation among men than women to succeed in higher education and employment. Abotsi also shows how Ghanaian boarding schools reflected strict norms about appropriate relationships between pupils of the opposite sex, with females from the diaspora finding these constructions of the well-behaved and educated girl particularly constraining.

Race, and being black or African, also emerged as salient in several of our papers. Hoechner and Abotsi situate the educational projects of the parents in their studies against the backdrop of their experience of being a black (and in Hoechner's case Muslim) minority in a white-dominated society. This often translated into preoccupations about low educational attainment, high unemployment, and negative stereotypes associating black youth with crime and delinquency (and Muslim youth with terrorism). Yet, Abotsi shows that even Ghanaian parents who lived in relatively affluent parts of the UK shared the desire with poorer parents

for a distinctly 'African' education for their children which they felt could not be adequately achieved in the UK.

Travelling educational ideas, discourses and models

In the context of increased scholarly interest accorded to globalisation since the 1990s, scholars of education have interrogated the processes through which ideas, discourses and models 'travel' through space, creating webs of interconnected but contested meanings. To capture one aspect of this dynamic, anthropologist Arjun Appadurai coined the concept of the *ideoscape* to refer to the circulation of images 'composed of elements of the Enlightenment worldview, which consists of a concatenation of ideas, terms and images, including "freedom", "welfare", "rights", "sovereignty", "representation", and the master term "democracy"' (Appadurai 1990). Appadurai argues that such terms have global reach, but the meanings of such words shifts as they move from context to context, as does their translation into concrete policies and practice. Our authors pick up on this theme, as both Hoechner and Abotsi demonstrate how youth mobilised discourses about 'child rights' that they were exposed to in the US and UK, in order to challenge the discipline that they encountered in schools in Senegal and Ghana respectively. Fert also shows how the concept of 'community investment', and the figure of the 'intellectual' common throughout francophone Africa, were envisioned by the UNHCR and its partners in its programme of university scholarships for refugees, but then explores how these notions were understood and appropriated quite differently by scholarship recipients.

Anthropologists have also applied the concept of 'travelling models' to international education policy and practice, explained by Thomas Bierschenk (2014, 76) thus:

> … experts constantly generate models in the context of global social engineering which are then sent travelling around the world, or sometimes take off on such travels themselves. In the

course of these journeys, the models stop over in different places – for example, in other development agencies, governments, global and local NGOs, etc. – where they are decoded and re-coded. They then continue their journey in a modulated form.

The implications of 'travelling models' in education have been analysed in terms of the 'local' reception and co-construction of supposedly 'global' models of schooling promoted under the policy framework of Education For All and the Millennium Development Goals (Anderson-Levitt 2003); worldwide reforms to implement competency or skills-based education (Fichtner 2015; Anderson-Levitt, K., Bonnéry and Fichtner 2017; Anderson-Levitt 2017); and the emergence and effects of a travelling model of global childhood (Thelen and Haukanes 2010). In our special issue, Halfman contributes to such debates by explaining how an intellectual elite in Sint Maarten sought to impose a model of state education intended to develop a pan-African and anti-colonial national sense of belonging, directly informed by the writing of African-American thinkers working from a position of racial marginalisation and oppression. The applicability of such a political agenda and its educational project was, however, contested on the Caribbean island where race was understood and experienced by its inhabitants – the majority of whom were black - in quite different ways.

Discipline and hardship in moulding educated persons in transnational space

Among sociologists, anthropologists and philosophers of education, an enduring preoccupation has been the ways in which education is intended to act directly upon the bodies of learners, in ways not limited to the acquisition of skills, but rather to instil comportment reflective of deep social values. The role of education in moulding bodies through tailored pedagogies, whether in the context of the socialisation of children, to structured 'total institutions' such as boarding schools and religious training sites (Goffman 1984), extends to all facets of human life including daily schedules, sleep timetables, the organisation of space, hygiene, food and eating, posture and mobility, speech, dress, adornment, social interactions and sexuality (Okely 1978;

Srivastava 1998). Central to the inculcation of a desired bodily habitus (Bourdieu 1990) is the use of discipline, whether exercised through negative or positive methods, and ranging from reward to coercion or even violent punishment. The work of Michel Foucault (1986) on the mechanisms used for forming desirable subjects, and the relationships between such normalising practices and power relations, has been widely used by education scholars (Baker and Heyning 2004) to explore the "everyday mechanics of schooling as a disciplinary technology or 'moral orthopedics'" (Deacon 2006, 177).

Many of the educational studies of discipline within schools have tended to focus on the values underpinning desired forms of comportment, the techniques employed by the educational system or institution to achieve its objectives and, sometimes, the views of teachers in this process (Ball 1990; Marshall 1996; Popkewitz and Brennan 1998; Tamboukou 2003; Last 2000). Less common, however, are studies which illuminate what learners think about the discipline that occurs during their education, or how the phenomena of bodily constraint or corporeal embodiment contribute to their own constructions of the educated person. In contrast, several of our authors shine a light on learners' perceptions of the disciplinary regimes they experience, but further add to these debates by interrogating how notions of 'appropriate' forms of discipline travel and are contested through the processes of international migration and translation. For instance, Abotsi explains that the ideal of the educated person among British Ghanaian parents required that their children endure particular forms of academic and physical hardship in boarding schools in Ghana, an experience they felt was unavailable in the UK. The youth in question appropriated some of these ideals, but also rebelled against forms of physical control which they felt were unnecessary and unpleasant. In a slightly different vein, Sancho explores how Indian youth in Dubai appropriated the notion that a degree of hardship, in the form of a high academic workload, was desirable for teaching the ability to withstand pressure. The youth were unable to access expensive international schools which conferred considerable

cultural capital, but nonetheless put a positive slant on their trajectories within tougher Indian-medium schools by arguing that they had prepared them well for the future.

Constructing the self through consumption and globalised popular youth cultures

Anthropologists and sociologists of education have long demonstrated that the school is not only an instrument but also a site of identity construction for youth (Willis 2003, 410). Schools provide a multitude of spaces and rituals in which pupils construct their identities through interactions with adults and peers, bringing in wider social preoccupations and negotiating cultural differences (Eckert 1989; Willis 1981). Youth culture, understood as the cultural productions and experiences of young people as they consume and appropriate popular culture (Maira 2004), plays a significant role within these identity negotiations. Due to technical modernisation and the fact that popular cultures in diverse locations are increasingly interconnected at global level, youth cultures reflect the influence of globally-known genres of music, fashion or speech, and associated celebrities, combined with locally specific modes of cultural production. Several scholars have argued that youth increasingly define themselves primarily through consumption practices and popular culture due to the economic precarity characteristic of global neoliberal capitalism (Lukose 2009; Willis 2003). In numerous contexts, economic precarity has resulted in a loss of meaningful waged work which used to define one's social position and gender or class identity, or else structural adjustment has exacerbated pre-existing levels of poverty and inequality. As a result, consumption and production of popular culture have increasingly emerged as tools that youth can use to negotiate new forms of being and belonging (provided they have the means to engage in such practices), in the current era where formal schooling rarely delivers on promises of economic advancement.

Several of our papers consider the role of globalised popular culture and consumption in young people's identity negotiations, as they appropriate educational spaces as part of their own social projects, and work through what it means to be educated. Kaland notes that migrant youth in China used shopping to develop a personal sense of style reflecting current fashion trends. They were unable to afford the most expensive high-status consumer items commonly associated with constructions of the 'quality' citizen in China, but instead framed their consumption practices in a positive moral light as reflecting values of frugality and restraint, in contrast to what they perceived as ostentatious and excessive consumption among youth of the more privileged elite. Halfman explores the ways in which young people on the Caribbean island of Sint Maarten consumed global popular youth culture in the form of songs, music videos and social media to perform complex identities which transcended the notion of belonging to a single nation state, and instead reflected a form of transnational 'black' identity. Sancho also shows how Indian youth in Dubai realised a form of 'consumer citizenship' through daily interactions in the cosmopolitan city, whether eating in foreign restaurants, consuming global forms of entertainment or interacting with people of diverse nationalities. These youth framed this experience as a formative, and hence educational, a process which contributed to their 'global sense of self' which superseded national identity.

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