Cultural Studies and Transdisciplinarity in Education 5
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David R. Cole
Christine Woodrow *Editors*

Super Dimensions in Globalisation and Education

Springer

Cultural Studies and Transdisciplinarity in Education

Volume 5

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Foreword

Super-Diversity: *Changing the Face of Education*

> The research that is possible in terms of the super dimensions in globalisation and education has to understand how complex relationships can be represented in context.
>
> Cole and Woodrow (Chap. 1, this volume)

It is a decade ago (at the time of writing this foreword) since the term and concept of super-diversity was presented to the research community and general public for the first time. Steven Vertovec, social anthropologist and at the time director of the Economic and Social Research Council's Centre on Migration, Policy and Society at the University of Oxford, commented on census and research data about migration to the UK and explained the situation: 'We can now see the vastly more complicated picture of current immigrant diversity – a "super-diversity", in fact' (Vertovec 2005).

It is probably not a surprise that this 'serve' was more than eagerly taken up in the European research community, with an interest in the question as to how migration affects societies – given the facts that (a) most European countries did not traditionally consider themselves as immigration countries and (b) these countries nevertheless face a considerable growth of migrant populations since World War II. This political-historical framing of the research is not the only reason for the community's willingness to adopt and contribute to the further development of the concept of super-diversity. Rather, it is more likely that the attempts to describe and explain the societal development which obviously took (and takes) place in connexion with migration remained unsatisfactory, as they were – and still are – deeply rooted in the (European) historical tradition of binary construction of the world and especially: *binary coding as a means of scientific reasoning*. The complexity and fluidity of constellations and processes which were (and can still be) observed in migration contexts seemed to elude from empirical approaches to capture them, no matter if they bear on a qualitative or a quantitative paradigm – or, in what is often the case, a composition of both.

It is not my position to reject the appropriateness and fertility of the tradition of binary classification as a means of 'performing science'. In the – again European – perspective of constructivist epistemology (Piaget 1967), the system of science is based on a mode of communication which makes it distinguishable from all other societal systems, namely, the binary code of truth (Luhmann 1984). The question remains, how this principle is translated to actual theoretical discourse, and the design of empirical attempts to understanding, and the explanation of complex and dynamic social constellations – such as contemporary educational settings. Another question that arises in this context is whether or not there are pathways to understanding and the explaining of social settings that are based on other, competing or complementary modes of constructing the world, which may be non-European (see Part II and IV of this book).

The super-diversity approach, however, is clearly still embedded in European scientific traditions, reworking perspectives in a gentle manner in order to make use of their potential to innovation. The concept itself is not completely defined; instead, it 'remains a conceptual work in progress' (Meissner and Vertovec 2014, p. 542). For the moment, the function and scope of the term is presented as follows:

> Super-diversity is a term coined to portray changing population configurations particularly arising from global migration flows over the past thirty-odd years. The changing configurations not only entail the movement of people from more varied national, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds, but also the ways that shifts concerning these categories or attributes coincide with a worldwide diversification of movement flows through specific migration channels (…); the changing compositions of various migration channels themselves entail ongoing differentiations of legal statuses (…), diverging patterns of gender and age, and variance in migrants' human capital (…). (ibid.)

The term and concept of super-diversity has been adopted by a variety of social science disciplines, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and educational research, among others. Most investigations based on the concept are carried out in or about urban areas. In his first descriptions, Vertovec (2005) created the image of 'the world in one city' by the example of London's diverse population, representing a plenitude of origins and heritages, living conditions and lifestyle. In the meantime, the term was applied to other urban areas around the world, not only in order to understand contemporary features of migration – or induced diversity – but also for historical analysis (see, e.g. de Bock 2014). Irrespective of the great attention paid to the term, however, research on the educational developments arising from super-diverse constellations is as yet very sparse. This may not least be an effect of the traditional understanding that cultural diversity is hardly to be found within a nation state, as the 'classical' European notion of nation is associated with the concept of a 'homogenous' society, composed of people who share a common history, culture and language (Gogolin 2002). Most attempts to apply the super-diversity concept to educational issues are related to the linguistic consequences of migration. Examples of these approaches can illustrate the necessity of reworking traditional concepts on the one hand and the potential of applying the super-diversity approach within educational research on the other.

A 'Case': Linguistic Super-Diversity as Praxis, Monolingualism as Conception

From a European point of view, a burning question for educational research is to identify the systemic features that are causal to the significant and lasting disadvantage of migrant children in schools. OECD-PISA studies play an important role in this respect and are thus presented here as a prototypical research strategy. In the PISA studies, indicators related to social and economic living conditions of the students are tested which are conceptualised in the framework of rational choice theories, namely, Boudon's assumptions about differences in both primary and secondary effects of intergenerational status transmission (Boudon 1974). As is well known, the result was that a significant proportion of the disadvantage mystery could be unravelled, yet a substantial residual remained unexplained. For further clarification, features of families' behaviour were taken into account; one of these was language experience and practice.

According to assimilation theories, the 'language spoken at home' is an important indicator for the adaptation of migrants to their host country (Alba 1997). Based on this perception, the indicator was borrowed in the PISA studies by posing the question which language is mostly spoken at home. Indeed, a strong correlation was detected between migrant students' low attainment and speaking a language other than the majority language at home. In the analysis of PISA results for Germany (as well as for Austria and Switzerland, the two other German-speaking PISA participants), this phenomenon was interpreted in a causal way – speaking another language than German at home was construed as an assignable cause for achievement differences between students from migrant and nonmigrant families (Stanat 2003).

The conceptualisation of language and linguistic practice in such research is clearly bound to a binary perspective, embedded in the European tradition of linking the concepts of language and nation (Hobsbawm 1990). According to this tradition, a nation state and a nation's language are inextricably connected to each other 'by nature' (Fichte 1896). Consequently, the people 'belonging' to the nation were conceptualised as 'natural' speakers of the nation's language, and vice versa – the respective language was conceptualised as their 'natural' language or in other words – their 'mother tongue'. It was shown by historical analysis that the idea of unity of 'nation' and 'its language' belongs to the manifold myths which were created in the foundation phase of the classical, i.e. European nation states in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (see Anderson 1991). It could also be shown that the idea of 'naturalness' of the national language, as well as the perception that a nation state and its population are 'normally' monolingual, was transferred from philosophical invention to individual self-conception in the course of the nineteenth century – a *monolingual habitus* came into being (Ellis et al. 2011; Gogolin 2008).

The PISA concept of 'language at home' is clearly embedded in this historical tradition. Actual observation of language behaviour in migrant families shows,

however, that binary practice – speaking either the heritage language or the majority language – is hardly the case. Instead, a practice of linguistic diversity seems to be the 'normality': making use of the heritage languages *and* the majority languages in a pragmatic and functional mode, including strategies of *translanguaging*, i.e. composing utterances out of the whole linguistic repertoire a person has at their disposal, if this is appropriate in a communicative setting (García and Wei 2014). A qualitative study which was carried out in Austria shows that this type of practice is often hidden by migrant families if they are questioned about their linguistic behaviour, simply because they are aware of the fact that it is neither appreciated by the general public in European immigration countries nor accepted in the pedagogical sphere (Brizic 2007).

These actual practices, however, constitute linguistic super-diversity in Europe (and other areas of the world); they contribute to the vitality of migrants' heritage languages, because they are functional for the conduct of life, complementary to the use of the majority language and the 'foreign languages' which are learned at school or in other settings. Ethnographic studies show that the respective practices are not reserved to migrants alone, but can rather be identified as – probably temporary – jargons of groups in immigrant countries, especially among the youth (Creese and Blackledge 2010). Innovative technical developments, such as 'social media', obviously contribute to linguistic diversity as they are, for example, appropriate for the communication in transnational migrant communities (Androutsopoulos 2011).

The concept of super-diversity is useful and productive for the observation and description of immigration countries' linguistic texture and actual communication practice under these conditions. It can be applied as well in a macro perspective as in meso – or micro perspectives (as shown in several chapters in this volume): as a lens for observation of classroom practice, for example, or as a means to expose an individual composition of language repertoire, which 'brings to the fore a richer, more sophisticated understanding of capabilities'. The example below (Fig. 1) shows the representation of multiple languages by a 12-year-old student in Germany:

A challenge for this volume is the appropriate construction of designs in educational research which allow for the necessary multivariate inquiries of reality in super-diverse constellations. This challenge will not only be taken up in research which is embedded in qualitative paradigms, such as ethnographic studies. Instead, attempts will be made to introduce a greater recognition of complexity and multivariable configurations of diversity also to 'mainstream' (large-scale) empirical observations of educational systems and processes. 'Super-diversity underlines the necessity to re-tool our theories and methods, not least in order to move beyond what some call the "ethno-focal lens" of most approaches within conventional migration studies' (Meissner and Vertovec 2014, p. 542). From an educational researcher's point of view, the study of migration-related social complexity can function as a magnifying glass for understanding systematic features of education processes or systems which result – unintendedly – in the production of educational inequality. And it could be a next step of development to explore the possibilities of international comparative educational research, in order to explore the question "Do

Fig. 1 Lara: 'I am 12 years old' (© DiVER Research Group, University of Hamburg 2014)

we have to speak of different super-diversities in different super-diverse contexts?" or if there are super dimensions of educational systems and processes that are truly global.

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Preface

This publication came about as a result of an international educational research event held in July 2013 at the Parramatta campus of the University of Western Sydney called 'Globalisation: Now'. Authors were invited to contribute to ongoing conversations about the ramifications of globalisation in education, and this book and a special edition of the journal *Knowledge Cultures* have eventuated out of that invitation.

David R. Cole and Christine Woodrow would especially like to thank the dedicated work of Tracy Buckridge, who has supported this publication from conception to the end product. Tracy's work at the Centre for Educational Research is deeply appreciated by all contributing authors of this volume.

The writing of this book was aided by a dedicated writing retreat in the Blue Mountains of New South Wales. Authors spent two days of genuine debate around the issues raised by the book and were involved in a collective, concentrated writing and rewriting effort, which we believe has helped to pull the divergent strands of this book together and made it stronger as a whole. We would like to thank Ingrid Gogolin for her Skype interaction from Frankfurt during the retreat.

The editors would like to acknowledge the continued leadership of the Centre for Educational Research by Professor Margaret Somerville, who has made this publication possible through the initiation of the research thematic of globalisation at the Centre.

Please note that all chapters in this book have gone through a rigorous double-blind review process and a double-blind review by the series editors. Furthermore, all chapters have been carefully read and corrected by the editors after the results of the double-blind reviews and the various reviews of the series editors.

Penrith, NSW, Australia

David R. Cole
Christine Woodrow

Contents

Chapter 1
Super Dimensions in Globalisation and Education

David R. Cole and Christine Woodrow

Abstract This chapter will introduce and explain the super dimensions in globalisation and education that this book explores. These (super) dimensions permeate all educational practice, yet are often invisible, or not adequately considered by educationalists and researchers alike. On one side of the equation, is the superdiversity as explored by Vertovec in the 2000s in the UK, and which has been recently taken up by globalised educational researchers, especially in terms of linguistic and literacy research. Superdiversity points to the 'diversity in diversity', and the ways in which the current globalised situation puts continual pressure on stable identity construction and the analysis of ethnicity, race, nationhood, migration status, and other social markers. On the other side of the equation is the supercomplexity of the current globalised situation. Theoretical frames seem inadequate almost as quickly as they are prepared, presented and articulated, due to the rapidly changing conditions. The comprehension of globalisation in education therefore benefits from a supercomplex framing; i.e. an analysis of the 'complexity of complexity' if it is to in any way apprehend 'the truth' of what is happening.

Introduction

The facts of globalisation are astonishing and bewildering. For example, if one looks at the analysis of 'the great acceleration', figured around notions of the Anthropocene, and understood as the effects of human endeavour on planetary systems, there is no doubt that we have entered an entirely new phase of human and planetary history (Steffen et al. 2011). Globalisation, thought of as the ways in which countries have continued or started to use shared notions of liberal democracy, free market economics and modern educational techniques in unison and combination, and how these processes have been augmented and supported through the development of global transport systems and mediated electronic networks, has

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added to, and indeed, created the conditions for the Anthropocene. The paradox that we face is embedded in the reflexive, feedback loop that exists between the creation of the conditions for globalisation, which has largely come about through human ambition, endeavour, ingeniousness and collective action, and any solutions to the problems that have been caused by globalisation such as climate change, overpopulation and resource stripping. This volume speaks to this loop, and suggests that a way out of this paradox lies in education, and in thinking through how globalisation may be researched, understood and presented as and for learning. Education in this context is entirely transdisciplinary, and whilst the connection between the super dimensions of this volume and the everyday functioning of schools or the individual or shared pedagogies of teachers may present rather intangible lines to draw, these connections are constantly present through inter-related global networks of trade, communication and power. This volume represents a means for educational researchers to incorporate the facts of globalisation into their reckoning in an entirely mobile, diffuse and comprehensive manner as critical (super) dimensions.

The super dimensions of globalisation and education are not 'super' in terms of being better or in any way meant to determine a hierarchy of dimensions. Wiley (2014) in his article 'Diversity, super-diversity, and monolingual language ideology in the United States' has observed that: "the extent to which present configurations of diversity are 'super' and unprecedented depends on how notions of past diversities are constructed and how they relate to presumed antecedent majority, 'mainstream,' or dominant reference groups and similar constructions of minority statuses" (p. 6). In other words, the 'super' aspect of diversity and complexity that is addressed throughout this book in terms of the super dimensions is at the same 'time' a historical notion. The most comprehensible and common dimensions that run through globalisation and education are those of time and space. As previously mentioned in terms of the Anthropocene, on a planetary scale we are experiencing a great acceleration in this period of history in terms of globalised technological convergence; possibly leading to a one world system of integrated world capitalism and whatever that entails (Guattari 1989). In this context, space is under pressure from a burgeoning human population, the transforming dimension of space is often accompanied by migration flows, increased pollution, urbanisation, territorial disputes and resource conflict. On top of and adjacent to the dimensions of time and space in globalisation and education, are lateral and related dimensions that power and drive the ways in which education is under pressure and is changing due to globalisation. For example, governments have been and are responding to the new conditions created by globalisation, and have enacted new educational policy settings, such as increased internal competition, accountability and testing regimes, multicultural education and new technology initiatives, which are often seen as solutions or responses to the problems caused by globalisation (Cole 2014, pp. 10–35). In this book, empirical evidence, and a constructive yet sceptical, thinking approach to governmental and other responses to the effects of globalisation on education, are seen as key to sustained and fruitful inquiry and debate. The identification and designation of the super dimensions in globalisation and education in this book are a deliberate response to the complexities at hand, and enables understanding of the ways in which these forces are currently shaping us.

At the time of writing this chapter about the super dimensions in globalisation and education, an international humanitarian transnational political crisis has been unfolding with regard to the movement of peoples seeking refuge outside of their home countries. An estimated 8,000 people from Asian countries currently languish in boats off the coasts of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. They are slowly starving to death, drowning and being ravaged by disease, whilst Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia first proclaim they will turn back the boats, and then suggest they will provide temporary refuge if alternative long term destinations elsewhere are guaranteed. Meanwhile, the UN implores nations to take more regional responsibility. There is no knowing where and what will become of these people and in whose homeland they might find themselves, if any at all …

At the same time, asylum seekers from diverse regions of the world, but particularly from the Middle East, who have either arrived in Australia or have been intercepted before arrival, and subsequently relocated to Nauru, are now being resettled in Cambodia, one of the poorest countries in the world, and with a violent recent history and poor record of human rights. Simultaneously with the Asian migrations, there is an enormous movement of peoples across the Mediterranean from the African sub-continent in search of refuge in Europe, and these people are often making perilous and potentially fatal, 'all-or-nothing' attempts at crossing the seas in largely overcrowded, unseaworthy vessels. The international media reports the growing numbers of mass drownings of these migrants attempting to reach Europe, and the death toll since the start of 2015 had by May, already reached more than 1,600, and with more than 11,000 other would-be immigrants rescued in 1 week. Current trends would suggest that the total of 170,000 migrants landing in Italy in 2014 is likely to be surpassed in 2015. How these situations are resolved and where remaining survivors settle remains a matter of speculation, as the European community organise yet another summit to confront the perceived crisis of mass migration into Europe. At the very least, the mass migrations in present day Asia and into Europe, demand the reconsideration and retheorisation of how the diversity in global migrational flows might be understood, and what this means in education.

The sea bound migrations across Asia and into Europe, are examples of 'the contemporary social complexity' associated with diversity and seen in the global movement of people (Meissner and Vertovec 2014). Certainly, these ongoing events enables the imagination of a more sophisticated conceptualisation of superdiversity that goes beyond seeing diversity as 'multiplying ethnicities' and towards what Messner and Vertovec claim was the original intention of the concept of superdiversity in "recognizing multidimensional shifts in migration patterns … (which) entail a worldwide diversification of migration channels, differentiations of legal statuses, diverging patterns of gender and age, and variance in migrants' human capital" (Meissner and Vertovec 2014, p. 541).

These migrational complexities, that have been depicted in the scenarios profiled above, are part of new forms of migration caused by the current stage of globalisation, that might further contribute to communities of "new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants"(Vertovec 2007, p. 1024), depending on where they

finally settle. The recent migration of different peoples reflects the assertion that it is the 'new conjunctions and interactions of variables arising through immigration' of which the recent mass migrations is a new iteration, that underwrites the need for new conceptualisations and accounts of diversity and complexity. These trends also go beyond the mainstream treatment of migration diversity through the lens of economic globalisation, typified in observations such as: "Globalisation will ensure that the world – and almost every country – will become more multicultural. That is to say, each country will find that its population is increasingly made up of more people from many different cultures, nationalities, faiths and ethnic backgrounds – and become 'superdiverse'. The ease of travel, the opening up of labour and financial markets means that this is inevitable … The movement of labour inevitably follows from the movement of finance and capital and often simply reflects the shifting economic patterns, especially the huge differences between richer and poorer nations" (Cantle 2014, p. 69).

However, such depictions of globalisation as described by Cantle (2014) pay scant attention to the immense social and political upheavals that are driving people to board boats that are un-seaworthy to journey onwards to destinations unknown, and to pay reputedly large amounts of money to alleged criminals for the privilege. One could argue that it is against this international backdrop of human tragedy, suffering and drama that this volume is being assembled, through the designation of the super dimensions in globalisation and education, and by drawing our attention to the timely importance of recognising, appreciating and acting on the burgeoning complexity of issues and their effects associated with equity, diversity and the multi-stranded nature of the movements of peoples, resources, education and ideas.

This volume is conceived in the space created by the intersections of globalisation, diversity, complexity and education. The richness and contribution of this volume lays not only in the broad spectrum of theoretical views that authors have brought to their research explorations (supercomplexity), but how they have acknowledged and incorporated considerations of the super dimensions in a variety of rich and provocative ways to enable various re-viewings (as in looking again) and reconceptualisations of education. These power plays are seen, for example, in Reid on the reconceptualization of teachers work; and in the re-arrangements of power relations, see Han & Singh, regarding the interruption of the power-imbued dichotomy of the west as educational theory source and the east as data mine; and in, for example, Cole's use of the Guattarian theory of cartographic method for developing an activist framework for superdiverse learning. Furthermore, this book works within the context of education, broadly conceived, with schools and places of learning representing a microcosm of the wider global forces at large in the world. The educational contexts represented in the volume vary enormously across the global north and south, east and west, ranging from the micro-dimensions of parent-teacher engagement in the northern Chilean desert (Qi & Woodrow), and student engagement in the grinding poverty of the Argentinian barrios (Grinberg & Dafunchio), to the policy making halls of the OECD, the implications of deliberations of high-stakes testing on the global south (Breidlid) and the contemplation of superdiversity in travelling ideas through policy mobility (Gulson).

Questions of power and equity, the relief from suffering, and the potential improvement of human existence, permeate the chapter offerings as different and powerful reflections of globalising forces, which as many have observed, almost invariably have a greater negative impact on disadvantaged communities (MacKinnon et al. 2011). The notion of the super dimensions in globalisation and education, that provides the integrating force of the book, draws on the dual notions of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) and supercomplexity as framed by (Barnett 2000). The literature that has arisen around the notion of superdiversity, stemming, for example, from research at the University of Birmingham (IrIS) (UK) research centre, and at the University of Tilburg under the tutelage of Professor Jan Blommaert, has acknowledged that superdiversity as a descriptive term to analyse current trends in diversity studies or ethnicity has little critical power (see Vijver et al. 2015). However, the notion of superdiversity does resonate with what John Urry (2000) calls a paradigm shift to thinking through mobilities in social research. Mobilities are importantly relational, additionally inviting exploration of what does not move, and therefore inequality and hierarchy could be placed at the forefront of analysis in superdiversity. Superdiversity also gives precedence towards acknowledging and understanding the entwined nature of social-cultural flows. This focus for research complements Ash Amin's "situated multiplicity and social practice" (2008, p. 9) wherein flows and social practice are being thought together deliberately, not just in the movement of people but also, amongst other objects, information and goods.

In order to enhance the analysis of the book, and to fully address the issues that arise in this book from the various contexts and empirical studies in education, the 'dimensionality' of superdiversity has been increased from a straightforward complexification of diversity. Supercomplexity signals that one's inter-related perspectives, framings and theoretical outlooks on diversity and superdiversity are critical to understanding what these notions mean and how they can be deployed in, for example, context-driven educational research (see Cole and Bradley 2014). Whilst the concept of superdiversity might be better known in the social sciences, it has a lesser profile in education, and it is worth including Vertovec's 2007 explanation:

> Superdiversity is a term intended to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything previously experienced in a particular society. Over the past twenty years globally more people have moved from more places to more places; wholly new and increasingly complex social formations have ensued, marked by dynamic interplays of variables, including: country of origin (comprising a variety of possible subset traits such as ethnicity, language[s], religious tradition, regional and local identities, cultural values and practices), migration channel (often related to highly gendered flows, specific social networks and particular labour market niches), and legal status (including myriad categories determining a hierarchy of entitlements and restrictions). These variables co-condition integration outcomes along with factors surrounding migrants' human capital (particularly educational background), access to employment (which may or may not be in immigrants' hands), locality (related especially to material conditions, but also to other immigrant and ethnic minority presence), and the usually chequered responses by local authorities, services providers and local residents (which often tend to function by way of assumptions based on previous experiences with migrants and ethnic minorities). (Vertovec 2007, p. 1049)

The notion of complexity which is central to the notion of superdiversity above assumes greater significance and becomes multi-dimensional and appropriate for this volume when augmented and aligned with considerations of supercomplexity as framed by Ronald Barnett:

> … one is faced with a surfeit of data, knowledge or theoretical frames within one's immediate situation … Simply keeping abreast of the field may seem to be nigh on impossible … But, in addition to these cognitive and operational challenges, [one] is also increasingly faced with challenges of his or her own self-understanding … professional life is increasingly becoming a matter not just of handling overwhelming data and theories within a given frame of reference (a situation of complexity) but also a matter of handling multiple frames of understanding, of action and of self-identity. The fundamental frameworks by which we might understand the world are multiplying and are often in conflict. Of the multiplication of frameworks there is no end. (Barnett 2000, p. 6)

Combining the dual concerns for superdiversity with supercomplexity to mobilise interrogations and investigation into the intersections between globalisation and education, provides this book with a practical and intellectually coherent framing through the super dimensions. The complexity of superdiversity as described by Vertovec above, is better framed as 'supercomplexity' because of the unhinging of a 'top down' theoretical framing for diversity. Diversity is not being addressed as a complex problem here, but analysed from the perspective of complex diversity through the chapters that follow, where the movement in and around superdiversity is happening, and at the eyeline of radically shifting viewpoints: i.e. the researchers involved are also subject to superdiversity. One could assert a connection between the supercomplexity of the diversity and super dimensions of this book, and the science of complexity theory, as does Michael A. Peters in his afterword. However, complexity theory primarily helps us to understand the dynamics of complex systems, whilst supercomplexity augments the shifting multiplicity of perspectives when addressing issues to do with diversity, and belies a unified theoretical approach (through (super)complexity) that is fitting for all the empirical data and educational studies in this book. Peters comes to a similar conclusion in his afterword, in that complexity theory does not help to understand the ways in which global capitalism divides and increases the gaps between the rich and the poor in an "age of digital reason". Contrariwise, the super dimensions of this book allow for and provide novel entry points into enriched understandings of complex relationships as they exist and change *in situ*, how these relationships are inflected, and how they can be represented in and for educational contexts. The new concepts of the super dimensions in this book (supercomplex——superdiversity), suggest new tools for researchers and for educators. With this point in mind, one might consider Burawoy's three axes of globalisation as being useful in further understanding the writings in this book, and how a context-based, global ethnography consists of: 'global forces, global connections and the global imagination' (Burawoy et al. 2000), and how these axes help us to tie together the methodological requirements for the research in this work on super dimensions in globalisation and education:

1. *Global forces* are those pressures on context that emerge from overarching, often intersecting structures such as capitalism, modernity, colonialism and imperialism.

2. *Global connections* refer to trans-local and trans-national links between people or groups such as migrants, tourists and social movements and relates to the superdiverse underpinning of the super dimensions.
3. *Global imagination* refers to the mobilisation and deployment of meanings about globalisation processes and the power and politics of such meaning making, and this aspect of research will be displayed throughout this book in terms of supercomplexity.

Massey's 'global sense of context' enables the translation of the three axes and concepts from Burawoy into a complex methodological framework and focus for the following data sets and analyses. A global sense of context is understood as "woven together out of ongoing stories, as a moment within power-geometries, as a particular constellation within the wider topographies of space and as in process, as unfinished business" (Massey 2005, p. 131). Context is here understood as an event, defined by the quality of 'thrown togetherness' which propels the need to negotiate in the here and now (see Somerville and D'Warte 2014). Thus, deploying Massey's sense of place ensures that the super dimensions can be researched and represented for the purposes of understanding how globalisation and education work in specific contexts and through continual change. This global ethnographic approach does not exclude other forms of educational research methodologies, for example, mixed method research (Johnson et al. 2007) from enabling research into the super dimensions in globalisation and education that the chapters that follow portray, but with the proviso that globalisation research includes the (super)complex and jarring workings of context, and they are accounted for in the research mapping process. Indeed, this book explores superdiversity and supercomplexity as theory, method and data, and introduces a tantalising repertoire of methodologies and theories that are appropriate to the task of unravelling the multi-layered, multidimensionality and multidirectional flows of knowledge and power in the current state of globalisation and education in which we are placed.

The Chapters of the Book

The chapters are arranged in discrete sections, exploring how the super dimensions are situated in diverse education contexts through arrangements of research accounts reflecting the broad themes of: *Globalisation and Literacy* (Part I), *the Global North and South* (Part II), *Educational Research and Policy* (Part III) and *Issues in Educational practices* (Part IV). Literacy research has been used to introduce the volume as it is currently the most popular and widespread focus for educational research using the notion of superdiversity and this focus coheres with the foreword by Ingrid Gogolin. The second section has been organised as such because the differences between the global north and the global south present powerful theoretical and real divisions, that can help in our understanding of how the super dimensions of this book function, and why in particular they apply to educational research.

Issues to do with educational research, policy and practice are organised in the last two sections, which echo and reinforce many of the points made by Parts I and II, but work in different contexts and introduce different leading questions about education through their organizational categories.

Part I: Super Dimensions in Globalisation and Literacy

The first three chapters of this volume provide explorations of questions of identity and how these are intertwined with languages and literacies, whilst also taking account of the forces of globalisation, and how these have often ensured the hegemonic appeal and power of English. Whilst these themes of globalised English, language, linguistic diversity, culture and identity, have been canvassed in other literatures, the author's research here provides insights into these pivots in children's lived experiences within and beyond the classroom in the context of sociolinguistic superdiversity, and the methods by which they might be studied. If they are taken together, these studies investigate discourses about new potentialities for "identity negotiation, affirmation and connection to multiple ways of belonging (or not) across diverse cultural, linguistic and social landscapes" (Jones Diaz, Chap. 3, this volume). The research findings from the studies reported in Part I suggest implications for curriculum and for pedagogical practice. The studies highlight the notion of diversity within diversity, both within and across the groups under investigation. In particular, D'Warte's chapter provides an evocative account of research about students mapping their own individual and collective superdiversity in sociolinguistic repertoires, highlighting how the use of the frame of superdiversity brings socio-cultural understandings, knowledge frames, experiences and practices that young people bring to school into sharper focus. The study presents insights into 'languages in motion' and how these remain dynamic and unfixed, providing a compelling argument for the author's contention that "diverse multilingual, multimodal skills, experiences and practices of twenty-first century students, should be revealed in order for teachers and students to listen, learn, think and make meaning together; (to) inform classroom work, deepen collective awareness, and enhance learning for our twenty-first century students" (D'Warte Chap. 2).

D'Warte's chapter provides an account of how educational goals might be undertaken in ways that position children as ethnographic researchers, supporting empowered identity construction, and going beyond stilted utterings or the unintended divisions of diversity, to more meaningful forays into understanding the realities of multi-stranded identity. In the early childhood context, Jones Diaz's research illustrates multiple identity construction of young children in their homes, communities and families in multicultural Australia in which almost 20 % of the population speak more than one language at home. In particular, the study engages with concerns about bilingual children and families in Australia that constitute the Latin-America 'diaspora'; a term whose meaning may become open to contestation through new readings of migration shifts through the lens of supercomplexity. The

insertion of superdiversity in consideration of this identity formation, especially in the case of bilingual families struggling to maintain their home language, allows for and enables moving beyond assumptions about unidirectional relationships between such elements as ethnic groups, origin, residency, citizenship, legal status, religion and language, to understand how these relationships are multi stranded, often socially mediated, and infused with multi-directional power relationships. Such an intellectual recognition is critical in opening up new possibilities for the reimagining of an identity formation that is multiple and fluid.

The final chapter in this opening section brings perspectives on superdiversity occasioned not through the migration of peoples, but through the migration of languages and ideas across three nation states in the Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish Sápmi, an indigenous area where there is net emigration. Here, the linguistic landscape is complex, and the children, being trilingual across indigenous language, national language and English, engage in what is understood as creative coding between and within these languages that form their linguistic repertoire, resulting in a process of ongoing reshaping of both their identities and their language landscape. The study produces findings that are complementary to those of the other studies in this section, in relation to the multilayered nature of identity and its fluidity, related to shifting linguistic terrains, but provides significant points of departure in exploring an indigenous environment in contrast to urban superdiversity, and one in which globalisation ensures that children experience political conflict and activist culture, as struggles over resources are manifested. The contested and uneven flow of power and knowledge permeate these children's daily experiences, and the children's writing, even when undertaken in a foreign language, provides a rich source of information about globalisation, the super dimensions, and superdiversity in this contested terrain.

Part II: Super Dimensions of the Global North and South

Following on from and consist with the analysis of changes in literacy due to globalisation in Part I, the concepts of superdiversity and supercomplexity that are being combined in this book through the construction of the super dimensions are derived primarily from the global and symbolic 'north', as Somerville notes in her chapter in this section. As a counterpoint, Southern Theory (Connell 2007) has been influential in providing an alternative framework through which to challenge the epistemological hegemony of the 'west' and the 'north' (see also Chen 2010). The hegemony of the 'north' or 'west' has manifested itself across multiple realms of human activity through time, and has been made ever more potent by the dispersed, accelerated and highly inter-connected phase of globalisation in which we now sit, and the consequent social privileging through capital flows that has occurred due to present day globalisation (see Cole 2012). It is with reflexivity and inter-relatedness that the super dimensions, that are the combined notions of supercomplexity and superdiversity, aim to account for the changes in nature of contemporary globalisation and help to critique any fixed boundaries or sedimentation into a new binary

distinction between the global north and the south (see Rosa 2014). Whilst an expanding postcolonial literature highlights the effects on planet and culture of the marginalisation and exploitation of local geographies (Blunt and McEwan 2002), and of indigenous epistemologies and the apparent powerlessness of those left in the wake of these globalising forces, such literature often fails to account for more complex migratory patterns outside of colonisation. However, these shifts can be resisted and/or subverted and approaches to this resistance are evident throughout this book. In this section, the articulation of the challenges and the possibilities for addressing them are framed within the permeable constructions of the north/south as articulated by Connell (2007) or Comaroff and Comaroff (2011). Themes of marginalisation and resistance are well contemplated by the cases presented in this section, in which tensions are played between north and south, globalisation and sustainability, knowledge and power, hope and despair. This latter element is particularly evident in Grinberg and Dafunchio's chapter portraying the desolation of urban poverty and decay in the city of Buenos Aires, a complex city itself shaped by layered migratory patterns, yet contrasted with the hopefulness of the methodologies used in the research described in their chapter. For example, the imagery of the Munch painting – 'The Scream' is used to evocative effect to problematize voice and silence. Voice is made possible for these alienated youth through activist methodologies involving student participants as ethnographers using photographic and cinematic documentation, employed because they are seen as key tools for "grasping the otherness that the notion of superdiversity addresses" (Grinberg and Dafunchio, Chap. 5, this volume).

Such tensions of otherness as located in the urban lives of Buenos Aires youth are played out both similarly and differently in Somerville's chapter, where a central concern is planetary sustainability, again, with the student ethnographers' recognition of local place as being central. The problematic of sustainability is located in a confrontation occasioned by the continuation of the forces and thinking systems of neoliberal economic globalisation, and its effects, which universalises and globalises. Somerville argues that the consequent manifestations of these forces create social degradation, and threaten planetary sustainability and that alternative epistemologies are critical in terms of understanding the resolution of the current and future crisis. Such a line of argument includes the notion that theories of superdiversity and supercomplexity, whilst useful for describing social formation and framing, often fail to provide analytical tools for interrogating either their causes or the epistemological foundations of such framing and formation. Working from within the framework offered by Southern Theory (Connell 2007; Santos 2009), Somerville argues for the role and pre-eminence of alternative knowledge systems that come 'from the periphery', that go beyond the binaries of western thought systems, and may subvert the destructive forces of globalisation and the frames of thought that mobilise and sustain them. Drawing on data collected in aboriginal communities in Australia, Somerville's chapter is imbued with a hope for survival, as she reveals how the data includes approaches involving the recognition and preservation of aboriginal knowledge systems, and an application of these thinking systems to inform a reconstruction of hegemonic epistemologies. Somerville argues that these

systems can subvert western thought, in part because they allow knowledge to move locally, regionally and globally, without losing connection with the local materiality of place. This volume agrees with Somerville in that superdiversity and supercomplexity are not sufficient alone to understand the connections between globalisation and education, and this is why we need to figure the super dimensions in globalisation and education. Indigenous knowledge is an important super dimension that can be refigured for contemporary educational purposes.

The final two chapters in this section explore flows of knowledge in education settings in the context of the global south. Resonating with the themes of knowledge, power and hopefulness, Qi and Woodrow present super-epistemic diversity as a conceptual approach for understanding multi-stranded, uneven and multidirectional flows of knowledge in the context of Futuro Infantil Hoy (FIH), which is an innovative transnational early childhood education program involving Australian academics in educational innovation with communities in high poverty communities in Chile. Their analysis critically examines evidence of the interplay of global and local knowledge of the superdiverse intellectual stakeholders in the FIH program. The research findings show that this knowledge interplay promoted a perceived paradigm shift about family involvement in children's education, and has prompted a reconsideration of the nature of super-epistemic diversity and the potential for social transformation for these families experiencing social disadvantage.

In the final chapter of this section, Breidlid cautions that the affordances of superdiversity are imperilled by what he conceives as the global architecture of education, where the hegemonic western epistemologies are ever present and potent. Drawing on case studies from South Africa, New Zealand and Cuba, the chapter first explores the ramifications of the hegemony of the western epistemology on learning and education research, before examining the role of indigenous knowledges and their co-existence with western epistemologies in the pursuit of improvements of children's school achievements in the global south.

Part III: Super Dimensions of Educational Research and Policy

All the chapters in this book deal with educational research, both in terms of the theory that was demonstrated by the global north and south in Part II, and that one may bring to bear on doing research in a global context, and the methodology and analysis that would properly deal with the globalised data that educational research reveals. The proposition of this book, and this section in particular, is that the super dimensions help to understand the unstable and changing nature of doing educational research in a global context. To this end, Cole's chapter suggests that the cartographic method of Félix Guattari offers a combined theoretical & methodological approach for collecting and analysing data in a global, superdiverse context. The key to understanding Guattari's method is the four divisions or zones of the unconscious diagram. The four divisions are: (1) cut-outs of existential

territories; (2) complexions of material and energetic flows; (3) rhizomes of abstract ideas, and (4) constellations of aesthetic refrains. In sum, these divisions act as a mode to analyse data and form assemblages of enunciation, and which show us how forces in motion work, in the context of this book, with reference to the super dimensions in globalisation and education. Guattari's cartography is fully reflexive and designed to enable subjugated groups to speak in a mainstream context, and shows how to understand these utterings in terms of power relationships and agency. Cole takes two examples to demonstrate how Guattari's cartographic method works in terms of the super dimensions in globalisation and education: (1) Sudanese families in Australia; (2) Young Muslims in Australia on Facebook. The migration of the Sudanese families to Australia is a fascinating and at times harrowing story, involving internal displacement in the Sudan, refugee camps, transit arrangements, applications for asylum status in Egypt, and the final translation to Australia, often as broken families. Little of this complexity in the Sudanese story is recognised or understood in education, and Cole uses the notion of multiple literacies theory in conjunction with Guattari's cartography to comprehend how to enunciate the educational needs for the Sudanese in Australia. Likewise, the section on young Muslims on Facebook in Australia in this chapter, reveals the story of how young Muslims use social media to contact and relate to other young Muslims all over the world. Contrary to the ways in which Islam can be associated with terrorism in the mainstream media, and how media portrayal may give a negative light to the ambitions of young Muslims, this chapter refigures the desires of the young Muslims in terms of Guattari's cartographic method and multiple literacies. The young Muslims need to contact other young Muslims around the world is reworked as affect, and understood in terms of the super dimensions in globalisation and education.

In the next chapter of Part III, Gulson deals with educational policy. Gulson argues that policy needs to be flexible, and cope with the mobilities and spatialities of education in a globalised and complex world, and policy is required to have an increased dual focus on the territorial and relational aspects of educational governance. This chapter proposes and executes a plan for educational policy into the globalised future, and that puts forward the explicitly geographical pivots of scale and mobility, and in so doing contributes to new theorisations of empirical studies of globalised education policy. Gulson's chapter makes specific reference to ideas of relationality that emphasise power and meaning in the movement and constitution of policy in the super dimensions. In conclusion, the chapter suggests that the role of space in the formation of policy theory is vital, not only in the ways that theory might apply to a spatially distributed and complex world, but in the spatialities that allow thought to make particular intensities of policy. Overall, this chapter analyses the intensities that are associated with policy movement and space-time, what is made possible, and what is possible to think about, in particular, the super dimension of space-time. Gulson suggests that what a mobility method to policy allows is a combined understanding of educational policies, scales and spaces.

In the last chapter of Part III, Linda Knight uses the facts of the contemporary state of globalisation to reengineer a perspective on educational research in an early childhood and primary context. Knight contends that research needs to consider

how children operate as fully involved with the processes of globalisation that are activated through the super dimensions. Such an analysis reverses the power relations that we might want to posit with respect to the children in globalisation projects, and henceforth actively includes the young as full participants in a global world. This chapter suggests that good educational research into the early years can use ideas such as supercomplexity to produce new conceptions and develop better research methodologies that understand the construction of children as superdiverse citizens (and not just as complex problems). Knight puts forward the methodology of intergenerational collaborative drawing in this chapter, which involves adult researchers and children drawing together, and makes the claim that this methodology helps to uncover the global super dimensions of the book. The chapter reports on researchers who tested intergenerational collaborative drawing in context, and considers the politics of the research, and in particularly when researcher neutrality and the conventions around gathering objective data are questioned.

Part IV: Super Dimensions and Issues in Educational Practices

The chapters of the final section offer provocations to theorise as an augmentation beyond the contextual analysis of superdiversity and the framing of supercomplexity from the previous sections, in order to reconceptualise the elements of education which are enabled through the super dimensions. This reconceptualization is made necessary in part by the complex challenges for equity that are embedded in the hegemony of western thought that mobilises and sustains neoliberal globalisation forces as argued by authors such as Somerville and Breidlid in Part II. For example, Reid's chapter interrogates teachers' changing subjectivities in the superdiverse context of migration in an increasingly globalised world and through the possibilities opened by the theoretical framings of cosmopolitanism; in this chapter Reid argues for a reconstruction of teachers work. The policy implications of such reconstruction would involve moving beyond twentieth century multiculturalisms to frame changes to the preparation of teachers in relation to the appreciation of, and response to the super dimensions of the classroom, school, community and world. In a similar vein, Han and Singh invoke an Anglo-Chinese concept – dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers – and its processes of co-production in a project of reframing western Anglophone teacher education. This reframing reconceptualises non-western students as 'theoretic linguistic agents of intellectual connectivity' which consequently enables a more sophisticated understanding of their capabilities and epistemological contributions. This chapter contributes to a challenge against western intellectual hegemony that has emerged as an insistent story line in this book about the super dimensions of globalisation and education.

Schools are important sites for examining how young people and their families are constituted by global and local mobility and how they constitute themselves. In the final chapter of the book, superdiversity provides a conceptual framework for

exploring cultural and sociolinguistic complexity in urban, globally mobile communities in Australia. Gannon, Naidoo and Gray consider how this impacts on student and family desires for particular careers and pathways into the future. The analysis invites a reconceptualization of how aspirations for higher education might be re-interpreted, both in individualised and institutional terms, when there is acknowledgement of the multiplicity of factors shaping educational attainment and success. Aspiration is made more complex by considerations of ethnicity, family history, family expectations and the 'cosmopolitan sense of connectedness to multiple locations and parental expectations'. Furthermore, discourses of choice become more complex in this array of contributing factors when they are revealed to be entangled with immigrant families' desire to access preferential public schooling, reflecting a form of educational entrepreneurism that this chapter maps in terms of the super dimensions.

Conclusion

The superdiversity and supercomplexity in this book have provided a productive framing for explorations of key issues in the intersections between education, globalisation and diversity, as well as offering a point of contestation and challenge to move beyond their constraints in terms of the super dimensions. The resulting chapters offer challenges to scholars and policy actors about the constitution and reconceptualisation of individualised and institutional identities, the ongoing domination of western epistemologies, and the real threats to social and planetary sustainability. Collectively, the chapters can be seen to demand the repositioning of indigenous knowledge systems within mainstream education, a re-evaluation of the significance of place and local geographies and to offer multiple insights into how superdiversity and supercomplexity are inflected in knowledge flows that are global, multidimensional and uneven. Importantly, a diverse range of theoretical lenses and methodological tools are made available in this book that enable new insights, and open up potential fertile areas for further research in the context of the super dimensions and increasing "diversity within diversity" (Vertovec 2007, p. 1024) and 'complexity in complexity'.

Even as we write these words, the super dimensions of globalisation and education are changing, and they will continue to change into the future. Financial crises, environmental catastrophes and electronically mediated threats to stability will occur, as the one world capitalist system buckles and is altered to accommodate the diversity within diversity and complexity within complexity of any understanding of it. The overriding message that these combined chapters on the super dimensions in globalisation and education sets out – is that educational practice has to become more reflexive and sensitive to the implications of globalisation if it is to be sustainable. The super dimensions point to new skill sets and new thought processes that combine and separate us, even in the very moment of their conception – one direction heading in terms of understanding the global whole, the other in terms of accommodating the personal other …

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Part I
Super Dimensions in Globalisation and Literacy

Chapter 2
Students as Linguistic Ethnographers: Super-Diversity in the Classroom Context

Jacqueline D'warte

Abstract Super-diversity is put to work as a theoretical and methodological approach to study language and literacy in five Australian classrooms. A linguistic ethnographic approach employed to look through the lens of lived experiences, sociocultural practices and modes of life of five classes of young people aged 10–14, brings super-diversity into sharp focus. Young people are participating in new forms of communicative practices at a local and global level. Multilingualism and the emergence of increased fluidity in language and identity are on view and the implications for language and literacy teaching and learning in today's super diverse global classrooms are explored.

Keywords Linguistic ethnography • Linguistic and cultural diversity • 'Language in motion' • Multilingualism • Translingual communication

Introduction

> *Classroom teaching and curriculum must engage with students' own experience and discourses, which are increasingly defined by cultural and sub cultural diversity and the different language backgrounds and practices that come with this diversity* (New London Group 1996).

Since the New London Group's call in 1996, Western education systems in our increasingly globalized world, continue to be made up of communities of students who come from an increasingly diverse range of linguistic, cultural, class and racial backgrounds, bringing myriad multilingual practices and experiences. This is confirmed by recent scholarship on super-diversity (Vertovec 2007) that calls on us to reconsider old notions of diversity and the established categories and patterns identified in past migration and the movement of people. Super-diversity extends issues of diversity beyond an examination of ethnicity to view multilingualism and the

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emergence of increased fluidity in terms of language and identity (Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Many scholars now argue that the lived experiences of many are characterized by rising language diversity (Canagarajah 2006; Luke 2011; Paris 2009). Lorimer Leonard (2013) among others suggests "constant movement among languages … is the norm for much of the world" (p. 32).

Ladson-Billings (1994) important work on Culturally Responsive Teaching pedagogy called on educators to recognize the importance of including students' cultural references in all aspects of learning. This work has had a significant impact on teacher preparation programs particularly in the US. Lucas and Villegas (2013) however, argue that issues related to linguistically responsive teaching are too often lost in the larger conversation about culturally responsive teaching. This is compounded in many urban centres of migration such as Australia, by common educational policies and practices that focus on promoting the universal individual development of English literacy, compared and measured by high stakes, traditional tests. It can be argued that this has created a climate, where the multilingual, multidialectal repertoires of our increasingly diverse student populations are often ignored and rarely called on to support in school language learning. Using a linguistic ethnographic approach to look through the lens of lived experiences, sociocultural practices and modes of life of five classes of students' aged 10–14 in five Australian classrooms, this chapter explores the language and literacy practices used, constructed and deconstructed in the everyday worlds of these young people.

The multidimensional conditions and processes that come with the global movement of people, highlighted in notions of super-diversity are enabling young people to participate in new forms of communicative practices at a local and global level. The implications of super-diversity on language and literacy learning and Blommaert's (2013) notion that "multiplicity – as in 'multiculturalism' or 'multilingualism' is replaced by complexity" (p. 2) and as such assumes social processes to be multiple, multifilar, and yet simultaneous, offers us lenses through which to view the complex interplays, activities and connections that link many young people with communities both inside and outside of their local contexts. These activities and connections provide them with opportunities to engage in diverse multimodal, socio-cultural and socio-linguistic practices in their everyday worlds. Blommaert suggests we should conceive of "language in motion" rather than "language in place" (2010, p. 5).

A valuable opportunity to build on these practices in the service of learning is offered by studying the everyday worlds of young people in school. This chapter argues that the diverse multilingual, multimodal skills, experiences and practices of twenty-first century students, should be revealed in order for teachers and students to listen, learn, think and make meaning together; this will inform classroom work, deepen collective awareness, and enhance learning.

Theoretical Framing

Socially, Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Classrooms

Super-diversity (Vertovec 2007) characterizes tremendous increases across categories in patterns of immigration and this is clearly reflected in the social, cultural and linguistic diversity of many contemporary classrooms. Classrooms across the world are comprised of young people who come from increasingly diverse socio-economic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds and they bring with them wide-ranging levels of experience, skills and abilities. Recent work on the sociolinguistics of globalization has helped to frame notions of translanguaging (García et al. 2012) and transnational literacies. Ongoing research suggests young people are drawing on more than one language or literacy, and are using multiple and dynamic varieties of these different languages and literacies (Hornberger and Link 2012). The notion of translanguaging offers a new approach to understanding young peoples' engagement in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices. It broadens our view to include not only a focus on the cross-linguistic influences assigned to particular language or language varieties (García 2009) spoken by young people, but also to the variety of their communicative modes.

It can be argued however, that current accountability demands aligned to local and international English benchmarks are hindering rather than supporting teachers' capacities to respond to difference (Luke 2011). This can lead to erasure or reduction of diverse communicative competence and the promotion of linguistic inequality, especially when the measure is a high stakes test (Gutiérrez et al. 2009). Educational evidence continues to demonstrate that practices not aligned with mainstream practices valued in school receive unequal access or opportunity (Lee 2007). Often culturally and linguistically diverse students encounter negative assumptions about their abilities to perform linguistically and academically (Comber and Kamler 2004). This happens particularly for those students whose language and literacy practices and experiences lie outside of what is considered to be mainstream "standard" English.

Although they possess comprehensive, linguistic tool kits (Orellana 2009), immigrant youths' everyday language and literacy practices are often seen by teachers and youth themselves as inferior to school language practices (Gutiérrez et al. 2009). In the United States, and in many other nations, multilingual, multicultural students are often subjected to reductive remedial literacy programs that fail to recognize the repertoires of practice (Gutiérrez and Rogoff 2003) they bring to their learning. The complexity of language/s and literacies across all the domains of students' lives are most often dismissed or ignored.

Even with the best intentions, recognising and building on the language, literacy and cultural competencies students develop in their everyday lives in service of classroom learning can be a vast challenge for teachers. The research presented in this chapter considers in what ways in-school learning can better accommodate the changes created by the current trends of globalisation. Within the highly specialized

discourse community (Gee 1996) of in-school English language and literacy learning, students' diverse histories, knowledge and understandings must be revealed and leveraged for learning. Teachers and students in classrooms need support to do this and the methodologies and pedagogies presented in this chapter consider the implications of language study that arise from notions of super-diversity.

Changing Cultural, Technological and Economic Conditions and Engagements

Vertovec (2007) purports that transnational engagement among migrant communities worldwide has intensified due in part to increased technologies and telecommunication. Global patterns of sustained communication among migrants' homelands, and wider diasporas are commonplace in Britain and the maintenance of identities, activities and connections linking migrants with communities outside Britain and similarly, many other nations, are unprecedented.

Correspondingly, the spatial relocations of production and transnational economies have shifted the dominant modes of communication and influenced the ways we hear, read, write, view and ultimately think about our world. Despite varying degrees of global access and censorship, new forms of multilingual multimedia, art, cinema and social networks enable people to communicate within and across multiple languages. Similarly, changing cultural, technological and economic global conditions present new ways to situate literacy or literacies (Lankshear and Knobel 2006) and as such the meanings and values of literacies can differ widely across countries and contexts (Luke 2011). Acknowledging the implications of super-diversity in educational contexts means recognizing the dynamic layers of communication, knowledge and information mobility that now accompanies physical mobility.

Contemporary global conditions offer evidence of ongoing and purposeful movement among language varieties (Blommaert 2010). Translingual communication defined here as languages in contact and mutually influencing each other (Canagarajah 2011) is now involving ever wider groups of people, those who are monolingual and multilingual, as in the school research presented here attests. Meaning making is negotiated and people influence each other when populations change. In some cases this change occurs in the way people talk, or use different languages and a variety of scripts. This change is illustrated in Blommaert's (2010) study of inner-city neighbourhoods in Antwerp (Belgium), where different languages and scripts continue to appear in neighbourhoods.

However, viewing language as a bound set of linguistic structures and features continues to influence and sustain educational policy and practice around the learning of language, and English in particular across a range of educational settings in the globalised north. In educational practice, diverse classrooms bring new learning opportunities. As access to local and global others improves, new practices, texts and genres are being continually created in many multimodal environments. This has relevant implications for classroom teaching and language learning in this

global age. Research on language and Super-diversity (Blommaert 2010; Lorimer Leonard 2013) purports that the linguistic capabilities and cultural experiences of students are increasingly diverse and dynamic; these capabilities and experiences can be harnessed and directed towards classroom language learning.

Dynamic Linguistic Repertoires

Language scholars and educators continue to explore the linguistic repertoires and practices of young people; current understandings suggest that literacies are plural (Cole and Pullen 2010; Kress 2006) often encompass multiple languages (Cox 2015; Lorimer Leonard 2013) and include mediated digital technology (Kalantzis and Cope 2012; Lankshear and Knobel 2003). Linguistic ethnographic studies of young peoples' practices and experiences have illuminated how language continues to evolve in the here and now and is influenced by the communities of practice and the lived experiences of young people in multimodal local and global communication (Malsbary 2013). Young people are changing, inventing and reinventing language and literacy practices in new and interesting ways (Pennycook 2010).

Seeing language through the frame of Super-diversity reminds us to see the socio-cultural understandings, knowledge frames, experiences and practices that young people bring to school. Blommaert and Rampton (2011) suggest that current notions of linguistic repertoires, encompass an individual's variable and sometimes fragmented plurality, and include engagement with shared styles, registers and genres as one moves through their life. While global research provides further evidence of an enlarged presence and everyday interaction of people from all over the world, it also offers opportunities for researchers to develop new knowledge about the cultural and interlinguistic competencies of young people. These new understandings are helping educators to recognize the learning inherent in young peoples' cultural and linguistic flexibility. They are also seeing how they can support young people to build on and extend their repertoires as they learn the dominant in-country language in school.

An important implication of Super-diversity for in school teaching and learning is the knowledge that young peoples' practices are highly diverse between and within groups. Issues of equity and access to resources and new technologies are also important considerations to advancing the work on further developing young peoples' practices, understandings and skills in school. Ongoing research continues to offer evidence that language is inextricably linked to students' identities, experiences and most importantly, opportunities to learn (Gutiérrez et al. 2009; Gonzalez et al. 2005).

In order to meet the needs of all students, educators must capitalize on students' foundational knowledges and skills; cross discipline educational research confirms that this is an essential dimension of ongoing learning. Educators then are compelled to consider how these knowledges and skills may be, or perhaps should be, influencing or altering teaching and curriculum. This thinking prompts educators and researchers alike to continue to investigate how and in what ways this can occur.

New Frames: Students as Ethnographers

The dynamic nature of language and literacy viewed through the frame of Superdiversity also elucidates how language and literacy is never context free but used in service of and filtered through culture. This frame offers us a way to begin to view and understand how young people use language and literacies to interpret who they are in relation to others, and how they have learned to process, interpret and encode their world.

Recent work on linguistic ethnographies and linguistic landscapes (Blommaert 2013; Blommaert and Rampton 2011) reveals the ways young people use language with different people, and the ways language is influenced, and changed across the myriad spaces and places in which they participate. In the school context, fostering the development of belonging and in some ways engagement for students can mean conceiving of schools and classrooms as sites of negotiation of learning. As we consider language learning for our increasingly diverse student population we need to understand how to encompass dimensions of learner identity, family and community, local environment, and global society into our schools, and consider the multiple languages, registers and linguistic codes students deploy distinctively and differentially in their everyday places. Barbara Comber (2013) for example suggests ways of viewing schools alternatively, as meeting places, sometimes for multiple communities, on a small but significant scale. This thinking offers new ways to invigorate the curriculum, engage students and also interrogate the powerful ways of knowing encoded in the focus on 'standards' and global benchmarking.

The methodological approach of engaging young people as linguistic ethnographers is informed by the shift from conducting research *about* children to engaging in research *with* children as co-researchers and informants, promoted by Interdisciplinary childhood studies (Bucknall 2012; Cheshire, and Edwards 1991; Christensen and James 2008). This approach positions students as co-researchers, as "knowledge producers rather than knowledge consumers" and engages them in tasks framed as research (Bucholtz et al. 2014). Early research by Cheshire and Edwards (1991) engaged children in "acting on their own account as sociolinguistics researchers" exploring their own personal response to "linguistic diversity and researching linguistic variations in their own community" (p. 241). This methodological approach privileges students as experts with real insights into their use of language in relation to their various cultures and local contexts. Tasks are facilitated that employ students as active, effective participants in data collection and data generation (Robertson and Bloome 1997). Developing students' understanding and knowledge of linguistic and dialectical variations is central to this collaborative research approach. Pedagogical development and reform are common aims that underpin research in this area.

As linguistic ethnographers, young people in this study had the opportunity to reveal to themselves and their teachers what they knew and could do with language and literacies in their everyday worlds. They examined emergent identities and textual practices in the multiplicity of spaces and temporalities (Leander et al. 2010)

in which they engaged everyday. The inquiry process employed creative visual and multimodal methods, that included but was not limited, to interviewing, audio and video recording, roleplaying and visual, mapping. Applying critical, sociocultural and sociolinguistic analysis to their everyday practices enhanced linguistic capabilities, engaging students in exploring and understanding how language worked to meet their social needs. It also offered educators the opportunity to reshape the educational landscape of language learning by employing engaging methodologies that served to disclose knowledge, skills and understandings that could not be revealed in state and national benchmark assessments. This methodology offered new insights and precise ways of addressing the complexity of students' linguistic and cultural practices and repertoires in a variety of contexts, and at their various junctures. Super-diversity was salient when young people explored their own and each other's everyday practices and experiences, it offered them a wider and more interesting lens through which to view language and learning.

Study Context

Super-diversity is on display in Australian classrooms, sites that encompass diverse language use and consist of speakers of many different languages and versions of English. Australia's cultural and linguistic diversity is embedded in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies and enhanced by the arrival of people from over 100 countries from around the world. In 2011, Australian Census data reported that 23.2 % of people nationally and 40.1 % of people in the state of New South Wales (NSW), where this research was conducted speak a language other than English at home. Data is drawn from the study of five Australian classrooms in four state funded public schools in Western Sydney, a dynamic and significant urban conurbation that exhibits many of the characteristics of the latest phase of globalisation in education.

A 'funds of knowledge' approach (Moll et al. 1992) where peoples' historically accumulated and culturally developed knowledge and skills are used as resources to be acknowledged and harnessed for classroom teaching also informs the research presented in this chapter. In taking up this approach, teaching and learning are positioned as the locus of knowledge production, as young peoples' local and global language and literacy practices, experiences and knowledge became the object of study. The classrooms spaces discussed here became places of shared inquiry for all participants. As active linguistic ethnographers these young people reflected on their literate traditions, orientations and translingual knowledges in alternative ways, while working towards meeting English curriculum demands.

This government education funded project (D'warte 2014) combined a multi-phased ethnography with a form of 'design research' (Brown 1992). This study took place in Sydney, Australia, in a school region characterized by high cultural diversity including the highest population of incoming migrants and the largest concentration of Aboriginal people in Australia. The participating public schools included

a primary and a high school situated in both a mid-range socioeconomic status community and a low socioeconomic status community. School and teacher participation was voluntary and included five classroom teachers and four English as an Additional Language Teachers (EAL), and 105 students from one grade 5/6 class, two grade 6 classes, one grade 7 and one grade 8 class. English Only speakers and those from Language Backgrounds other than English (LBOTE) and students who spoke one or more languages other than English were represented in these five classrooms. Approximately half of the students were classified as English as Additional Language (EAL) Learners.

This project began with researcher and students in focus group interviews of four to six. These young people talked about the languages they spoke and those they were learning, either formally or informally, they shared the multimodal language and literacy practices they engaged in (i.e., how and when, and with whom, and in what languages they were reading, writing, talking, listening, and viewing everyday). At the conclusion of these interviews, data was collated and teachers shared quantitative and qualitative data sets with their students. Students and teachers applied a critical analysis to this data by brainstorming, observing, roleplaying, designing graphic representations and comparing and contrasting to analyse everyday encounters at the social, cultural, textural and word level.

Super-diversity and the implications for language learning in the classroom are viewed through an ethnographic lens. Two methodological propositions offered by Blommaert & Rampton frame the research presented here, 'the contexts of communications should be investigated rather than assumed' and 'analysis of the internal organization of semiotic data is essential to understanding significance and position…' (2011, p. 10).

Investigating Communications

Investigating students' everyday practices began with an exploration of the language or languages spoken in students' everyday lives. The languages named by these young people appear below. Traditional notions of 'competence' and corresponding assumptions about ability were not discussed. Ongoing discussions revealed a wide variety of skills and understandings (Fig. 2.1).

The following discussion is not centred on a socio-linguistic analysis of language and speakers, but on the variable, individual and collective resources and repertoires identified by the young people in this study. Super-diversity is clearly on view in this data, 105 young people speaking 31 different languages and dialects other than English. In these classrooms, language and literacy shifted across and around practices, communities, and countries. Teachers presented individual class data to students and asked them to consider what the data revealed about their class, what surprised or interested them and what may have been missed in relation to their practices and experiences. Interestingly, as students considered their collective data they volunteered additional information not offered in initial interviews, resulting in an ongoing expansion of the initial data set.

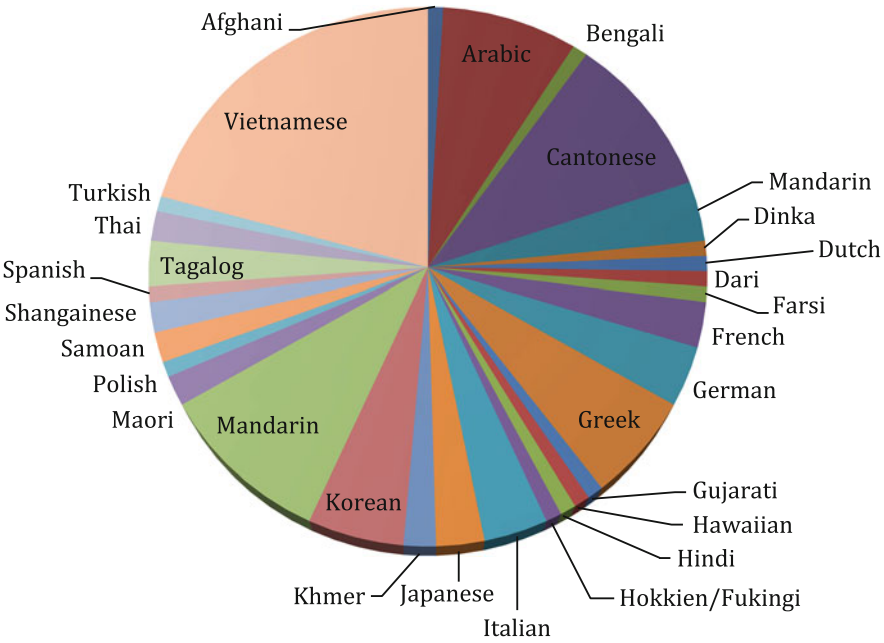

Fig. 2.1 Languages and dialects spoken as identified by students across the five classrooms

Super-diversity comes into sharp focus in the linguistic and cultural diversity that comprised these school communities. Teachers and students alike were amazed at the range and frequency of languages spoken in their classrooms. As students reviewed their data they discussed the origins of some languages and they spoke in their identified languages. Hearing them use these languages lead to discussions about phonological similarities between languages. Local experiences of using home languages with friends and family, at community events, and celebrations were common. Global experiences of skyping with family, participating virtually in events and celebrations, and viewing live celebrations and festivals in other places and countries were also common practices.

As illustrated in corresponding scholarship about Super-diversity and language (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert and Rampton 2011), young peoples' practices and experiences although similar, also differed widely. This was due in part to an individual's transnational circumstances, identity affiliations, purposes and relationships. A Dari speaker only engaged in online communication in Farsi, Japanese was the language learned by an English only speaker who wanted to improve communication with an online friend, and for another learning Japanese would improve their understanding of manga. Maori was the language of the sports field for some Samoan students, others used specific languages to talk with family members, Bengali with Dad, Hindi with Mum, and for others Arabic was the language spoken at community events, during online gaming with cousins, and in the playground. A number of young people who were predominately English speakers were learning a language other than English from family members – particularly from grandparents.

Many students learned a variety of languages in community run out-of-school programs on weekends or after school.

Discussions also included the practice of language brokering and translation. Translation experiences varied considerably, many multilingual students were engaged in language brokering and translating with a wide variety of texts and people across diverse settings. As supported by other research on translation (Orellana 2009), many young people from families who were newer immigrants to Australia were frequent translators. Students translated in banks, government and doctors' offices, at the airport and over the phone. Students also talked about translating letters, news programs and video. Most common was translating for grandparents as expressed by Alice (all student names are pseudonyms): *I translate for my grandma because she's at my house most of the time because she lives near us. When letters come to her house she brings them and I translate. And when people come to the house, like for mail, I translate.* Here students' language resources and repertoires supported family livelihood, well-being, and access to social services.

Super-diverse linguistic and cultural capabilities were unlocked as these young people shared their complex practices. These experiences and practices encompassed a textured linguistic dexterity, and the flexible crossing of registers and codes deployed strategically for different relationships, contexts and purposes. Common was the view that speaking a home language with friends and family was crucially important. For some of these young people the worlds of home and school were easily navigated and caused little conflict. A discussion about the dominance of English and why this mattered for individuals, communities and countries led these young people and their teachers to consider the broader social relations of power and inequality in relation to language use at the local and global level.

Further collaborative discussions and teacher generated lessons, helped to reveal students' wide-ranging online activity in multiple languages. Students were communicating or endeavouring to make meaning in multiple languages and in various combinations of oral, written and pictorial modes in diverse settings. Super-diversity invites us to consider the increasing interconnected world and therefore we must consider the impact on linguistic communication. Young peoples' access to a range of multiple networks of information required them to speak and listen, read, write and view across a wide variety of symbol systems (Gee 2004; Thorne and Black 2007). Table 2.1 contains a compilation of students' self-identified multimodal language and literacy practices and experiences.

The linguistic and discursive practices of these young people were complex and were used to create and negotiate the spaces of their everyday lives. The widespread multimodal, multilingual practices of students and the extent and complexity of the experiences in which they engaged, were greatly underestimated by teachers. This data supports the knowledge uncovered by additional research on Super-diversity and language among young people (Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Pennycook 2010). These young people also engaged in practices and activities that enabled them to establish and maintain linguistic and cultural belonging and they continued to express how important this was in their everyday lives.

Table 2.1 Multimodal language and literacy practices and experiences

Multilingual, multimodal practices as identified by students	Times mentioned
Translating (conversations for family members and friends, at government offices, during medical appointments, at school, over the phone, at the front door of the house)	68
Text: email, forms, labels, letters, bills, mail, school notes	
Listening to multilingual music (e.g., Arabic, Bengali, Brazilian, French, Italian, Japanese, Kenyan, Korean, Turkish, etc.)	31
Engaging in multilingual online chat, Facebook, gaming, messaging (Arabic, Farsi, Gujarati, French, Japanese, Maori, Spanish, etc.)	26
Multilingual reading (books, comics, menus, music, newspapers, religious texts, labels, and letters both formal and informal.)	29
Multilingual Skyping (Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, German, Kenyan, Khmer, Korean, Maori, Spanish, Vietnamese, etc.)	26
Watching multilingual TV programs and movies (Arabic, Cantonese, Hindi, Japanese, Korean, Sudanese, and Tagalog etc.)	34
Mixing languages (code-switching) with grandparents, friends, family, during sport, religious functions and festivals	26
iTouch language app, Google translator, use of fonts other than English (German, Hawaiian, Spanish, Arabic, French)	14
Watching foreign news (Arabic, Vietnamese)	6

Understanding Significance in the Classroom Context

As linguistic ethnographers students investigated and analysed their practices. Teacher learning was not restricted to learning with and about their students, but also offered another way for students and teachers to learn about the school community. With teacher guidance, students' considered not just linguistic conventions and structures but also other semiotic resources used in the process of communication and interpretation, whether face to face or technologically mediated. They came to see how styles, registers and codes were related to specific activities and social relationships. To see as Blommaert and Rampton suggest, how "gestures, postures, faces, bodies, movements, physical arrangements and material environments" (2011, p. 6) shaped what they produced and how they understood. The nuanced and complex metalinguistic skills deployed by students in their everyday worlds were revealed for teachers, these were abilities and practices their teachers had little knowledge of.

Both teachers and students began to study the ways they crossed registers and codes with flexibility, deploying them strategically for different relationships, contexts, and purposes. As discussed above new understandings about the range and variety of students' translating/language brokering experiences were revealed. Teachers and students discussed the ease or difficulty of translating, sometimes expressed by students as being enjoyable and at other times difficult and a bother. Students role-played translating experiences and then videotaped and analysed these practices. Register dimensions focused these class discussions as students

attention was placed on the following questions: Did place influence the communication between people and if so how? Did the topic influence the type of language used and how someone acted, and did relationships between people influence language and interaction?

Analysis focused on word and text level choices, signs, symbols and images in a variety of contexts, such as shopping in the local community, translating news reports, participating in community events and online celebrations. They examined how feelings and emotions could be expressed through music, imagery and film. Students analysed text messaging (SMS) across languages, the use of slang and colloquial terms, and the effectiveness of using Google translator functions. They detailed how audio-visual environments changed meaning making, how if at all, sounds and pronunciation were altered in online environments, and how particular semiotic resources signalled respect or belonging. Students applied these understandings to upcoming English tasks and assignments that required them to inform, create or persuade.

Students with a limited understanding of their home language expressed feelings of sadness and disappointment at not being able to speak with grandparents and family members Kai offered: *I can't really talk to my mum her English and my Samoan are both bad*. Many students purported that parents and older siblings encouraged them to speak in their home language. The most common sentiment is expressed by Ali's comment: *It's hard; it's not easy speaking different languages because you forget your English sometimes. It (this project work) helped me teach people about my language. It is important because people can know you better.* Teachers came to see the importance of acknowledging and building on the linguistic repertoires, understandings and experiences of students. An increased awareness of how languages were used and valued in their classrooms and in the wider society focused many discussions. Jade offered, *my dad says it* (speaking an additional language) *benefits you [to] talk to people and understand them, it's important*, and another: Mia suggested: *Speaking our language helps us learn our culture, but sometimes people do not like it when we speak our language.*

Skyping with family often on a weekly basis and regularly chatting with cousins about lives and interests were common practices. A commonly held view was talking in home languages with family members and grandparents in different countries, helped maintain relationships and developed home language skills. Students commonly saw this as enabling them to take part in the cultural life of their parent's country of origin something they felt made their parents very happy. Language resources and linguistic repertoires were tied to everyday social networking among immediate groups, but also with national and global others. Students' interests were also tied to new language(s) for example, in the case of music, texting, gaming and reading.

Most surprising was the interest in and exploration of multiple languages for all these young people, they were working at make meaning in a multiplicity of modes and spaces, often using languages that they had little knowledge. Some students were experimenting with Japanese and Korean for e.g., because of their interest in anime, manga, and music forms, others watched movies with grandparents often to learn language but also, to learn more about their grandparents country of origin. They

were also interested in cultural practices across countries for example, martial arts in Hong Kong, wrestling in Mexico, and the musical genre of Bhangra from India and the United Kingdom. Others expressed interest in learning French and Vietnamese for example, because of past or future travel; they expressed interests in learning languages because of friendships made locally and in online environments.

Analytical skills were applied to effective multilingual communication strategies and correspondingly, students' sociocultural competence. A critical examination of semiotic choices, how practices changed for different audiences and purposes and were appropriate or inappropriate for particular social purposes, cultural practices and genres were linked to English study. Teachers applied students' nuanced examination and developing understanding to the English language and literacy demands of cross curriculum learning and to meeting English curriculum benchmarks, such as writing persuasive essays and arguments. Linguistic ethnographic methods enabled students to document and examine their language resources, normalising multilingualism in these classrooms and putting Super-diversity on display. Students and teachers learned from each other within classrooms focused on shared inquiry, this influenced students' collective identity, and facilitated rich discussion with parents as reported by teachers and students, the value, complexity and power of everyday language practices were realized for these school communities.

Super-Diversity and Classroom Learning

Super-diversity calls for us to rethink assumed relations between ethnicity, citizenship identity and language. Current features and characteristics of modern cities across the world disrupt older classification of migration and diversity and defy clear categories. Through this frame, we are compelled to consider how the linguistic resources and repertoires of young people are now constituted in super-diverse societies and by extension, contemporary classrooms. In this study, engaging students as linguistic ethnographers of their own language practices and experiences offered a lens through which to consider how, and in what ways, school learning could better accommodate the changes to language and learning created by the current state of globalisation. These linguistic ethnographies began to reveal how language was practised in the thick of the social and cultural lives of these students. These uncovered linguistic repertoires were used as resources, acknowledged and harnessed for classroom teaching and learning; students played an agentive role in this process.

As the research project began, teachers purported that their students used a range of languages at home with family members and in the wider community. They reported an awareness of students' widespread engagement with technology, and suggested this involved for the most part, participation in online gaming and social networking. All teachers' expressed the view that being multilingual assisted students' meaning making, enhanced intercultural understanding and supported students in sustaining relationships. They suggested proficiency levels mattered in how well this could be harnessed for in school learning. Teachers could not clearly

articulate connections between everyday multimodal practices and in-school learning, they did not see their students' everyday practices as naturally academically rigorous, but were interested in exploring these connections further with their students.

At the conclusion of this research project, teachers expressed the view that they had greatly underestimated the widespread multimodal, multilingual practices of their students and the extent and complexity of the experiences in which they engaged. This linguistic ethnographic work revealed that students' linguistic resources and repertoires were variable and sometimes fragmented, however, students' views about the relationship between home and school practices were in sharp focus. Despite their linguistic capabilities and experiences students' viewed home and school as very separate places and saw little if any connection between the way they used language and literacies at home and in school.

Teachers came to the realization that students were not starting with their foundational understandings – that is, what they knew and could do every day. Two student's comments reinforce this view: *I sometimes think of it as two worlds – my school world and home world. Speaking your language, you get to explain your personality*. The restrictions placed on students in their English only classrooms were clearly manifested in their inability to see any clear relationship between their everyday practices and in school learning. We know that children from bilingual or multilingual homes possess a linguistic repertoire that can be a resource for literacies and for enhanced educational practice that takes into account multiple modes of expression (Rennie 2009), code switching and switching between languages (Martinez 2010) and linguistic invention (Cole 2011).

Comparative analysis of students' entry and exit data revealed a considerable change in students' views about multiple language use. Entry data revealed little acknowledgment or recognition that using two or more languages was a valuable ability, not something to be shared or acknowledged in school, or something that required considerable linguistic skill or enhanced their in school learning. Initial analysis revealed students were unaware of the creative and complex ways they used multiple languages across multimodal contexts. Not surprisingly, students considered what they did with language outside of school as something they did as a matter of course, a practice used for a real purpose in their everyday worlds. Exit data revealed some significant changes in students' views as expressed by the comments of two students: *I'm proud of myself, I learnt that it's (speaking another language) a gift; I told my mum I am clever using two languages.*

Conclusion

Evidence from this Australian study supports Vertovec's (2007) British findings, of sustained and commonplace communication, among migrants' homelands, and wider diasporas. The linguistic ethnographies of the young people in this Australian study suggested that identities, activities and connections were linking many migrant families with communities outside of their own. Translingual

communications (Canagarajah 2011) were also evident as participants shared their multilingual, multimodal skills, experiences and practices. Many students' practices and experiences were not connected to family events and activities but to their own interest and inquiry.

The young people in this study began to use their resources and repertoires of linguistic practice as a tool for thinking and acting in their study of English Language Arts. They showed the value of their everyday practices in all kinds of places, and it is important to consider how we can continue to draw on them to listen, learn, think and make meaning, and build on them to develop academic competencies in classrooms. The collective knowledge of the everyday moved students towards developing deeper understandings of academic literacy, and connections were made to the ways they shifted registers and codes with flexibility. As linguistic ethnographers student were active, agentive participants, learning went beyond pride in their ability, toward a classroom space where critical language awareness began to develop.

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Chapter 3
Growing Up Bilingual and Negotiating Identity in Globalised and Multicultural Australia

Criss Jones Díaz

Abstract Children's experiences of using language impacts on their bi/multilingual identity and this has important implications for their capacity to become proficient in their home language/s. This chapter analyses findings from research investigating children's and families' multiple constructions of identity in speaking Spanish and English. This work demonstrates the links between children's bi/multilingual identity and language use in everyday life. By drawing on concepts of hybridity, diaspora and Bhabha's (1998) third space, issues of language are problematised and linked to constructions of bi/multilingual identity in a globalised world characterised by superdiversity.

Keywords Multiple hybrid identities • Hybrid cultural and literacy practices • Diaspora • Transmigration and mobility

Introduction

As a result of Australia's diverse population, there are many children growing up in bilingual or multilingual families and communities. In the 2011 census 19 % of Australians spoke more than one language at home (ABS 2012). Growing up bilingual brings about multiple experiences of social and cultural identity mediated by language and superdiversity. In the Australian context of urbanised, multicultural communities, this has profound implications on children's attitudes towards their home language/s and identity. Language retention and language loss have had a major impact on the construction of bilingual children's identities, and sense of 'self' which are often located in social power relations.

Children's emerging understandings of power are often constituted in social relations between the speakers of different languages. This has an important connection

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to their everyday realities of being bilingual. Power relations experienced in the everyday practices through which languages and literacies are used have a direct impact on the extent to which minority languages are transmitted to and maintained in subsequent generations (May 2012; Skutnabb-Kangas 2012).

The power relations between speakers of different languages living in a dominantly English-speaking society such as Australia will have a major impact on bilingual families' capacity to transmit their home language/s to their children. Previous research has shown that families that value the maintenance of their home language as a vehicle to affirm shifting cultural identities often grapple with issues of language choice and code switching with their children on a daily basis. They also deal with the complexities of identity formation, language use and their children's perceptions, attitudes and dispositions towards use of the home language (Jones Diaz and Harvey 2007).

Globalization and Superdiversity

Globalisation is the construction of world systems that merge finance, trade, media and communication technologies and involves the interconnection of linguistic, cultural and social ideologies across multiple sites of economic, cultural, social and political fields. This is characterised by transmigration, rapid change, free markets, technological advances, tourism, changes in political landscapes and ecological consequences, global restructuring and capitalism at global levels (Marginson 1999; Martens and Raza 2010). Furthermore, the power relations that exist between nation-states in the world are directly linked to modes of production, trade, commerce and media that operate at global levels.

Subsequently, the globalization of economies and intensification of migration brings into contact a mixture of languages, cultures and identities to an unprecedented degree (Romaine 2011). There is growing awareness that within the last two decades, globalization has significantly altered the varieties of social, cultural and linguistic diversity from the multiculturalism of the early 1990s to be replaced with what Vertovec (2007) calls superdiversity. Vertovec's notion of superdiversity goes beyond understanding diversity in terms of ethnicity, but rather it encompasses the intersection of ethnicity and migration with other variables such as differentials in immigration status, restrictions of rights, globally divergent labour markets influenced by interplays of gender, age, religious traditions, regional and local cultural values and practices (Vertovec 2007).

The combination of globalization and superdiversity has culminated in the existence of superdiverse and post multicultural societies (Vertovec 2010); where there is a mixing of cultural, linguistic and social groups with multiple identity locations, contradictory social, cultural, religious and political allegiances and linguistic and cultural capabilities. Jøgensen and Juffermans (2011) note that the concept of superdiversity requires us to think beyond the taken for granted assumptions about the relationships between ethnic groups, origin, residency, citizenship, legal status, reli-

gion and language to reinvent theoretical toolkits to better understand phenomena of language and communication.

Superdiversity, Globalising English and its Impact on Other Languages

Globalisation is a social, economic and cultural reality in which English plays a fundamental role. Everyday lived experiences are continuously marked by the impact of increasingly competitive modes of production and communication technologies which are increasingly transmitted in English. Yet, in the 'multilingual repertoires' (Blommaert 2010, p. 8) reflected in the diverse life-trajectories of both migrant and culturally and linguistically diverse communities, there is strong evidence of thriving hybrid language practices operating in economic, social and cultural domains. Still, the power of English remains and its dominance over other languages continues to grow. As a result of superdiversity and globalisation, particularly in relation to the fluidity of global labour markets, English is the second most widely spoken language of the world's population, with more speakers of English as a second language than there are first language English speakers (Blommaert 2010; Romaine 2006).

While the rapid spread of English as a world language and increased 'multilingual repertoires' co-exist in superdiversity, questions of identity, cultural and linguistic distinctiveness are major issues for both linguistic majorities and minorities (Blommaert 2010; May 2012). Equally, for bilingual children and their families, these issues are pertinent as there are pressures from negative community attitudes, teachers and other professionals for families to abandon their home language in preference to speaking English with their children. Bilingual families may indeed consider that the home language is an impediment to their children's ability to access cultural and economic opportunities, and to assimilate into hegemonic globalised and competitive educational contexts (Jones Díaz 2014; Schwartz 2010). There is also evidence to suggest that in educational settings bilingual families are silenced in their ability to raise concerns and issues regarding their children's bilingual trajectory (Jones Díaz 2015; Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida 2006).

Questions of Identity in the Language Learning Process

In superdiverse societies such as Australia, it has become increasingly important to not only acknowledge the ethnolinguistic experiences and practices of adults and children (Poyatos Matas and Cuatro Nochez 2011), but to also understand that within these experiences questions of language and identity become increasingly significant. In the last twentieth and twenty-first Century, identity matters more than ever in today's globalizing world. Romaine (2011) argues that:

> '[t]he recent upsurge in migration and transnational diasporic populations has brought about increasing linguistic and cultural diversity to much of the globe, along with new challenges to traditional linkages between languages and identities' (p. 8).

For bi/multilingual children, languages learning and use are part of the process of growing up. As the majority of the world's population is indeed bi/multilingual (Romaine 2011); issues of languages, identities and cultural practices are of paramount importance, particularly in relation to the bi/multilingual families and the educators who work with their children. The findings reported in this chapter seek to examine these critical issues in order to inform understandings of how bilingual children and their families negotiate transformative and often contested identities in superdiverse and global societies.

Research that acknowledges the socio-critical intersections of identity and language is inclusive of how 'race', ethnicity, gender and class shape the construction of bilingual identities within the language learning process (Martin-Jones and Heller 1996; Norton 2010). These researchers highlight the importance of the broader socio-political forces that impact on identity which also advance alternative perspectives on languages learning to effectively highlight the diverse lived experiences of bi/multilingual children and adults as they negotiate the use of more than one language across multiple social fields, linguistic interactions and cultural practices.

In Canada and the United Kingdom, research investigating language and inequality has found that multilingual educational practices and discourses are shaped by and constituted in the legitimisation of power relations among cultural groups (Martin 2003; Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida 2006). These studies found that language practices are constructed in the pedagogical discourses which are legitimised through curriculum, pedagogy and policy. They also reveal that children and adults unwittingly contribute to the reproduction of hegemonic relations through bi/multilingual or monolingual discursive practices.

In Australia, research adopting a critical stance towards languages education and bi/multilingual children's experiences of negotiating identity in a minority language/s is yet to fully emerge (Jones Díaz 2011). Indeed, this is of crucial relevance to bilingual children from Indigenous and community language backgrounds. Therefore, ways in which equity and power relations are contested in educational and community settings require further investigation. For many bi/multilingual children, the language and literacy experiences they encounter in family and community settings represent multiple languages, literacies and cultural practices (Jones Díaz 2014). These experiences have major influences on their location in normative discourses associated with language, gender, sexuality, 'race', class, ethnicity, disability and religion.

Globalising English and English-Only Education

As a consequence of the predominance of global English, English-only policies in education have emerged in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand (Crystal 2003; Macedo 2000). Findings from recent international studies highlight children's experiences of hegemonic English-only

education. These studies adopt a socio-critical approach to enquiry in order to document the effect of the trend towards English-only politics, policies and practices in educational and community settings (see, for example, Gutiérrez et al. 2000; Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida 2006). International research clearly documents, how English-only prior-to-school and school settings influence children's capacity to become proficient in their home language in which young children's identity construction is continuously changing and renegotiated (Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida 2006).

Yet, in Australia, studies specifically investigating the impact of globalizing English on children's capacity to grow up speaking their home language/s remain scant. The impact of superdiversity has not been well documented, particularly in relation to how young children experience languages learning. Such scarcity of research particularly in early childhood education and within fields of education and linguistics has resulted in a number of silences about children growing up with two or more languages whilst attending monolingual early childhood and primary settings (Jones Díaz 2015; Jones Diaz and Harvey 2007). Hence, the study that follows is concerned with breaking such silences in reporting on the views and perspectives of children and their families in the retention of Spanish.

Since the full impact of dominant English-speaking environments on young bilingual children's bilingual trajectory remains relatively understudied, one can only assume that in bilingual communities, the processes of language shift may parallel the processes of linguistic and cultural assimilation. Indeed, throughout much of the English-speaking world and Europe the standard practice in education is to ignore children's home languages or immigrant languages and singularly focus on the national language (Corson 2001; Goglin 2011).

Languages, Power and Equity in Education

Studies conducted in the UK and Canada that have examined issues of power, equity bi/multilingualism and identity in education (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Martin 2003; Martin-Jones and Saxena 2001; Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida 2006); point to the legitimization of power relations among cultural and language groups occurring in language practices in multilingual and superdiverse settings. Discourses informed through processes of legitimization are most often found in the pedagogies of education, including early childhood education. For example, Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) point to the significance of linguistic difference in education, which they argue is a matter of symbolic domination. They focus on the concept of legitimate language and language inequality to draw attention to ways some languages and language practices are privileged and normalised and oriented towards broader social, economic and political interests in society. In contrast, other languages including minority and Indigenous languages are rendered less important and marginal. Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida's (2006) study reveals that dominant monolingual discourses shape parental and institutional language

practices and responsibilities. Their study highlights various discourses that implicitly privileged monolingualism in early childhood pedagogical practices.

There have been studies that critically investigate children's views and experiences from Latin American backgrounds of growing up bilingual and biliterate in contexts of superdiversity (see, Cole 2012; Jones Díaz 2007). This chapter articulates the intersections between language retention and identity construction in bilingual children. The findings demonstrate how children's and families' perspectives of their constructions of identity influence their use of Spanish and English. The analysis highlights ways in which children's bilingual identity is negotiated, contested and transformed in contexts of their cultural history, 'racial' difference, and marginalisation.

Negotiating Hybrid Identities and the Third Space in the Latin American Australian Diaspora

Diaspora and hybridity are two key concepts important to understanding how the negotiation of identity is important to language retention and growing up bilingual within the hybridised spaces mediated by language, 'race', ethnicity, gender and class. These terms describe the contemporary cultural reality or mixed cultural and 'racial' identities shared by many of the participants in this study from Latin American backgrounds. Hall (1994) proposes that hybridity and diaspora encapsulate the recognition that diasporic identities are 'those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference' (p. 402). He argues that diasporic communities are continuously shadowed by questions of difference where thinking and acting with difference rather than against it are fundamentally important (Hall 2012). Hence, within contexts of superdiversity, growing up bi/multilingual in Australia may offer new potentialities of identity negotiation, affirmation and connection to multiple ways of belonging (or not) across diverse cultural, linguistic and social landscapes.

Cultural hybridity is the two-way borrowing and lending between cultures (Rosaldo 1995). It comes into existence at the moment of cultural, linguistic and social practice, where meaning is articulated both from within past and present cultural histories, languages and trajectories. For many Latin Americans living outside Latin America in superdiverse societies, identity transformation and difference are negotiated within contexts of cultural heterogeneity, experienced in daily life through the multiple contradictions, connections and possibilities derived from transversing across multiple cultures and language practices. Still, within the spaces of cultural heterogeneity and superdiversity, daily life is made up of constant forms of adaption and contradictions.

Bhabha (1994) builds on this notion of adaptation and transformation through his idea of a 'third space', which is created from difference and negotiated through social practices and discourses which intersect with gender, sexuality, class, 'race', language, ethnicity, family structure, lifestyle, disability and age. Bhabba (1998) argues that 'minorities or marginalised subjects have to construct their histories

from disjunct and fragmented archives and to constitute their subjectivities and collectivities through attenuated, dislocated and exclusionary practices' (p. 39).

The term diaspora denotes transnational migration movements linked to globalisation, entrenched in social conditions of superdiversity entailing a particular form of consciousness and sense of identity (Blommaert 2013; Vertovec and Cohen 1999). This kind of transmigration and mobility characterises contemporary Latin American diaspora to North America, Australia, New Zealand, Asia and Europe, where people not only move in search of work and increased life chances, but to escape from poverty, oppression and inequality.

Hence, hybridity and diaspora have a long trajectory in Latin American cultures (García Canclini 1995) where cultural and linguistic straddling affirms new and hybrid identities and cultural practices marked by 'race', language, gender and class. Forged in superdiversity and constituted through hybridisation, the 'third space' enables an identity location, through which other discursive realities emerge. Through the negotiation of two (or more) cultural and linguistic worlds, questions of identity reveal the limits of established fixed identity formation offering a way forward that encapsulates multiplicity and diversity, rather than singularity and homogeneity. Blommaert (2011) adds to this by arguing that mobility, mixing, politics and history are now central to the study of languages in which superdiversity intensifies the relevance to these ideas.

The Study

This study involved children and families from Spanish-speaking Latin American Australian backgrounds, living and attending educational and community settings in the inner-west, south-west and eastern suburbs of Sydney. Twenty-five children and 39 family members from different family structures, including extended, blended and inter-ethnic/interracial families participated in this study. The families who participated were from various income levels with most parents working in a range of skilled and non-skilled occupations. In addition, 34 practitioners working in prior-to-school and school settings in inner-west, south-west and eastern suburbs of Sydney participated. For the purposes of this analysis, the data examined represent a smaller sample of children and parents.[1] Specifically there are six adults, Raul, Carol, Alicia, Marsella, Camilla and Clarissa and four children, Barbi (daughter of Carol), Marianna (daughter of Camilla), Julia and Emilia.[2]

[1] In order to protect the identity of the participants, the names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.

[2] The parents of Julia and Emilia were not interviewed in the larger study. Issues of identity and language raised by the children of Raul, Alicia and Marsella were not included in this as issues raised by them did not fit the themes investigated in this chapter. Clarissa's children were not interviewed in the broader study.

The study incorporated quasi-ethnographic, case study and interpretative approaches using questionnaires, informal interviews, participant observations, field notes, children's work and the collection of documentation (Denzin and Lincoln 2013).[3] The investigation involved the documentation and analysis of young children's bilingual experiences using Spanish and English in a range of social fields, such as family life, educational and community settings. The children and their families were the focus of this study, and their views about negotiating languages, family perspectives and aspirations about living and working in superdiverse communities, formed the basis of the investigation.[4] Furthermore, the data analysis involved examination of the evidence to ascertain how power relations in educational and community settings shape and influence children's negotiation of identity and the retention of Spanish.

Data from the questionnaires and interviews have been analysed using thematic discourse analysis techniques encompassed within the overall theoretical frameworks pertaining to feminist, critical and cultural theories framed within poststructural concepts. However the data presented in this chapter is analysed from a cultural studies frame in which concepts of hybridity, diaspora and the 'third space' are used to examine how the children and adults negotiated their identities and languages as bilingual Latin American Australians. Therefore, the study is grounded in the accounts of the participants and the analysis was evidence driven and theoretically informed (Davis 1995; Patton 2002).

Furthermore, as an English/Spanish speaking Anglo Australian in an interracial bilingual family; my daily experiences of identity negotiation and transformation involve navigating the intersections of 'race', language, gender and class. This subjective location grounded much of the conversations between the participants and me and we were able to share common experiences and reflections. Moreover, as a researcher, this study highlights the significance of reflexivity in the research process as the interplay of my membership in the field in which I am researching is bounded by personal, professional and scholarly pursuits and complexities. Hence, this study recognises that in the process of inquiry, the relationships between the researcher and the researched are mediated by the situational constraints that shape the investigation (Denzin and Lincoln 2013).

Findings and Discussion

The discussion that follows highlights three themes: children's and families multiple constructions of identity and speaking Spanish and English in the negotiation of the 'third space'; negotiating languages, difference and identity in the context of

[3] The data analysed in this chapter draws on the questionnaires and informal interviews only.

[4] Data relating to caregiver and teacher attitudes towards bilingualism and language retention were also analysed in the larger study. For the purposes of this chapter the discussion pertains only to some of the voices of the children and families in this study.

marginalisation and the ways in which hybridity and diaspora influence the transformation and shaping of identity and the negotiation of languages.

Children's and Families Multiple Constructions of Identity: Speaking Spanish and Negotiating the 'Third Space'

Many of the children in this study negotiated multiple identities in which they located their own subjectivities. When asked questions about their identity, children foregrounded their parents' national identities, while simultaneously locating themselves as Australians. This was particularly evident in the children from interracial and inter-ethnic families in which identity was mediated across cultural, linguistic and racial lines, "… paracido ellos saben que hay una cultura en el medio de mama y papa" [It appears that they know that there is a culture in between the mother and father] (Raul).

Below, Barbi (8 years old), and Marianna (5 years old), were close friends and also have in common Anglo-Australian fathers and Peruvian-born mothers. I asked them about their parents' nationalities[5]:

C	Cuando la gente {te} pregunta de dónde eres, where are you from (to M), where are you from (to B)?	C	When people ask you where are you from (to M), where are you from (to B). What do you say?
		B	I say Australia.
		C	Australia. What do you say (to M). 'I am …?'
		M	Australia.
		C	Australia. Oh okay. So, um what do you think about that? Being from Australia and speaking Spanish? Is that a good thing?
		B	Yeah, I was born in Australia, but my mummy was born in Peru.
		C	Um.
		B	So I speak Australian and Spanish

Marianna's declaration, "I say Australia" differed from Camilla (her mother's) expectations about her daughter's identity, "Entonces yo prefiero decir América Latina de Sur América …" [I would prefer her to say Latin American from South America…]. These differing locations in discourses of identity between the generations represent the significance of inter-generational points of difference, which are also mediated and negotiated through lived experiences of migration and growing up as children of immigrant parents. Below, Carol described the different ways her daughter (Barbi) identified with Peruvian culture:

[5] In this study, most of the interviews with both the children and adults were in Spanish. This was an important strategy that would encourage greater participation from them. However in many of the interviews with the children, their responses were in English. In this extract, the children respond to my question in English.

Por supuesto se considera Australiana pero se considera Peruana. Se identifica con el país, con los costumbres, con la música	Of course she considers herself Australian but she {also} considers herself Peruvian. She identifies with the country, the customs, with the music.

Carol perceived her daughter's identity as both Australian and Peruvian. However, in the extract above with Barbi and Marianna, Barbi conflated her own identity with her mother's birthplace, 'Yeah, I was born in Australia, but my mummy was born in Peru'. These differing points of identity location for Carol, Camilla, Barbi and Marianna reveal how the parents' perceptions of their children's identity claims included a strong allegiance to their own identity. Carol and Camilla wanted their children to have connections and allegiance to their own national identity.

The fluidity of identity location in the 'third space' defines an 'in-between' location which negotiates two competing discursive worlds. Grossberg (1997) argues that the 'third space' is marked by the notion of 'border crossing', which highlights an in-between-ness through which subjects transcend and transform their identities. For the children in this study, identity claims were located in discourses of belonging to both Latin American and Australian identity. This sense of belonging to a Latin American cultural group within an Australian context parallels Bhabha's (1994, 1998) notion of the 'third space' and Grossberg (1997) idea about border crossing in which the children are comfortable with more than one identity claim. For the children in this study, what it meant to be Latin American carried multiple meanings of identity. In the evidentiary extracts above, the multiple identity claims made by the parents and their children highlight the similarities and differences in their perspectives.

Even though there were points of difference between the children's and parents' constructions of their identities, parents were very positive about their children identifying as Australians while simultaneously promoting their own identities as part of their children's 'background' and cultural heritage.

Negotiating the 'Third Space'

Constituted in the moment of negotiating the 'third space' is the naming of one's identity/ies. For the children in this study whose parents were born overseas, the hyphenated identity highlighted the continual and multiple overlap from one identity to another. This emphasis on multiplicity was articulated by Alicia, as she provided her son with a framework for understanding his identity: "yo lo digo siempre Salvador tu eres Peruano Australiano" [I always say to Salvador you are Peruvian Australian]. The word order of the hyphenated identity signifies Alicia's construction of her son's hybrid identity, in which the word 'Peruvian' is preceded by the word 'Australian'. Alicia's comments 'I always say to Salvador you are Peruvian Australian' suggests a conscious strategy of foregrounding her son's background in order to anchor his negotiation in the 'third space' of a hybridised reality.

Meanwhile, Marsella's perceptions of her daughter's identity were carefully considered in relation to her own experiences. In the extract below, Marsella described her relationship to both Chile and Australia.[6]

Mira con la identidad me confundí mucho porque cuando fui a Chile no me sentí que era Chilena… no sé era como que no soy ni de aquí ni de allá. I feel kind of … estoy como en una combinación …Yo pienso que tres, Australiana, Chilena hasta latinoamericana de que me siento confortable a con que es la todo la combinación de como un little pigeon sort of thing	Look I was very confused about my identity when I went to Chilé. I didn't feel Chilean … I don't know why, but I don't feel that I am from here or there. I feel kind of … I am like a combination …I think three, Australian, Chilean and even Latin American. That's how I feel comfortable with this combination like a little pigeon sort of thing.

Hall (1996) argues that hybrid identities are often fragmented, fractured and constructed in different and competing discourses, practices and positions. This fragmentation is apparent within Marsella's location in two worlds in which there is ambivalence and a sense of uncertainty. However, she also articulates how the 'third space' locates her sense of 'self, 'I am like a combination'. Her metaphorical use of 'pigeon' appears to signify her multiple locations in the differing and often competing discourses of what it means to be Australian, Chilean and Latin American–like a bird picking from partial fragments of meanings and cultural practices that inform her identity. Further, her shift into English to articulate this metaphor highlights the straddling of linguistic hybridity within two worlds, languages and consciousnesses (Bakhtin 1981).

Identity and Difference: Negotiating Languages, Difference and Marginalization

The second theme that emerged in this research suggests that for both the children and parents in this study, issues of difference and marginalization influenced identity and languages negotiation. For Marsella, her experiences of identity were in contrast to how she perceived her daughter's hybridised identity. According to Marsella her daughter was comfortable negotiating two worlds: "… [e]ntonces ella se siente de los dos …"[So she belongs to both]. In contrast, in the extract below, Marsella highlights the differences between her and her daughter's hybrid locations, in which she articulates her experiences of racism to emphasise the different points of identity work and negotiation between herself and her daughter.

Yo porque quizás vine de a different background pero ella nació acá entonces como que hay cosas que ella no capta por ser como niña nunca yo pienso {que} no ha sentido racism while I have. Entonces cosas that I'm conscious about and she's not.	Because I have a different experience because she grew up here so there are things that she doesn't get because she is a child and I know that she has never experienced racism while I have. So these are experiences that I am conscious about and she is not.

[6] In this extract, Marsella, uses both Spanish and English to describe her experiences of racism.

Children's Negotiation of Racism and Languages Differences

For some of the interracial children, and children whose visible difference positioned them in racialising discourses, their experiences of negotiating racism and languages differences in their daily lives implicated their subjectivities through which they experienced their identity. The analysis that follows describes Julia and Emilia's experiences of their daily negotiation of 'race', difference and language. These experiences provided them with various meanings about themselves and those around them that are shaped through their difference.

Julia and Emilia: Speaking Back in Cantonese

Julia (11 years old) and Emilia (9 years old) are sisters and speak Cantonese at home. They had been in Australia for less than 12 months after living most of their lives in Venezuela where they learnt Spanish at school and spoke Cantonese at home. Below, Julia talked about being teased in Venezuela for speaking Cantonese at school:

> No one ever would ever believe us … you know in Venezuela {at} school there {were} a lot of kids {that would} tease us 'Chinese girl, 'Chinese girl' and we would always say back in Cantonese 'shut up', 'shut up' and I said 'Can't you ever be quiet' in Cantonese … you know in Cantonese shut up means Saosang …

Racialising slurs and harassment marked the girls' schooling experiences in Venezuela. Julia's account of the teasing that they endured is an illustration of how children whose 'difference' is marked either through language or physical features confront racism from other children. It appears that for these girls the harassment and racialisation from other girls was an ongoing experience, one, they found difficult to challenge, "No one ever would ever believe us". Yet despite their seemingly powerless position with the other girls, they skilfully turned the teasing around, using their Cantonese to reposition the perpetrators by speaking back to them in that language, "Can't you ever be quiet". In this instance, speaking back in Cantonese, 'Saosang' [shut up], was effective in dealing with the other children's comments.

Martin (2003) found similar findings in her study of Panjabi/English bilingual children. Her study revealed that the girls in her study code-switched from English to Panjabi as a means of attracting attention. For example, one of the girls, Talwant commented, "It just comes out. And because no one actually listens to 'shut up' no one actually does listen to that so if you say it in a different language it actually attracts attention" (p. 247). The girls' use of Panjabi in this instance was a way of appropriating authority in the classroom in the absence of the teacher. In this study, Julia's use of Cantonese 'Saosang' was similar to Martín's finding. In both instances, the use of Panjabi and Cantonese primarily served to gain some social control in a classroom situation as the girls' effectively make use of their superdiverse linguistic and cultural capabilities to challenge racism.

The Influence of Hybridity and Diaspora in Transforming and Shaping Identity in Negotiating Languages

Parents and children in this study expressed notions of belonging to a cultural minority in which shared cultural and language practices were pertinent. This also constructed multiple hybridised and diasporic identities where transformation and reproduction of identity is produced strategically through the lived experiences of cultural and linguistic differences.

Below, Clarissa reflected on how her allegiance with the Latin American Australian community was transformative:

> By being married to a South American meant that I had to take it all on and … and entering into the community as a performer in the music and everything and dance meant that I took it on even more … I have been Latinised … in many ways and that started by learning the language …

Clarissa's association with the Latin American Australian community was not just through her relationship with her ex-partner. As a singer in a Latin band her proficiency in the language and knowledge of cultural practices further provided her with a location in the community: "… entering into the community as a performer in the music and everything and dance meant that I took it on even more …". It appears that her sense of 'self' was attained through her involvement in the language and music, which she believed shaped her identity as a Latinised Anglo-Australian from a Jewish background.

For Clarissa, her Spanish proficiency often resulted in her experiences of identity being subject to change and transformation:

> So it is definitely the language {that} was the first point in changing a lot of what I am or not what I am or who I am, but what I appear, who I appear to be, because, um, I suppose I have {been} Latinised.

Clarissa revealed how language offered her a means of transforming her Anglo-ethnic identity, as her proficiency in this cultural code afforded her the means through which she initiated her transformation. In this process questions of identity arise from lived experiences in which the process of identification is never complete and constantly in the process of change and transformation (Hall 1996). Clarissa continued:

> Yeah and I suppose it's true, I mean because I'm not [from Ecuador]. I'm um, when I think of where abouts my grandmother came from, or where my, the people from that generation and my dad's family lived around, when he came to Australia but he always identified himself as Australian, and it's funny only now in the past few years I've had to identify myself as not just Australian you know, but Australian *but from these roots* because {Clarissa's emphasis} people have been asking about the language and the music and my *different looks* [Clarissa's emphasis].

Apart from her bilingualism, Clarissa's Anglo-ethnic identity has been transformed within recent years resulting in a renegotiated identity based on her own family's immigrant history and her daily experiences of music and language. In the

above evidentiary extract, it is apparent that Clarissa worked her identity in hybrid and multiple ways. She is not from a Latin American background, yet she called on her cultural resources of language and music as a tool to enable her to renegotiate her identity as Anglo-Australian from an immigrant Jewish background. Clarissa drew attention to her 'difference' through her emphasis on "…these roots" and "… different looks". As a result, it is through her 'difference', that her identity was constructed.

The adults and children in this study experienced their identity as shared, collective and allegiant yet simultaneously dynamic, transformative and situational, subject to negotiation and change. The findings revealed that processes of identification and becoming are never complete but changeable, multilayered and complex with a backdrop of multiple dimensions of superdiversity in which place, space and time shape this process.

Being born into a family in which more than one language is spoken is not just a question of cultural negotiation within the complexities of superdiversity and the global world. While cultural resources are important to identity location, this location is not necessarily bounded and fixed by culture alone. Rather, there is often contradiction and transformation constructed within superdiversity emphasising the changing and transformative processes of identity negotiation which involves the departure from a fixed essential identity, to fluid, seamless, often unstable but multiple identities (Hall 1996).

Conclusion

This study reports on key findings in relation to how bilingual children and families negotiate many constructions of identity in relation to speaking Spanish and English. For the participants in this study what it meant to be Latin American Australian carried multiple meanings and discursive practices intrinsically linked to the negotiation of languages. Specifically, three themes emerged to investigate how identities are shaped and mediated by broader social constructions of discourses, shared social practices, power, exclusion and difference.

The first theme drew on Hall's (1994, 1996) framework of identity to highlight concepts such as belonging, solidarity and collectivity. It illustrated the significance of language and cultural practices in the construction of shared identity with particular reference to ways in which the adults and children negotiated and constructed their identities from multiple and transformative positions. The data also illustrated Bhabha's (1994, 1998), 'third space' in which processes of identity formation are transformative, changeable and hybrid. This was evident in the children's and adult's negotiation of their multiple identities. Building on these understandings of identity, the second theme examined how exclusion and power was negotiated in the adults' and children's lives on a daily basis. This negotiation often positioned their subjectivities in ambiguous and arbitrary locations significantly impacting on their negotiation of languages in everyday life, in contexts of difference and marginaliza-

tion. The third theme examined the influence of hybridity and diaspora in the negotiation of languages, cultural practices and identity transformation in a globalised world, characterized by superdiversity in which global English dominates social institutions, cultural discourses and linguistic practices.

With increased globalisation, superdiversity has become a defining characteristic of urban post multicultural nation states. As discussed in this chapter, the mixing of cultural, linguistic and social groups with multiple identity positions, combined with contradictory social, cultural, religious and political affiliations and linguistic capabilities require us to make use of theoretical frameworks that provide critical understandings of the relationships between language and identity negotiation. Hall's (1994, 1996) and Bhabha's (1994, 1998) theorisations of identity transformation, highlights the important contribution of cultural studies in understandings of bi/multingual children's negotiation of languages and identities in superdiversity. The analysis highlights how understandings of identity are unacknowledged in shaping children's and families' negotiation of two or more languages post multicultural societies such as Australia where diaspora co-exists within spaces and places constituted by hybrid language, cultural and social practices.

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Chapter 4
Researching Literacy Development in the Globalised North: Studying Tri-lingual Children's English Writing in Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Sápmi

Eva Lindgren, Kirk P.H. Sullivan, Hanna Outakoski, and Asbjørg Westum

Abstract One impact of globalization is that English has achieved a natural place among the languages used by children in the Scandinavian Sápmi. The children speak or are learning North Sami, a national language (Finnish, Norwegian or Swedish) and English as compulsory subjects. This chapter draws on English data collected in a literacy research project involving almost 150 tri-lingual school-aged who wrote texts on laptops. The research explores children's writing in English in a cross-national context and how these texts evidence tri-lingual teenagers handling of the super dimensions and superdiversity of their context, and the ways super dimensions might be evidenced.

Keywords Spatial • Historic • Subjective • Political or policy-based (indigenous versus state) • Non-human, i.e. carried through electronic networks

Introduction

This chapter considers whether the English writing of tri-lingual teenagers in Sápmi[1] may provide insights into how these tri-lingual teenagers handle the super dimensions of the context in which they are growing up, and in what ways these dimensions might be evidenced in texts written in school settings. The chapter represents a first explorative, qualitative look for these traces.

[1] Sápmi is the notion used by the Sami people themselves of their ancestral land. Sápmi refers to the traditional settlement area of Sami people that runs across the Kola Peninsula in Russia to northern Finland and further to the mountain regions and coastal areas of Mid-Norway and Mid-Sweden (Gáldu – Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2003–).

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One impact of globalization is that English[2] has achieved a natural place among the languages that school children in Scandinavia use and encounter both in school, where English is a compulsory core school subject, and in their free time. The recent work on the place of English in children's linguistic landscapes was recently investigated in Sweden as part of the Early Language Learning in Europe (ELLiE) project (Lindgren and Muñoz 2013; Muñoz and Lindgren 2010) and this provides us with an insight into this landscape. The concept of the linguistic landscape has been defined as "[t]he language of public road signs, advertising billboards, place names, street names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings, of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration" (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 25) and as "linguistic objects that mark the public space" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 7), and has previously been used to consider the public space for minority languages (e.g., Cenoz· and Gorter 2006). While these public elements are an integral part of our definition of the linguistic landscape, for the tri-lingual teenagers in Sápmi we are investigating we have broadened the linguistic landscape to include all language input in the public and private domain, as linguistic superdiversity is not limited to the public domain.

Figure 4.1 below gives everyday illustrations of where English can be found in shops in Sweden. Muñoz and Lindgren (2010) also considered children's TV programs in Sweden. They reported that in Sweden most young children's programmes and movies originally in a foreign language are dubbed, but programmes for older children (10 years and older) are subtitled. Further, all adult programmes, movies and shows are broadcast in the original language and subtitled. Interestingly, a randomly selected 10 min of TV advertisements included 37 written and 153 spoken foreign language words of which the majority were in English. An example of spoken English in an advertisement during the 10 min was:

> Today I want to show you something new and exciting and just wonderful, so smooth and creamy and doesn't that look just delicious. I use only the best ingredients and Ladu pure colour from Jotun is such a sweet and yummy treat. The unique, matte texture makes your room so soft and calm. It has the most gorgeous surface, you can actually feel it. And look! It doesn't scratch. And best of all, no reflection at all. This has to be the most luscious wall paint ever. Gorgeous, gorgeous, gorgeous.

Examples of written words in English in these 10 min include: *Motion, emotion*; *Lose yourself in the Toblerone triangle*; and *Invented for life*.

The addition of English to the linguistic landscape of Scandinavia has not escaped Sápmi, and this addition to the linguistic landscape of children living in Sápmi has resulted in a daily tri-lingual (if not more linguistically diverse) context that together with other dimensions has created a superdiversity environment.

As Blommaert et al. (2012) put it, Vertovec (2006, 2007) introduced the term superdiversity to suggest, "that the post-Cold war forms of diversity (thus, the forms of diversity we associate with contemporary globalization processes) are of a different order than those generated by the previous waves of immigration" (p. 8). Thus,

[2] Scandinavians are frequently ranked among the best at English in the World for English Language skills among non-native English speakers (e.g. English Proficiency Index 2013).

Fig. 4.1 Illustrations of English in the Swedish shopping landscape (From Muñoz and Lindgren 2010)

superdiversity stresses a complexity greater than anything previously experienced, and that diversity is generated by immigration. The settings in which most researchers study superdiversity are urban immigrant rich contexts such as Blommaert (2010, pp. 6–12) outlined.

Superdiversity in this chapter differs from classical urban superdiversity; the study presented in this chapter is based in an indigenous area that is experiencing net emigration, is spread over three nation states, is sparsely populated, and is environmentally harsh. We see superdiversity as dimensions that not only result from immigration in terms of population, but also the immigration of languages and discourse without physical permanent migration. The diversity of this 'immigration' together with new legal rights and support for the indigenous language, seasonal labour market niches generating international flow, media and Internet, and the relatively recent rapid growth in the status and importance of English has resulted in forms of diversity of a different order than experienced by recent generations of people living in Sápmi.

This chapter is based on data collected in Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish Sápmi as part of an innovative Sápmi-based literacy development research project that has

collected data from almost 150 tri-lingual school-aged children aged 9–19.[3] All of these children speak, or are learning, North Sami, a national language (Finnish, Norwegian or Swedish), and English. Each child wrote one descriptive and one argumentative text in each of these three languages. For example, the child living in Norwegian Sápmi wrote texts in North Sami, *Norwegian* and English, and the child living in Swedish Sápmi wrote texts in North Sami, *Swedish* and English. These multilingual[4] children are constantly in the process of shaping and reshaping their linguistic landscapes and identities as they engage in creative coding in, between and within the languages that are part of their language repertoire (Blommaert 2013).

The analysis presented in this chapter shows that superdiversity provides a perspective to research literacy development in complex linguistic landscapes. To illustrate this we focus solely on the students' English texts. English is the language that none of the students use as their home language, but is one that is widely available via the media, is used on the Internet, and provides the students with a means to make their indigenuity internationally visible. The chapter begins by setting the context, before moving to overview the research and data collection and discussing what the collected data says about these children's English literacy development. Finally, aspects of how superdiversity provides a useful perspective to studying literacy development in complex linguistic landscapes are considered.

The Context

To provide an understanding of the context in which the children of Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish Sápmi who speak or are learning North Sami are developing their literacy skills, this section gives an introduction to the indigenous Sami, and the rural, diverse, complex context of Sápmi.

As already suggested, the superdiversity experienced in most large international cities, and the superdiversity experienced in the artic countryside of Northern Europe differ. Blommaert (2010) described his own Antwerp neighbourhood and painted a picture of a community of West Africans, Turks and Moroccans, a use of German and French as "'emergency' lingua francas" (p. 8), a use of Dutch as "a specialized language skill, limited to specific domains of interactions, and showing significant limitations compared to fluent speakers" (p. 8) in a local abundantly multilingual environment. These are highly visible elements of escalating diversity. In the remote and sparsely populated rural areas of Sápmi, superdiversity takes on (at times) different forms of escalating diversity due to contemporary forces of globalization, not all of which are visible to the outsider.

[3] Funded by the Swedish Research Council. Project number: 2011–6153, contract B0615301. Literacy in Sápmi: multilingualism, revitalization and literacy development in the global North.

[4] We have chosen to use the terms *tri-lingual* and *multilingual* since the children that participated in our study are in daily contact with at least three languages and possess literacy skills in these languages. Further, none of the participants have English as their first language (or mother tongue) or speak English at home with their parents and siblings.

The difference between urban superdiversity and the superdiversity found in Sápmi becomes critically apparent when the complexity and multi-layeredness of the super dimensions that Sami[5] and other people living in Sápmi, the rural, global North of Sweden, Finland and Norway[6] encounter daily are described. These dimensions create, develop, and maintain superdiversity for children growing up in Sápmi. The following description of this traditionally indigenous area can be usefully juxtaposed with those of urban superdiversity voiced and described in, for example, Vertovec (2006, 2007), and Blommaert (2010).

In Sápmi complexities exist in the various language arenas and domains that can be open (e.g. media), hidden (e.g. home) and constructed for specific purposes (e.g. Sami research conferences where different Sami languages, English and national languages are used, and an interpreter is often needed), and in attitudes towards long- and short-term visitors, in the internal and external factors that threaten and condition the existence of traditional livelihoods. The linguistic landscape for the tri-lingual children growing up in Sápmi thus reflects the cultural and historical context of the indigenous population together with the national, European, and global pulls away from the region's cultural and historical context.

The perception of globalization in this northern context varies between the sectors of the community it affects. Kuokkanen and Bulmer (2006) argued that globalization that threatens and attacks the premises of indigenous existence is perceived as negative. National and multinational corporations that, due to the generous permit policy promoted by the governments, prospect on the traditional lands of the Sami people force individuals into a negative interpretation of globalization (Kuokkanen and Bulmer 2006; Langston 2013). Indigenous communities experience globalization that is exploitative and resource-oriented as a threat.

The national and multinational corporations' employees come from a range of countries and as long-term visitors migrate with their cultural and linguistic backgrounds. For example, the Canadian mining company will bring with it English-speaking employees, and the Norwegian company operating in Sweden and Finland, Norwegian-speaking employees. These employees and their families may develop basic communication skills in the national language, but rarely in the

[5] The Sami are the only Indigenous people in Europe. Notions of Saami or Sámi are used in parallel in contemporary research; the notions of Lapps (people) and Lappish (language) were used in older sources. It is difficult to say how many Sami there are in the world today, but the commonly made estimations vary between 60 000 and 100 000 people. At present nine Sami languages are spoken while some of the Sami languages have gone lost during the last couple of decades, and at least two of the remaining risk facing the same faith in near future. North Sami is the largest language group and is estimated to have altogether about 15 000–30 000 speakers in three countries. Many Sami communities are actively engaged in culture and language reclamation and revitalisation. Of the three Nordic countries mentioned in this study, Norway has come furthest in supporting the revitalization process of Sami languages and the rights of the Sami people. Finland has done a lot to promote Sami schooling, but has not acknowledged Sami rights to land and water. Sweden has educational policies that at present make it difficult to reach the same results in language revitalization as in Norway and Finland.

[6] For convenience this is hereafter referred to as the *global North.*

indigenous language. They do, however, bring their own languages into the community into which they move, and contribute to the area's superdiversity.

Tourism is complex. It is viewed both as positive and negative globalization depending on the impact on Sami culture (Petterson and Viken 2007). Tourism is perceived as negative globalization if it has negative impact on the culture. That is, if the culture must change or adapt to the visitors' needs and if such adaptation is accompanied by loss of control over the incomes. Yet, tourism is perceived as positive globalization if it is accompanied by long-term planning for areal development that creates naturalistic tourist experiences that align with traditional livelihoods.

The contribution of tourism to superdiversity in Sápmi is well illustrated by Blommaert's (2010) description of a shop in northern Finnish Sápmi:

> Some goods are advertised in Finnish only; others in Finnish and Russian, still others in Finnish, English and Russian, English and German, Finnish and Japanese, Finnish, English, German and French, or in English, French, German and Italian, and so forth (p. 150).

The children growing up in Sápmi are being exposed to chaotic diversity that is partly stimulated by short-term tourist visitors, yet one in which the actual (cf. legal) open status of the Sami languages is weak in some areas of Sápmi.

Globalization is not the only cause of contention. Clashes between the dominant national cultures and the Sami culture and Sami rights permeate political and activist life in Sápmi. For example, the Sami have some political power in questions that the national governments see as specifically concerning the Sami people (e.g. reindeer herding), but in relation to mining rights and education in Sápmi, the Sami have very little impact on policy. Bryan (2010) crystallized the conflicts between the global, natural and indigenous cultures that underpins these tensions and activism when she wrote:

> it is … the very raison d'être of interculturalism in fact, which subtly reinforces the privileged status of culturally dominant groups within society by positioning them as the 'embracer' or 'tolerator' of difference, who get to decree the acceptability (or otherwise) of the ethnic Other, thereby negating the possibility of true equality ever being achieved (p. 265).

It is impossible for children growing up in Sápmi to avoid conflict and activism. They also cannot avoid seeing and participating in how indigenous issues are voiced and how transnational Sami identity is shaped through, for example, traditional, new and social media.[7]

The transnational, super dimensioned, superdiverse, and linguistically multilingual context of Sápmi forms the identity of children growing up in this rural northern Scandinavian region and helps these children bring these aspects to the classroom and the multimodal (see, for example, Jewitt and Kress 2003) literacy experience they have in each of their languages in the school setting. Texts collected to research literacy development may therefore also provide a window into how children negotiate the context in which they are growing up: the texts they write may reveal their perception of their world, its context and how they negotiate the many dimensions.

[7] The importance of digital environments for identity construction and indigenous storytelling was reported in Cocq (2013).

Methodological Considerations

The Swedish research council funded project relies on three levels of data.

The political and policy frame that we access through examination of policy documents and interviews with Sámi, national and international politicians and bureaucrats to provide the setting and broader discourses around indigenous language and literacy.

The detailed context for the texts and the writers that we access through questionnaires and interviews. The student writers, their parents/guardians, teachers and school principals were invited to fill in questionnaires. These questionnaires collected data about the students' language environments, language use, and their attitudes to using and learning in their languages. We also decided to conduct interviews with teachers and school principals in order to access more personal experiences and attitudes to the super-diverse context in which the students' languages were being used, learnt and taught.

Written texts and the route to their creation that we access by collecting the students' writing using computer keystroke logging (see for example Sullivan and Lindgren 2006). Computer keystroke logging gives the researcher access to the final version of the written text, the process towards the final text, the idea developments in the text, and the linguistic and expressive changes made. Learning to express ideas in text is not only about the final version of a text, but also about the process to the final version. The process may reveal development that the final texts cloud over.

When we began to design a research project that would capture literacy development in Sápmi and gain an insight into the children's perceptions of the complex issues of their super dimensioned environment, we first had to decide whether to focus on a few children and follow their literacy development and their particular environment in detail or collecting limited data from many students in each of their languages. We decided to collect data from many students aged 9–19-years from schools in Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Sápmi, their parents, teachers, and school principals. The collected data from the three levels outlined above will provide a detailed understanding of the superdiversity and the many dimensions these children experience and how they negotiate them.

This chapter represents the first exploration of the data collected within the project *Literacy in Sápmi: multilingualism, revitalization and literacy development in the global North*, and we have decided to focus on one data type collected within the project, namely the final text, to focus on one genre, namely the descriptive, and to focus on one language, English, together with the environmental print and oral English to which these school students are exposed as outlined in the introduction. This environmental exposure to English in a superdiverse environment we expect to be reflected in the dimensions of the students' writing in all languages. However, we

decided to examine the English texts we had collected first to see if our expectation was valid – deciding what might be the result of environmental exposure to English in a text written in another language, when the exposure may be translated requires an understanding of how such exposure might be reflected in the English language texts.

The data collection section below reports on the procedure of collecting the written English texts from the school students.

Data Collection

The texts were written in schools across Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Sápmi. We asked 150 school students to write a text in English that described what they usually do when they are alone, with their family or with friends:

> A school in a large city in the south is running a project in which they are learning about different parts of the country. This school has asked you and your classmates to write some texts for their project's home page. Write around half a page (a full window on the computer). You can write for 45 minutes, but you decide when your text is ready. Let me know when you are finished.
>
> Tell the class in the large city about and describe what people of your age usually do when they are alone/with their family/with friends at home, at different times of year, when outside and in the countryside, when at school, in your free time, inside and outside, depending upon the weather.

The writers were randomly assigned one of the three task variants (alone; with their family; with friends). The other two variants would be assigned to their North Sámi and their country language (Finnish/Norwegian/Swedish) writing tasks. Hence, approximately a third of the descriptive texts written were about what the writers did when alone, when they were with their family, and when they were with friends.[8]

The writers wrote their texts directly on computer. All writers wrote using the same type of laptop. The research team brought the laptops and mice to each school, and set them up in a school classroom for the duration of the stay at each school. Each time the school students entered the classroom, the researcher leading the data collection introduced the students to the writing in the language the students were to write in. Thus, when the writing tasks were in English, the information about the data collection was presented in English. Each student had a personal code, and the writing task was found next to the computer. In this way, the three English tasks could be distributed across a class. The students were always told they could change

[8] The students were also asked to write texts of an argumentative nature. These are not considered in this chapter. Thus, in total, each student was asked to write two short texts in North Sami, English and their national language (Finnish, Norwegian or Swedish). One text in each language was descriptive in nature and one was argumentative in nature. To be able to compare development between languages and genre, the six writing tasks and the order they were answered were structured for each country so that each task was answered in each language by one third of the student population, and answered in randomly assigned orders.

their minds and leave data collection when they wanted to. Prior to starting to write, the keystroke-logging program was started. The writers were asked to write as much or as little as they wanted and told it was them who decided when their writing was ready. It was also made clear that the writing was not going to be assessed as a piece of schoolwork. Once the students had finished writing, the keystroke-logging programme was turned off and the final version of the text saved.

Ethical Considerations

In Sweden, it is illegal to conduct research on ethnic groups without regional ethics board approval. Due to the high degree of overlap between Sámi speaking and learning children, and ethnic Sámi children, we naturally applied for regional ethics board approval.[9] Anonymity is one core research ethics principle and given that in some schools few school students took part in the study, textual extracts are presented so as to reveal no more demographic information than age and nationality.

For the school students under 16, the students' parents and/or guardians gave written consent for their child(ren) to participate in the study. The children 16 and over provided their own written consent. All writers were told at the start of each writing session that they could without question decide to withdraw from the study.

Looking for Traces

We now turn to the texts to look at some examples of how writers of different ages described, in English, what they did in their spare time. In particular, we focussed on how their encounters with English outside school surface in their writing and how they created texts, presented ideas, meaning and identities that mirror the super diversity of their contexts. We looked for traces of English that have origins outside of formal school English teaching, and from environmental exposure to English within and outside of Sápmi. As suggested in the background to this chapter, we expected digital activities, including, television and film to be important multimodal sources of global youth culture, trends, vocabulary, and ways of expressing oneself in English. We identified traces of this in our texts, in the form of names of places and activities, phrases from popular culture (e.g. 'daamn it's fun! 'I love it! <3', 'hang around', and 'chill out'), and in specified TV/films and computer activities where English is used (Pirates of the Caribbean, Vampire diaries, Marvel Avengers Alliance, YouTube). These traces were related in our texts to expressions of identity as Sámi youth.

Most of our 150 writers wrote about traditional Sámi activities such as reindeer herding, and activities where English is involved, such as watching TV and using digital media. In 43 of the texts, one or more other traces of English usage, such as

[9] Regional Research Ethics Committee in Umeå, Approved 04-09-2012. Ref nr: 212-199-31Ö.

specific vocabulary, phrases or contents could be identified. Some of the traces of super diversity in Sápmi we found when exploring the texts in a qualitative manner will now be presented.

Some of the youngest children were not yet able to produce prose in English in response to the prompt. They were then asked to write down a list of words they knew in English. Example 1 and 2 illustrate two such lists produced by two 9-year-old writers. The first example shows a writer who has mainly included words from semantic fields that are typical for a school discourse of learning English in these contexts, for example, numbers, food, colours, school material, animals and personal presentation. Example two includes two words that would also reflect the school discourse, as 'egg' and 'cat' from the food and the animal fields. However, this writer also includes words, proper nouns, from another field, the football discourse, that reflects this writer's interest rather than the school discourse. Even with little linguistic resources this writer can convey their interpersonal meaning to the reader, who understands that this is a writer whose interest is football.

1. tree,name,one,nine,eigh,hello,good,whats,you,home,time,star,a moon, a shark,city,lego,frends,six,wait,bläk,blue,red,green,yellow,pink,orange,a camel,a hippo,rainbow,a lion,a kangoroo,a giraf,agry birds,dog,note book,book,purple,banana,a pencil,a pen,rock,a nose,hair,good nigh. scool bag,scool (120302, 9 years old)
2. EGG CAT LIVERPOOL EVERTON MACHESTER- UNITED MANCHESTER-CITY (210401, 9 years old)

Similar patterns can be found among the young writers who produce short texts instead of lists. In Example 3 the 9-year-old writer includes English vocabulary in the form of proper nouns, to describe activities that are undertaken during their spare time. In example 4 another writer talks about spare time activities using the proper noun 'Ipad', signalling types of digital media this writer uses. This writer also repeats the same syntactic structure to describe activities and include vocabulary that is common in a school context, such as the verbs 'draw', 'watch' and 'play', and the phrase 'I love to'.

3. To cristmas i am home. To fritime play minecraft,wii skylanders and PES 2010. New year i am [name of city, deleted for anonymity] (310301, 9 years old)
4. Sometimes i not have a friend so i draw. Sometimes i rid. Sometimes i wacht on ipad. Sometimes a play on my telephone. Sometimes a wacht on dator. I love to take photos. And to write. I have many books so i read. (310305, 9 years old)

The older children's texts also reflect their interest in digital media, such as TV and the computer. In Example 5 most of the activities the 12-year-old writer mentions are connected with digital media: watching TV, chatting, and playing games on the computer. The 14-year-old writer in Example 6 talks about a variety of activities that relate both to digital media and to other indoor and outdoor activities. In the description the writer uses not only single words but also phrases that are common in a global youth culture context in films and on the Internet, such as 'hang around' and 'yummy' to express their ideas and interpersonal meaning.

5. When you're home alone you can see a movie/TV or you can chat with your friends, play with your dog/cat/hamster, you can also go to your laptop/computer and play/chat. (220709, 12 years old)
6. When i'm with my family it depends on the weather and the time of the year what we are doing. On the summer we use to bath in the sea, fish, barbeque and just hang around and enjoy each others company. If it's bad weather and rains on the summer we just sit inside and play cards, watch tv or draw. On the winter we use to drive snowmobile, be outside and play games, walk, go visit our relatives and hang around. When we get inside after a long day out playing and driving snowmobile we drink hot chocolate and eat something yummy. If it's bad weather we just hang around inside and watch tv all day long. (340802, 14 years old)

Similarly, the 15-year-old writer in Example 7 uses expression from the global English speaking youth culture like 'you'll get a lot of friends' and 'blend in' to express their ideas. The idiomatic flow of the texts in Examples 6 and 7 further indicates that these writers have been exposed to more English than the school would provide. There would typically be around 120 min per week of English classes for this age group.

7. […] Good things at living in the big cities are, that there are a lot of people and you'll get a lot of friends and it's easier to blend in. There everything is also closer. […] I would never want to move to a big city. (110901, 15 years old)

In Example 8 another 15-year-old writer not only uses expressions like 'stuff' from a global youth culture, but also describes how the Internet has contributed to globalisation by making the world smaller.

8. My age "people" do lots of stuff together, but i dont think juth are so much together now adays the wold has become smaller because of the internet and new technology. […] (211001, 15 years old)

The examples above illustrate how children in all age groups draw on a globalized and multimodal literacy context when they describe what they do in their spare time. The youngest children use English vocabulary, mostly in the form of proper nouns that they have picked up as they venture through media driven by an interest in football, gaming or film. In some cases they might not be aware of the fact that the words they use are English but the fact that they use them illustrate that they are part of a global culture. As they develop their language skills they include phrases and expressions that they pick up both in and outside school.

At the same time as the data illustrates how our young multilingual writers have embraced a global English youth culture, there is also evidence of how they blend this culture with their traditional culture. A 17-year-old writer first describes how she watches movies with her friends and then how she, as a 'Sapmi girl' also spends a lot of time with the reindeers in the winter (Example 9). The use of global English language does not direct her to talk about the context where the English language is used. Instead she takes command of the language and uses it as a means to describe herself, her identity and her activities.

9. […] When we are at home can we talk about everything and just take coffee. We drinks a lot of coffee with our friends and watch movies. We even like to cook and bake cakes. On the winter are we much inside because its so cold but because I am a "Sapmigirl" so are we more out than other kids. We are with our reindeers a lot of our freetimes on the winter […] (331206, 17 years old)

The texts in our study provide insights into multilingual children's encounters with English in Sápmi (Blommaert and Backus 2013). These writers learn English from different source dimensions, their digital, physical and school contexts to express their interpersonal meaning and their ideas, and with great integrity, they describe typical activities, features and dimensions in their immediate context. The texts suggest that the global context with its super dimensions seems as natural to these writers as their immediate context. They describe how the world has become smaller with the Internet, how they watch TV, play computer games, chat, at the same time as they describe how they spend time outside, herding reindeer, fishing, riding, and playing in the snow. Our initial qualitative investigation points to these traces developing in clarity as the school students' proficiency in writing in English develops as they grow up and most likely use English more frequently in and out of school. The initial traces are single words and these develop into phrases and elements from digital global youth culture.

Conclusions

This chapter presents a first explorative consideration of English language texts collected as part of a large literacy development research project, and considers whether the writing of tri-lingual teenagers growing up in the superdiverse environment of Sápmi may provide insights into how these teenagers evidence super dimensions of their environments in their writing. The enquiry considers how these dimensions are embedded in the actions of young people writing about their own use of their non-school time in a foreign language, and how we might ultimately gain insights into these students' understanding of their superdiverse environment. The exploration of our texts presented in this chapter suggests that traces of the superdiverse cultural and linguistic context in which these writers from Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Sápmi are growing up are articulated in their English writing from early English literacy onwards. Thus, we conclude that investigations of literacy development provide a rich source of information about globalization, super dimensions, and superdiversity.

As we move on to investigate these students writing in North Sami, the perception of the global, national and local and their interaction may mirror that of these students' English writing, or it may forward other more local dimensions and aspects of the global. The study of the national languages literacy development may provide yet another view, or a view that is no different from the other two. These

students may be able to unify the superdiverse and linguistically complex context in which they are growing up into a single less complex context.

Our future, more detailed analysis of the texts in all five languages for traces of the superdiverse will run in parallel with our analysis of the questionnaires, and interviews. These data sources will provide information about the digital activities of the school students, and the use of language inside and outside of school that can connect environmental language more directly to the traces of superdiversity in the school students' texts. This may also allow us to draw out the differences and similarities between Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Sápmi. This analysis will help us understand how these pupils view and express their understanding of their contexts as their literacy skills develop in each of their languages. Further, linking literacy development to children's understanding of superdiversity and the dimensions of their context has potential as a research approach for understanding literacy drivers.

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Part II
Super Dimensions of the Global North and South

Chapter 5
Screaming Silences: Subjects and Photographs in Schools in Contexts of Extreme Urban Poverty and Environmental Decay

Silvia M. Grinberg and Sofia Dafunchio

> *And below the state are becomings that can't be controlled, minorities constantly coming to life and standing up to it (Deleuze 1995, p. 152)*

Abstract In this chapter, we discuss a group of photographs taken by students who live in slums of the global South. The images embody realities often denied or forgotten. In these images, the foreground gains terrain and what Deleuze describes as the process of 'giving a face' takes place. We set out to address the outline of a relationship where the word retreats and its bridges to the world dissolve. The silences that urban experience, in the global South, confronts us with emerge in the images produced by these young people. It is this experience that these young people photograph and name as "screaming silences."

Keywords Global governmentality • Urban poverty • Global South • Inequality • Power structures and social locations • Audio-visual production • Subjectivity and daily life

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Introduction

To shout out silences, to scream that which cannot be said, is part and parcel of art. Munch was indisputably the one who eternalized that scream, that speech that can only be emitted with a sense of desperation and in silence. Or, perhaps, that which no word can express and, hence, can only come out like a muted cry. In this chapter, we examine another path for that scream/silence and its becoming. The title of the photograph for which this chapter is named—which, crucially, will be discussed below—was chosen by the student who took it in the framework of an audiovisual workshop at a school in an impoverished neighbourhood in the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area—and it places us—and our ways of seeing and listening—on that different path. Indeed, the nonsense implicit in the title lies at the core of what we will discuss here: the screaming of that which has been silenced—rather than the impossibility of speech—is what is at stake, and that silence bursts forth from the walls of the schools in these photographs. As Deleuze would say (1995), it is precisely that nonsense that takes us to the very heart of speech and thought. This because we believe that at stake is a type of photography that, as Deleuze (1995) based on Artaud points out, entails a schizophrenic way of living contradiction, one located "either in the deep fissure which traverse the body, or in the fragmented parts which encase one another and spin about" (p. 87)—in other words, that which gives the sense of the object as the paradox which repeats the figure of nonsense (Fig. 5.1).

Fig. 5.1 Screaming silences

The figure in Munch's "The Scream" portrays the impossibility of speech. He screams a horror that can only be manifested as silence. The painting has been read in a number of different ways: as a cry against the isolation of industrial society, as a premonition of the harrowing and silenced cry that fell over Europe during the genocides of the Holocaust. Munch's painting expresses that which Benjamin problematized as early as 1933 in *Experience and Poverty* (1933/1982), men rendered mute by the dreadful experience of the trenches. Decades later, Agamben (2007) would claim that this same muting of experience is part and parcel of daily life. Rather than that silence, the photographs discussed here takes us back to that crack Deleuze discussed. Fissure, not silence that runs through the body-neighborhood from which these photographs emerge.

The photos taken by young people—students at high schools in one of the many slums that have sprouted up on the outskirts of cities in the global South pursuant to selective metropolitization (Prevot Schapira 2002)—reside in another place of silence. Here, speech is not impossible or beyond reach. Instead, a scream, as desperate as silence, strives and struggles to find speech. Of course, there are major differences between the harrowing but also everyday experiences that characterize life in the "no-go spaces" (Osborne and Rose 1999) commonly called shantytowns and the scene in the Munch painting. Nonetheless, something of that experience, of that trauma ensues here as well when, in times of neoliberal management of 'empowerment', one is 'left to one's own devices'. These complex realities are neither states of exception nor the result of the absence of the state. Indeed, they are the rule in many cities and, looking to Foucault's categories, constitute a key component in how bio-politics and the government of the population ensue in the cities of the global South. All of that strives to be screamed in these neighbourhoods and schools.

It is in this framework that superdiversity has become a key topic, especially in relation to the dynamics and tensions that we are addressing here and that can, to some extent, be conceived as the other side of the processes that this category draws attention to. Thus, when a student, an immigrant from Jamaica, saw the production of these young people at a seminar at York University[1] (Toronto, Canada), he asked "what happens, what can be done with the word, with the desire that those young people put into play?" His words evidence a sort of understanding and identification with these young people's production, as well as a sense of nostalgia linked to the place where that desire had taken him. Latin America occupies a unique place in terms of migratory flows. On the one hand, it was a Spanish colony and, hence, the questions formulated by post-colonial studies are pertinent. On the other, it received European immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as they fled war and famine. One clear example of this process is in the city of Buenos Aires. The dynamics of the twenty-first century ensue on these two layers of colonial and migratory movement in a context where a new logic of urban and migratory

[1] Silvia Grinberg was invited by The Jean Augustine Chair in Education in the New Urban Environment York University, 2013. http://edu.apps01.yorku.ca/jeanaugustinechair/home/think-tank-members/

flows informs how governmentality is conceived on a global scale. This is the context in which the urban spaces to which we refer constitute a key element of current geographies of governmentality (Arnaut 2012).

In this framework, we discuss the results of a multi-phased research project carried out on a weekly basis at secondary schools inside or near a neighbourhood located on a drainage basin in Greater Buenos Aires, a neighbourhood of the sort commonly referred to as shantytowns. The research, performed from an ethnographic perspective (Youdell 2006; Grinberg 2013), consists of weekly observations of school life as well as formal and informal interviews with teachers, students, and administrators. Significantly, the research involved not only formal observation and interviews, but also a set of activities in the school, among them a workshop in documentary video whose production is discussed here. Our work consists of a complex network of activities carried out in the neighbourhood, the school, and, mostly, the intersection between them. In many ways, the video workshop constitutes a clear example of the multiplicity of lines of research and of work as well as the methodologies employed in the neighbourhood.[2]

The idea is that the young people choose the issues they want to film in order to make a documentary video on daily life. The students are told that they can choose any topic as long as it is somehow relevant to their lives. During the workshop's first year (2008), the young people—especially young women—decided to address the issues of pollution due to a drainage stream known as the "zanjón" in the Reconquista neighbourhood and the life of the people who scavenge for food in a place known as "la quema" (CEAMSE).[3] A number of documentaries have been filmed on these issues since then. These works are also addressed in the book of photographs entitled *Silencios que gritan -screaming silences-*, discussed here. We believe that methodologies of this sort are key tools when it comes to grasping the otherness that the notion of superdiversity addresses. As Vertovec points out (2007), it is a question of developing methodologies that make it possible "to take account of not only the meaning of interactions to participants themselves, but also the encompassing criteria and structures impacting upon the positions, perceptions and practices of these actors" (p. 1047). In this framework, we believe that while it is common in research to describe the politics and positions of communities, it is also necessary to construct visions and methodological perspectives capable of taking root in and with subjects.

Urban and environmental conditions are central and recurring themes in the productions of these young people. After all, those conditions constitute an intimate part of how politics of life operates in the twenty-first century in the global South. Though we refer to some of those specific questions here, this article lies on the crack that opens up in that scream, one issued by minorities (if not in a numerical sense) that, as Deleuze says, endlessly come back to life and resist (Cole 2011). Non-codified flows that struggle to appear on the scene regardless—or perhaps

[2] Due to considerations of space, we cannot discuss in depth the research's methodology here. An initial explication can be found in Grinberg (2010, 2013).

[3] See Grinberg (2010).

because of—the abjection of which they are charged. In our fieldwork, we turn to the photographic production of students who live in contexts of urban poverty and environmental decay. In the images they take of their neighbourhood and school, these young people embody realities that they themselves understand to be socially and politically negated, forgotten, and the object of suspicion. These sensations and situations are part and parcel of daily life in the neighbourhood and, of course, of the existences of these young people. As one student says:

> "If I say that I live in a shantytown, no one will give me a job. I can't give my real address" (Yeni, student, seventeen years old)

In many ways, the question of concealing and showing the self is a tactical problem for those who live in these neighbourhoods insofar as simply residing in the neighbourhood is an obstacle to furthering one's life. We will now focus on another aspect of this tension: what happens when the word, the ability to speak, is enabled at school. We suggest that if putting into words enables the positioning of the Self in the world, these images pursue that end: in them, these students position themselves as subjects in a world that stigmatizes them, and/or where the theoretical paradigm of the "planet of slums" becomes, in these neighbourhoods, a universal problem (Gareth 2011). Thus, by means of photography, that abject comes back to us as another vision. These young people's eyes settle on, dissect, and cut through these realities and, at the precise places where that occurs, desires, aspirations, and hopes surface as *lei motiv*. For this camera, the foreground is at centre stage as it effects something like a facialization of the neighbourhood, a neighbourhood overflowing with life. After Deleuze and Guattari (1987), we understand that these dynamics entail a process of deterritorialization that, as we will posit later, finds in schools a way out. We will attempt to address the traces of that coupling of facialization and deterritorialization, of that moment/space where speech departs and its bridges to the world vanish, leaving the silences that urban experience confronts us with to flourish in images produced by young people who go to and stay at school in order to scream.

The photograph for which this paper is named indicates how, by means of the camera, these young people rupture the abjection rampant in the everyday life of these schools and these neighbourhoods. Rather than experience rendered mute and impossible, what we find in the twenty-first century is young people who make these so often muted realities explode. These young people escape the position of risk and redemption through arts that simultaneously reproduce them as occupying positions of social marginalization (Hickey-Moody 2013). The production of these young people shatters the argument of films like *Slumdog Millonaire* in which the protagonist manages to redeem himself by means of an "I live in a slum but I am honest" logic. Thus,

> Writing against apocalyptic and dystopian narratives of the slum, subaltern urbanism provides accounts of the slum as a terrain of habitation, livelihood and politics. This is a vital and even radical challenge to dominant narratives of the megacity. Subaltern urbanism then is an important paradigm, for it seeks to confer recognition on spaces of poverty and forms of popular agency that often remain invisible and neglected in the archives and annals of urban theory (Roy 2011, p. 224).

At school and in the neighbourhood, these young people occupy, in our view, this place of debate. As we will discuss below, the idea of "I would prefer" constitutes a verbal construction key to those who live in the neighbourhood and imagine their futures there. That verb becomes, in our view, the key to understanding popular agency.

From a classroom, the camera looks out into the schoolyard and the shot is taken. The student who takes the photograph entitles it "screaming silences." The presence/absence of the students haunts the lack of subjects in the yard. This is how a faceless image is able to scream. This is a conversation that took place in the process of naming the photo:

Enzo:	"It is a silence that screams."
Machu:	"That's right, there's nobody there but everyone has something to say. Everything you can possibly imagine happens to us."
Researcher:	Why that name?
Enzo:	"Even the walls are screaming, can't you see?"
Machu:	"What's happening is hard to take. It's not always talked about. The scream is there anyway."

In a very particular way, the words "even the walls are screaming, can't you see?" lead us back to that crack. The response to the question about the title, like the other photos included below, makes reference to the fissure. No need to explain further because it's all there. It emerges in the fissure, in that place where the photograph encounters the caption. Nothing more to be said or explained, *can't you see?* The difficult, the not always spoken of, is precisely what happens to us, Machu explain. The photograph shatters through that which the walls shout out. We often require these young people to explain the reason for a given photograph or title. But equally frequent are the occasions when that response ("the walls are screaming, can't you see") turns the question back on us in the form of a photograph that seeks to explain that which is by no means easy to put into words.

That is why we have included many photos throughout this chapter, sometimes alone and sometimes in dialogue with other photographs or with conversations we have had over the course of the documentary workshop that the students took at school. As part of that workshop, the students, who would later present their work at a festival, took photographs in their neighbourhood, and gave them titles. After the festival, we edited a book of photographs entitled *Screaming Silences* that contains this material.

Throughout this article, we will make reference to the group of images/moments from their daily lives that the students decided to depict. It is, then, just a slice, a selection. But it is precisely that slice that we want to dwell on here. We are concerned with a lived vision that clamours to be told. Our discussion revolves around an ethical-political analysis of the photographs. We are concerned, that is, with how, by means of the camera, the students make silences scream, take a position in history, and interrogate and articulate their lives in the school space. On some occasions, the words of the students tell us something else about the photographs they decide to exhibit. On others, as in the case of this first image, the students' reply reminds

us precisely of the reason for the silences that scream and that the photo, along with its caption, narrates. It is in this framework, that we attempt to describe the pedagogical apparatuses deployed in contexts where subjects—students, but teachers as well in many ways—are often rendered mute and where the camera restores the possibility of speech to a Self in the world. This is where, in the words of Barthes, photography becomes pensive and those silences come on the scene to scream.[4]

Neighbourhoods and School in Spaces of Abjection: Which Silences Scream?

The area where the students live, like so many other neighbourhoods that have sprouted up in southern cities, is a peripheral urban zone where poverty is rampant and urbanization precarious or nonexistent. As we pointed out in the introduction, the contemporary processes characteristic of the global South are key to the dynamics to which the notion of superdiversity refers. They also express the tensions characteristic of the geographies of government on a global scale, tensions that are operative in the configuration of policies on life in contemporary metropolises.

In this framework, Koolhass's formulation (Rao 2006) is crucial. He states that "the functional dysfunction of cities like Lagos [is] a normative rather than pathological state and thereby shift[s] the focus of the endpoint of modernity from one exemplified by the orderly and planned metropolis of happy consumers to the extreme geographies of cities across the globe which are nevertheless regulated by markets for resources, goods and capital (both human and financial) through the constant production and reproduction of volatility" (p. 530). Indeed, there is no trace in these neighbourhoods of the vision behind the creation and layout of nineteenth-century cities of which Foucault spoke (1999); an urbanization based on the idea of a healthful environment with control of air and water quality, that is, a vision in which "cleanliness" was the cornerstone of urban space. Much of what is today the neighbourhood was built—as many neighbours recall (Grinberg et al. 2013)—on what was, until just a few decades ago, uninhabited green spaces, grassy reed beds, areas where the Reconquista River would flood. These marshlands were gradually covered with "floors" of trash. Indeed, the neighbourhood today rests on piles of waste from different open air trash dumps on the banks of the Reconquista River. The mere fact of having been born in the neighbourhood means daily contact with trash and it is likely that therein lies that which makes these young people's portrait of their neighbourhood so harrowing (Fig. 5.2).

In this photograph, and others of the neighbourhood, trash is seen. There's nothing new about that. What's at the centre of this image, though, is a child hopping barefoot in a river that appears to be highly polluted. The neighbourhood is, in fact, densely populated, with concrete houses alongside tin constructions placed directly

[4] See among others Bell (2010).

Fig. 5.2 He doesn't know it's dangerous

on layers of trash. Narrow passageways provide access to the tin and wood homes built during the settlement's most recent period of growth. With the exception of the main streets at the entrance to the neighbourhood, there are only dirt roads which are rendered largely useless when it rains:

> I can't go inside my house or get to school when it rains because everything gets flooded. The trash comes up to the windows of my house. (Enzo, student, 13 years old)

Rather than an aestheticization of poverty, this photograph contains experience, becoming. In discussing it, the students say "[The kid] doesn't know it's dangerous," betraying ignorance about what must be known. This child walks in this drainage stream every day. The photo conveys a sense of daily life and familiarity that comes with being born and living in these spaces (Mantiñan 2013). This means that there is, necessarily, knowledge, accumulated experience. And that familiarity indicates a danger that, in this photograph, appears unrecognized. Unlike images that aesthecize poverty, this one jars us and makes us feel uneasy. A child is playing somewhere that appears to be dangerous. An image as everyday and ordinary as it is liminal. The sense of uneasiness that these photographs produce is not born of horror but, we suggest, of the familiarity that they convey. And that is where silence becomes speech, the possibility of speech and, we believe, agency.

That also explains, we hold, the sense of uneasiness in the viewer. The conditions shown in these photographs are not isolated stories of individual lives, but rather key components of urbanization and, hence of governmentality, in the twenty-first century. The commonplace nature of danger is biopolitical: areas like this one do not have running water, trash collection or electrical services, and so those who live

in these areas have found ways to procure those services. Potable water is a good example of how, faced with the inadequacy of both public and private water services, subjects find a way to meet their needs and even to improve their living conditions. The public water company installed a pipe along the neighbourhood's main street. From there, the neighbours set up a network of hoses that provided each house with potable water. This solution led to problems like broken hoses and an insufficient supply of clean water (Curutchet et al. 2012). What the viewer of the photo sees and, perhaps, finds shameful are situations where the exception is normalized, familiar, everyday. The scream becomes strategic, tactical, a sort of war machine. We are speaking of urban flows that can be read in both the growth of metropolises on the global level and in complex migratory processes that lead to situations of residential segregation and/or "multilayered experience within unequal power structures and social locations" (Vertovec 2007, p. 1026). Along these lines, those machines can be conceived in relation to what Bayat (2000) calls the quiet encroachment of the ordinary that describes "the silent, protracted but pervasive advancement of the ordinary people on the propertied and powerful in order to survive and improve their lives" (p. 545).

The inhabitants of this neighbourhood are that liminal population of which, almost seeing the future, Foucault spoke (1999). They are "a kind of infra- and supra-liminal floating population, a liminal population which, for an economy that has abandoned the objective of full employment, will be a constant reserve of manpower which can be drawn on if need be, but which can also be returned to its assisted status if necessary" (206). A population that knows that, most of the time, it is forgotten or rendered invisible by the system. These are precarious lives (Butler 2002) with fears, despairs, and daily struggles, and the school is a sounding box for that need to scream loud in order to survive:

> To be seen, we have to set everything on fire. They never listen to us. (Brian,[5] Student, 14 years old, 2013)

And that is no euphemism. Brian is speaking of a march to the police station organized spontaneously after a friend of his was shot dead in his neighbourhood. At one of the marches that took place after frustrated complaints and a number of other young people killed in similar fashion, the neighbours ended up setting the local police station on fire. Finally, they managed to get the TV cameras to take notice of the deaths in the neighbourhood.[6]

States of disorientation, hopelessness, and despair set in before the inability to resolve extreme situations that become ordinary, part and parcel of daily life. Without the necessary resources, solutions are sought in the tumult of everyday life, solutions that often mean surmounting tremendous obstacles and going against institutional norms: "I took him to the hospital in my own car. No one was coming

[5] Our notion of the abject is in keeping with its formulation by Deleuze and Guattari (1995), as well as Butler (2002) and Kristeva (1988).

[6] http://www.infobae.com/2013/10/30/1520222-graves-incidentes-jose-leon-suarez-prendieron-fuego-una-comisaria

to get him," one teacher explains. "We go to the kids' houses to pick them up when they don't show. We go by each house, one by one," an administrator says. Thus, in the life of the neighbourhood, of the subjects, and of schools, situations that were once exceptional have become normal (Benjamin 1973). Students and teachers are disconcerted by this state of exception, and their distress is palpable, physical. The anxiety and willpower that often arise in teachers' daily concerns make it possible to imagine other institutional stances that would confront the pain of the normalized exception we have referred above. One teacher says:

> On Sunday, they killed a kid in the neighbourhood. On Monday, the staff spent the entire afternoon talking to the first-year students about it because one of them saw how it happened. He told us someone gets killed every day… The kids are a wreck and they want to talk about it. I was talking to the school counsellor and we wanted to do something. But what? (social studies teacher).

The problem of what, when, and how to put into words and to conceptualize these stories—a flood of anecdotes about the neighbourhood that comes rushing in every day—is a constant concern of teachers:

> I don't know what to do anymore. I'm lost. All I want is to teach but that's hard in this situation (social studies teacher).

That sense of having to confront everything alone is a key aspect of a school and neighbourhood life in which subjects and institutions are called on to regulate their own conduct. This is a scenario in which the strategies of government are geared to the production of "free subjects capable of making the most of their own existence by means of the responsible management of their lives," (Rose 1997, p. 28). What that means on the ground is subjects that are left to their own devices to take care of themselves; schools that are expected to protect those subjects though not given the resources to do so. This ensues in a context where the State provides very few—if any—material resources and no symbolic resources for the upkeep of the institution and/or for something like the transmission of culture.

It is in these conditions of abjection that schools are formed and neighbourhoods inhabited. Kristeva locates the abject at the limit of what can be thought and assimilated. As such, it is disturbing and, hence, liable to be cast away and forgotten. The abject is the other (Kristeva 1988; Grinberg 2010). Lives negated at the margins of the city struggle constantly to be seen, to affirm their existence and desires. These young people and their teachers portray their neighbourhood, their school, and speak of their daily lives: they stage the abject, that which it is better to ignore. Precarious lives (Butler 2002) find a place in history and, here, they speak in images, in the images selected.

On Faces, Preferences, and Silences that Burst

The machinery of facialization, following Deleuze, produces faces that reflect dominant meanings. The territorial inscription of meanings puts forth stereotyped contents, gestures, and timbres: "the thing is placed, located in the coordinates of various power formations, seized, not let to flee or escape from the dominant system of meaning or to threaten the reigning social-semiotic order" (Guattari 2013, p. 236). Individuals and their faces are produced and reproduced, combined and transformed, or even persist unchanged around these units and relations. We don't have a face, we make one and it makes us. We sink into our face as we appropriate it and it appropriates us. It controls what can and cannot happen, what is accepted and not accepted; it not only produces things, but also the conditions of the acceptance and the rejection of things. Here, the classic binary relation is blurred and disrupted, corroded by the contemporary. And although the black-and-white binary relation becomes gray, it still excludes a whole series of new figures and eruptions, a whole area of resourcefulness. What we have, then, is a seemingly free, broad, and tolerant acceptance of what is in fact imposed. It's the same old chain, just a little longer and with new shackles.

The face of poverty appears every day. Much is said about the poor who are placed in different categories: the impoverished and the vulnerable, indigents and criminals, etc. The aim of these categories is to produce more and more precise measures of their lacks, their unmet needs. These conceptualizations work in conjunction with the mass media and its tendency to further the criminalization of poverty and/or a kitsch spectacle of horrors. When the young people from these neighbourhoods are the ones who photograph their lives, though, those classified faces explode.

What is different here is how photography crystallizes certain dominant social configurations as well as—and this is what matters here—how these young people envision their neighbourhood. This is an image captured by a young person who lives in Reconquista, who shares his daily life with others who live there as well. The part of his life he decides to portray lies beyond the fashionable discourse of "slumdog cities" (Arabindoo 2011).

The facialization machine clashes with another face in the foreground (Fig. 5.3). This face does not want to be observed in conditions of vision that are imposed on it by others. It wants nothing to do with technologies that typify and normalize conducts according to certain reigning logics of production. What this student wants is the ability to speak in the first person, to break with the other's gaze, and to state his own desires. And that is what is jarring. Here in the foreground is the unspeakable, the abject, that which acts as the limit of what can be tolerated. This shot makes the viewer uncomfortable as it disregards established positions and an "acceptance" of the poor person as the needy and/or lacking other.

The heading to another photograph (Fig. 5.4) which shows a housing project features the word *Preferiría* (I'd prefer). Agustín aims his camera at the furthest reaches of Reconquista and takes a shot of the public housing project the government

Fig. 5.3 Child behind the door

Fig. 5.4 I'd prefer to live in the house where I grew up

has been building there since 2009. When the construction got started, the officials of the public administration responsible for it told neighbours that they would be expected to move there. Four years later, construction is still underway. But, as the words that accompany the photo indicate, what concerns Agustín is not that construction has yet to be completed. Agustín writes: "I'd prefer to live in the house where I grew up." The problem here is having to move, to leave his house behind.

In this affirmation, the subject also utters a negation. A plan that promises precisely what is not desired. In this affirmation/negation, there is a choice for what is not desired in the very utterance of what is desired. A double affirmation of the subject: a preference, on the one hand, and a refusal of that which is imposed as a promise for what others define as "a better life," but which is not necessarily the better life desired. Like Bartleby in Melville's story, Agustín would prefer to not move, to live in his house. From within that loneliness, says Deleuze, individuals not only reveal their rejection of a poisonous sociability, but also cry for a new solidarity, a community to come. Agustín voices his preference and refuses promises that are not, in fact, promises. That which cannot be spoken or assimilated: Why wouldn't he want a new house? Though there may be—and in fact are—many reasons, they matter little here. What matters here is the word, the speech act: to prefer. In Agustín's affirmation ("I would prefer to live in…) lies Bartleby's negation ("I would prefer not to"), here a preference not to live there, not to move. But Agustín, unlike the scrivener, does affirm, and that means negating those who negate him. He affirms the place where he lives. And that alarms and jars the abject vision as well: how could someone prefer to live in a place that only appears on the public scene to incite fear. All abject fear can do is eschew that life. But Agustín prefers it because it is his own self and his life that is at stake. I would prefer to live "where I grew up." In speaking about the photograph, he says "I would prefer to live in my neighbourhood, since I can see the sky from there." That highly private and personal statement becomes a collective and political stance as soon as he positions himself as a subject (Butler 2002).

The statement "I would prefer to live in the house where I grew up" is a portrait of that which is unbearable, the desiring production of subjects who are on the outside without being on the outside. In this sense, the slums of the global South in the twenty-first century are a sort of möbius strip. Rather than a 'barbarian outside' of the city, these neighbourhoods are inside urban areas, often in downtown areas. If the idea of periphery is useful to describe some aspects of the contemporary scene, it is not in relation to a geographical place in the sense of being beyond the limits of a territory, and that sheds light on the notion of liminal population. Reconquista, like other neighbourhoods in the global South, constitute a nodal part of the urban and super-diverse flow in the twenty-first century. What we have is, on the one hand, non-codified flows that circulate and may burst at any point and, on the other, the government of the population, codification, and territorialization. In Deleuze's words, "the fundamental action of a society [is] to code the flows and to treat as an enemy anyone who presents himself, in relation to society, as an uncodable flow, because, once again, it challenges the entire earth, the whole body of this society (Deleuze 1971, p. 2). While it appears that education has occupied and continues to

occupy a key place in this codification of flows, it would also seem, as we have demonstrated here, that despite all the hardships faced by schools, they continue to be a place where that "quiet encroachment" manages to find a space of expression.

If there is no outside, no one is outside. You can drive on highways and not look, but that act of not looking is directed at something that is there, something that constitutes feared flows. And this is where a political scenario emerges that lies beyond the logics of inclusion and integration, a political scenario in the framework of flexible accumulation times that is endlessly producing liminal populations at those constantly overflowing borders of the city and its inhabitation, especially in the global South.

The photographs of this chapter conceive of political conditions with different futures. How is it possible to make a choice from a place of impossibility? With Deleuze, we understand that, in picking up a camera and portraying their impossibilities, these young people create possibilities. "A creator," says Deleuze, "is someone who creates their own impossibilities, and thereby creates possibilities…" (1995, p. 133). In other words, the impossibility of thought (obstacle) is that which constitutes the potential for thought (source); it is in identifying with that potential (preference) that the thinker finds in him- or herself another impersonal thinker that engenders thought.

These young people do not deny the conditions in which they live. Indeed, they want to show them, speak of them, put their daily life as a centre scene rather than hide it. As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, hiding exists in a state of tension with the desire to show the neighbourhood, to step out and display oneself, to scream what is silenced.

In many photographs (e.g. Fig. 5.5), the neighbourhood is bursting with life: kids playing on the soccer field at the centre of the neighbourhood, the houses where the kids taking the photos live, their families. "My friends are in my neighbourhood. We all built my house together. Here, we can play music late into the night," explains Agustín.

The neighbourhood as a place in which a subject projects a future. And, crucially, that in no way means accepting current living conditions. Behind things as they are lies a promise, a demand regarding how they should be; there is the potential for another reality trying to come into being. Where what we expect to see are death and disillusion, what we see in these photographs are places of life, love, friendship. Spaces where dreams are dreamt and desires desired, because the real dream—as Nietzsche (1981) said—is the one we dream knowing we are making it come true.

These dreams are woven in very particular ways in narratives involving school life. "Looking for a way out" is the title that one young person gives to a picture of a window at her school (Fig. 5.6).

Perhaps the way out of school. But this search for the exit is bound to other stories on school life. In response to the question "Why do you come to school?" that we put to these students during the process of producing these photos, one student says:

> To study, to have a good future. So that come tomorrow, I might be someone, have a steady job. Have a better future. Give my kids what they need and what they want to be all right. (María, 17 years old)

Fig. 5.5 Playing hide and seek

Fig. 5.6 Looking for a way out

School—regardless of all the ominous warnings that it is an institution in crisis that has outlived its usefulness—is key. For young people, school means putting stock in the future. It is, in fact, the place where they look for a way out. And that is because, at school, the walls scream; it is here that the world is put into words. In fact, putting into words is central to any educational action if, that is, we understand "putting into words" to mean the possibility of thought and of questioning thought.

It is, once again, the students themselves who contest that devaluated images of the school as well as of the young people who live in slums as subjects that don't care about anything, least of all learning: "I come to this school because they teach you more here," states Mariana (student, 17 years old). And that is where a crack, the search for a way out, opens up, a scream that strives to be released. It is likely that hope is deposited specifically in schools because "insofar as the educational act presumes a relationship between two wills/forces (past-future), its efficacy is never absolute. And it is in that gap of impossibility that creation and the production of the new is possible […]" (Grinberg 2008, p. 34). School becomes the space to think the world, to conceptualize it, to create new wor(l)ds.

Closing Remarks

Deleuze and Guattari (1994) wrote:

> Nor is it only in the extreme situations described by Primo Levi that we experience the shame of being human. We also experience it in insignificant conditions, before the meanness and vulgarity of existence that haunts democracies, before the propagation of these modes of existence and of thought-for-the-market, and before the values, ideals, and opinions of our time. The ignominy of the possibilities of life that we are offered appears from within. We do not feel ourselves outside our time but continue to undergo shameful compromises with it. The feeling of shame is one of philosophy's most powerful motifs. We are not responsible for the victims but responsible before them. (pp. 107–108)

Something like that shame besets us every day in our fieldwork as we confront the traumatic experience that characterizes pedagogical devices today in urban spaces that combine extreme poverty and environmental decay. The students photograph and name that experience with screaming silences and look to schools to provide a way out.

In this work, we have described those moments in school life where, by means of audiovisual or, in this case, photographic production, abject lives become lives lived. Audiovisual production provides, on the one hand, the possibility of speech in school, speech that can name lived situations that would otherwise be on the limits of what can be said. In the same process, speech shows that which, as these young people themselves say —— should remain hidden. At the very instant of the photograph, these young people interrupt school life as well as the image itself. Thus, in times of ocularcentrism where image is everything (see, among others, Taylor 2013), we believe that this production places the eye in a state of suspense as it interrupts and provokes vision. In the hands of these young people, the camera

makes us look at and consider these times—our times—in other ways. Thinking in other ways means interrupting, producing a fissure un daily school life.

This is where something of that shame becomes political potential and helps (us) to move from history to becoming, from the possible to the virtual. Generating spaces of visualization, creating spaces of production and of rupture is perhaps one of the great pedagogical challenges of the twenty-first century. The photographic production of these young people at school can either go unnoticed or become political potential. The question about the workshop and its processes as well the effects on schools life remains for future papers related to what extent at schools we will be able to grasp onto the experiences of students, to hold them in our glance, to rethink the frameworks of these experiences in order to conceptualize them, that is, to place them in history.

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Chapter 6
Theories of Globalisation and Planetary Sustainability

Margaret Somerville

Abstract Current theorisations of the superdiversity and supercomplexity dimensions of globalization are generated largely from the 'global North'. This chapter is framed within Braidotti's analysis of advanced capitalism and Connell's Southern theory critique of globalization theories. Connell's propositions for generating alternative epistemologies are deployed as the starting point for thinking about global knowledges differently. Based on data generated from three collaborative projects with Aboriginal communities in Australia, it is argued that Aboriginal knowledge frameworks have complex systems whereby knowledge moves from local to regional to global without losing connection with the materiality of local places. These frameworks are translated into contemporary forms that offer alternative onto-epistemologies for planetary sustainability. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how these alternative onto-epistemologies might contribute to our thinking about superdiversity and supercomplexity in order to confront the impact of neoliberal economic globalisation on the (super)diversity and (super)complexity of planetary life forms.

Keywords Southern theory • Alternative epistemologies • Local place knowledges • Superdiversity and supercomplexity of planetary life forms

Introduction

The 'super-diversity' arising from global migrations of human populations and the 'super-complexity' of information in our data-driven age that frame this book describe important human social phenomena produced under conditions of neoliberal economic globalisation. They point to emergent aspects of human society that demand significant educational attention. Like other foundational concepts in Western thought, however, super-diversity and super-complexity are theorised from the perspective of the global North (Connell 2007). While couched in abstract

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generalisations, they are geographically and epistemologically located, offering particular theorisations from within the time/space compression of what has become known as globalisation. Whether these understandings of globalisation processes are supported or critiqued, such theorisations do not address the underlying systems of thought that are on a seemingly inevitable collision course with the fate of the planet and its life forms.

This chapter is set in the tension between the forces of neoliberal economic globalisation and planetary sustainability. Much of the movement of human populations that results in the phenomena described as 'superdiversity' is propelled by these forces of neoliberal economic globalisation. These include the increasingly narrow concentrations of wealth and the parallel spread of poverty, the escalation of wars over scarce resources such as oil and water, and the disenfranchisement of young people globally. These phenomena parallel, and are related to, the continuation of a business-as-usual approach to the escalation of planetary problems of global warming, species loss, and the destruction of the more-than-human world. This more-than-human world is arguably more complex and more diverse than human knowledge can imagine, including the processes of change whereby human actions have altered the biosphere in irreversible ways. The methodology of the chapter is to draw on recent critiques of neoliberal economic rationalism deriving from Connell's Southern theory and to propose an alternative onto-epistemology based in contemporary translations of Australian Indigenous knowledge frameworks. It is located in the international scholarly movement gathering momentum around the concept of the Anthropocene that seeks to address foundational epistemological problems in Western thought.

The Anthropocene is described as 'a new phase in the history of both humankind and of the Earth, when natural forces and human forces became intertwined, so that the fate of one determines the fate of the other' (Zalasiewicz et al. 2010, p. 2231). Proposed as a new geological age originating in the industrial revolution, the Anthropocene has paradoxically functioned to highlight the urgency of addressing the rapidly accelerating impact of human activities on planetary processes. While the proposed age of the Anthropocene emphasizes the human impact on the earth's ecosystems, it simultaneously decentres the human species in the planetary processes that have been set in motion. Rather than requiring a heroic rescue response the Anthropocene requires the decentring of humans in thought and action which is most difficult to achieve in western thought.

A preliminary review of conferences with 'Anthropocene' in the title demonstrates the power of this concept to bring disciplines together in unprecedented ways to stimulate new modes of thinking. In five major conferences scheduled for 2014 in Denmark, United Kingdom, United States, Canada and Australia, the Anthropocene is functioning as a tool for innovation and imagination to generate emergent constellations of life and knowledge because 'we cannot solve problems using the same kind of thinking that created them' (Nordic Environmental Social Science Conference 2014). Informal, non-formal and formal education has a crucial role to play (Kagawa and Selby 2010, p. 5) but the integration of new epistemologies for planetary sustainability into formal education curricula has been found to be

increasingly difficult in the context of neoliberal imperatives of leagues tables and standardised testing (Comber and Nixon 2009).

Southern Theory, Neoliberal Globalization and Advanced Capitalism

In a series of papers about neoliberal globalisation, Raewyn Connell describes its processes and impact, and lays the foundation for an alternative critique, mapping a possible pathway out of the conundrum (Connell 2013, 2014; Connell and Dados 2014). According to Connell, 'Neoliberalism broadly means the agenda of economic and social transformation under the sign of the free market' (Connell 2013, p. 100). The resulting financialisation of global activities, 'a fast-moving global arena of financial transactions, consisting of a network of national and international markets in shares, bonds, financial derivatives and currency', is what is commonly known as 'globalisation' (Connell 2013, p. 100).[1] The resulting social formations in specific spheres of activity include the commodification of education through regimes of standardized testing, league tables and competition, diminution of public school systems, residualisation of some schools alongside the concomitant reproduction of privilege in others, and the contraction of school curriculum (e.g. Connell 2007; Davies and Bansell 2007; Comber and Nixon 2009; Ravitch 2013).

Neoliberalism, however, 'has its central dynamic not within the metropole, but in the relation between metropole and periphery' (Connell 2013, p. 101) and can be critiqued from the perspective of a 'Southern theory' of knowledge production (Connell and Dados 2014). Southern theory is not about a fixed geographic location but about the nature of sociological knowledge as originating in the urban and cultural centres of the major imperial powers at the high tide of modern imperialism. Connell argues that the making of sociology itself was a process of colonisation and Australia's role was to be a data mine, a source of ethnographic examples. Within the colonised world, Australia had the distinction of being *the most primitive of all*, illustrating the extremity of degradation or backwardness (Connell 2008). Knowledge projects arising from the global South can inform our understanding of knowledge itself, and offer possible pathways out of the closed loop of neoliberal globalization and its critiques (Connell 2013).

In a recorded interview for the Open University, Braidotti (2014) offers a Deleuzian analysis of advanced capitalism that further extends our understanding of the mechanisms of neoliberal economic rationalism. According to Braidotti, advanced capitalism produces subjectivities in which difference is capitalised upon and highly valued, only in terms of creating new markets. Difference itself is subsumed into the market economy, disconnected from its emancipatory potential of making a difference in the world. In addition to subsuming human subjectivities, all kinds of borders have been crossed, absorbing 'animals, seeds, plants, and the

[1] See also Petersen in this collection for an expanded analysis of financialisation.

earth as a whole' into the market. 'Seeds, cells and genetic codes', all of our basic earth others, everything that lives, has become controlled, commercialised and commodified. In this Braidotti extends our concerns to the more-than-human world. In asking how can we begin to think in transformative terms under advanced capitalism Braidotti proposes an adaptation of classical forms of a politics of location, a consciousness raising about the place where we are speaking from, of our particular role in the scheme of things. She says we need to re-think our relationship to living and dying: dying as both active in terms of whose lives are valued, and death in terms of climate change and the systematic depletion of all life forms on earth.

Braidotti's analysis is well aligned with Connell's four approaches for the project of building knowledge from the periphery in which he identifies: the preservation of indigenous knowledge and practices; re-thinking the invasion through which colonized people try to make sense of what has happened to them; understanding the new society created by colonialism and neocolonialism; and the reconstruction of knowledge that is set in train by colonialism and decolonization (Connell 2013, pp. 214–215). In relation to the first two projects of 'preserving Indigenous knowledge' and (re)'thinking the invasion', Connell cites *Singing the Coast* (Somerville and Perkins 2010) as exemplary. In this chapter, I map the main contribution of the collaborative research that generated *Singing the Coast* as part of a trajectory which is continued in the later book, *Water in a Dry Land* (Somerville 2013a). The series of research studies articulated through these publications traces the relation between Connell's first three projects of Southern theory, and elaborates the fourth in which 'art and knowledge from the periphery create theories that have not existed before' (Connell 2013, p. 215). Together they offer a possible way of thinking about globalisation beyond the conditions of neoliberal economic rationalism and the binaries of Western thought. They are proposed as a contribution towards an epistemology for living in the Anthropocene which extends an understanding of 'superdiversity' and 'supercomplexity' to life forms other than human.

Collaborative Research as Southern Theory Knowledge Projects

The three collaborative research studies that I describe in this chapter trace the movement from local to regional to global knowledges in Australian Aboriginal knowledge frameworks.[2] They arise from a critique of the abstract generalization of western knowledge systems that erase local embodied knowledge and its connection with the land.

The first of these research studies, 'Ecotourism on the mid north coast of NSW' was initiated by Tony Perkins, the manager of Yarrawarra Aboriginal Corporation with the aim of documenting their relationship to their local places for their

[2] Each of the three research studies was funded by the Australian Research Council with additional funding from the Myer Foundation to extend the third.

educational eco-tourist enterprise. The research recorded the transition of northern Gumbaynggirr people from the time before, to the time after, white settlement using archaeology and oral history methods. It mapped the stories of the Old People in 'No mans land', the narrow strip of coastal land outside the encroaching fences of white settlement. In this liminal space of transition the people could continue to speak their language and practice aspects of their culture in the face of colonial invasion. Through understanding the process of transition, this analysis theorised the nature of local place knowledge as a possible knowledge framework for contemporary postcolonial conditions.

The second of the research studies, 'Connecting the dots: local and regional place knowledge in Gumbaingirr nation' arose from the first. It was intentionally framed as a knowledge project and asked the question: How can we move from the local to more-than-local knowledge without losing the connection to the materiality of local places? The sequence of knowledge production from these two research studies was articulated in *Singing the Coast* which analyses the nature of local knowledge production and traces the movement from local to regional knowledge in Gumbaynggirr frameworks (Somerville and Perkins 2010). Together these two research studies contribute to the third, 'Bubbles on the Surface', which continues the trajectory into global knowledges within Australian Aboriginal frameworks.

The third research study, 'Bubbles on the Surface: a place pedagogy of the Narran Lake' focused on water in the Murray-Darling Basin, a prime site for challenging the impact of neoliberal ideologies and practices on the environment. The methodology for the research was developed in collaboration with U'Alayi researcher Chrissiejoy Marshall and involved working with Aboriginal artists and cultural knowledge holders from throughout the Murray-Darling Basin. It produced its outcomes initially as a series of exhibitions of artworks and stories in regional galleries that engaged with local people throughout the artesian basin. It was in this third study that we came to articulate the methodology of Thinking through Country. Thinking through Country offers a contemporary onto-epistemology from the space between Indigenous and settler knowledge frameworks as a counter to theories of globalization generated within the global North. An onto-epistemology is founded on the non-separation of knower and known so that a basic assumption of such knowledge systems is that the human subject only comes into being through its embeddedness in the world of which that subject is an indivisible part. Knowledge of that world is therefore an onto-epistemology in which being and knowing are inseparable.

Thinking Through Country as Onto-Epistemology

Chrissiejoy Marshall (Immiboagurramilbun) came to me as a doctoral student and struggled with her ambivalence towards academic thought and language. Although researching the development of a training package in conflict resolution and now living in Sydney, we worked out that in order to make any knowledge claims at all

she had to 'think through Country', the specific country of the Narran Lake where she grew up. She developed her methodology using a combination of her paintings, oral storytelling and translations from Erinbinjori and U'Alayi languages assembled on the DVD (Marshall 2005). According to Chrissiejoy, the paintings draw on ancient cosmology, spirituality, history and laws, while simultaneously being a contemporary form with contemporary cultural meanings. She was aware of generating knowledge in the context of a Western academic institution and her paintings and stories emerged in the contact zone between these two knowledge traditions. When we adapted this methodology for our collaborative research about water in the drylands of the Murray Darling Basin, we named it 'Thinking through Country', a collaborative methodology in which knowledge emerges from our relations within Country (Immiboagurramilbun[3] 2005).

Beginning with Country

Chrissiejoy introduced her methodology with a composite painting in which all of the parts of the whole fitted together like a jigsaw puzzle. In the accompanying script she named each of these parts through her own understanding of the components of a methodology of Country comprising conceptual framework, ontology, epistemology, methods, and representation. Beginning in the centre top of the jigsaw painting, she named the central framing piece 'A mudmap of Country' as the overarching conceptual framework.

> Starting in the centre top of the painting this jigsaw piece is viewed as a mud map of the Noongahburrah country. The black lines are the rivers within, and marking the boundaries of this Country, and the black orb in the centre represents the Narran Lake, where I was raised, and which has always been the most significant and sacred site for Noongahburrabah, Murriburrah, Ngunnaburrah, and all the other peoples of the nation that spoke the U'Alayi language as well as several other nations of Aboriginal people within bordering countries (Immiboagurramilbun 2005).

In this sense 'Country' as a conceptual framework is not a generalized notion like 'the environment' or 'nature', but a specific material location of long-term intimate everyday embodied attachment. Like many people, including those who move into locations of superdiversity, Chrissiejoy had long been physically displaced from the place of her growing up. We recorded her childhood memories of the Narran Lake, whilst sitting in her house in Sydney's densely populated, multicultural and multilingual western suburbs. It was as if we travelled back through time and space to her childhood by the lake. An assumption of this epistemology is that no matter where one moves to or from, there is always an ongoing attachment to the place of one's childhood and ancestry. An embodied attachment to Country is carried across time and space as a continuing framework for thought and action.

[3] Chrissiejoy has uses her Aboriginal name, Immiboagurramilbun, in relation to her Aboriginal knowledge.

Me, Myself and I: An Onto-Epistemology

The element of ontology is introduced in the second segment of the jigsaw painting with four black swans on a background of blue water. Chrissiejoy explains that the first two swans are for her mother, and the second two represent the water people, the Noongahburrah clan of her grandfather's people. In this way the individual is understood as part of the collective and the collective is an inseparable part of the more-than-human world. The swans are designated as *Mulgury*, an Erinbinjori language word signalling their collective meaning as creatures of the *Niddeerie*. According to Chrissiejoy the concepts of Mulgury and Niddeerie have been reductively translated as 'totem' and 'dreamtime' but Chrissiejoy is careful to provide a fuller and more complex understanding of these core concepts.

> At the beginning all was Mulgury. Only creative power and intent. Through the intent and power of our Creator, Mulgury reproduces into form to carve the beings and shapes of the world where the water meets the sky and earth sings the world to life. The pattern of life is Mulgury and Mulgury is traced in the Niddrie [the framework of the ancient laws within Niddeerie] of Mudri [person]. Every tracing, every rock, tree, plant, landform, the water, fish, reptile, bird, animal and Mudri is in the sacred relationship, through Niddeerie. The pattern, shape and form of Mulgury is life, and all is a continuing tracing of Mulgury (Ticalarnabrewillaring [Grandmother], recorded 1961, translated by Immiboagurramilbun 2005).

In this onto-epistemology form and meaning are created simultaneously with the fabric of the earth and all its creatures, including humans. Chrissiejoy's mother *is* swan, and collectively Noongahburrah people are swan. Swan belongs to the time and place of the creation of the land and people of *Terewah*, the language name for the Narran Lake which means home of the black swan. The creation of the lake and its creatures did not happen once in the beginning of time, but each time swan is evoked in language and ceremony, swan and the lake come into being again and again in past, present and future. Those who carry that identity are both swan and place. Country, swan and person are together an ontological and epistemological reality. Knowledge and person comes into being simultaneously with the material and discursive reality of the earth.

Representation of Country Through Story/Image

The deep time creation stories of the Narran Lake are represented in the jigsaw painting through a depiction of the giant lizard who created the Lake with the thrashing of his tail. Simple versions of creation stories are told to introduce young children to the complex cosmology of country in their daily lives, 'I grew up knowing the stories so I'm guessing that I was told as a very, very small child'. These are the stories that are available for open sharing, protecting the secret sacred stories of the special places of creation which are only conferred through ceremony.

> Baiame the Creator was here on earth and he had two wives, and he sent his wives to go and dig yams while he went to do something else, I think it was gather honey or something, and they were to meet at this waterhole. Anyway he got to this waterhole and the wives were missing, so he figured out what had happened to them and tracked them down. He got around in front of it [the creature being tracked] and it was Kurreah, he had swallowed his two wives. So he waited in ambush and killed and slit open the belly and got his wives out. He put them on an ants' nest and brought them back to life and everyone lived happily ever after but whilst he was killing the giant lizard, Kurreah swished his tail around and knocked the big hole in the ground and all the water he had swallowed flowed into that hollowed place that then became the lake. Baiame said, that in honour of Kurreah it would always refill with water and there would always be water and many birds and things there (Immiboagurramilbun 2005).

Only the most surface layer of creation stories are publicly shared, the deeper layers of knowledge transmitted through ceremonies in the place through which the interdependencies between people and people and people and place are created and recreated. Middens formed from the discarded remains of the great ceremonial feasts held by the Narran Lake mark the sites of these deep time ceremonies and stories. In the drylands of the Murray Darling Basin, 'water and water pathways' are 'central to the way Aboriginal people speak about their land, and the many traditional stories about land are about networks of watering places' (Goodall 2002, p. 39). The mound springs of the Artesian Basin, for example, provide richly layered cultural routes that 'highlight the importance of water in determining lines of travel across the world's most arid continent' (Blair 2001, p. 44). A characteristic of the nature of these knowledge frameworks is that the major storylines that cross the whole continent of Australia remain connected to these story places in the landscape. Each stopping place where the events in the creation stories took place is a ceremonial site with a song that sings it into (well) being.

They are examples of supercomplexity within relationship to Country. In such an onto-epistemology the human focused western understandings of superdiversity and supercomplexity are made infinitely more diverse and complex with the addition of the entangled relations of the human species with the more-than-human world. Contemplating the processes of change set in motion by human impact on the biosphere become infinitely more diverse and complex as we take account of the implications for other life forms.

Linking Local, Regional and Global Knowledges

Local Place Knowledge

The ways that this being and knowing in Country were translated into contemporary western forms through the time of colonisation was documented in the first collaborative research study with Gumbaynggirr people on the mid north coast of New South Wales. While people were massacred, dispossessed and lost much of their languages, Tony Perkins emphasizes the ways that their continuing cultural

practices transformed during this time. He describes the place where northern Gumbaynggirr people came to settle outside the encroaching fences of white settlement as 'No mans land'. It was a narrow strip of coastal land between Woolgoolga and Red Rock centred around what is now known as Corindi Lake. The people who settled there told many, many stories about the places around Corindi Lake where they built their shelters and lived off the land between the time before and the time after white settlement. These stories, and the ways that they lived on the land, were a compressed transitional time/space enactment of the ways they had lived throughout Gumbaynggirr Country in the time before white settlement. We grouped these many stories into the three meta-themes of *Material translations*, *Spirits in places* and *Eating place*, in order to better understand the nature of local place knowledge during this time of transition.

The material translations of 'No mans land' allowed northern Gumbaynggirr people to build a bridge between the past and a possible future. It is the story of these translations that allows us to learn how their new life was built from the past, albeit within and against the ongoing violence of colonisation. *Spirits in places* begins with stories of the spirits that inhabit Gumbaynggirr people's everyday lives and extends into the deepest knowledge of Country transmitted in initiation and increase ceremonies. 'Eating place' tells of the most essential element of their survival, their continuing ability to eat from the land and sea around them. These stories of 'Eating place' are the most revealing of the nature of the intimate embodied relationship with local places that characterise the foundation of Gumbaynggirr knowledge frameworks.

In clustering the stories of eating from their local places it became apparent that when people tell stories about eating all of the foods that contributed to their survival they were actually telling stories of the precise ecological zones where the foods came from, the local food ecologies. Yarrawarra people told stories of how they lived on prawns, crabs and fish from the estuary; turtles, swamp hens, eels from the swamp; pipis, googumbals, and abalone from the beach and rockpools; mullet, tailor, mackerel, whiting, jewfish, bream, trevally from the sea; kangaroo, possum, and porcupine from the surrounding bushlands; and turtles, eels and cobra from the river. In between all of these places they ate native fruits such as lilli pillis, wild cherries, nyum nyums and pigface as they walked on their tracks through the dunes and coastal heathlands.

Even within these local food ecologies there were smaller and more local aspects of embodied place knowledge that eventually came down to the intimate knowledge of the body of a single creature that will be eaten. In the Lake for example, people gathered prawns, crabs and fish. They knew that fish came into the Lake when the sea broke through its opening with king tides on the full moon, or rough stormy weather with high seas: *'The fish'll come up in there. They'll come up in the lake and they breed up in the lake … when the water's comin' out into the sea they feel that warmer water and they'll come up with the water to breed'*. In the quieter upper reaches of the Lake they caught ducks, eels and turtles. Each different part of the estuary offered food according to its own rhythms and cycles. The rhythms of the Lake change with night and day, the opening and closing to the sea and the larger

cycles of weather, moon and tides. Each of the creatures that inhabits the Lake has particular breeding, feeding and seasonal movements that respond to the rhythms and cycles of the Lake. People know the movements and rhythms of the Lake, and the cycles and seasons of its creatures, through eating food from the Lake. They are all aspects of the intimate local knowledge that comes from eating place. Through this intimate daily knowledge they learned that the Lake was the most vulnerable to settler inhabitation and the first of their food places to be lost.

This intimate knowledge gained from the everyday eating from local places is the basis of caring for Country, of understanding the health and wellbeing of Country and the people who live there. It is also the basis of creation story places, of linking trails and ceremony in knowledge frameworks that move from the local to global knowledge without losing the connection to the materiality of local places. This devaluing of the local that is characteristic of Western knowledge systems that value only abstract thought has intensified during the current focus on global mobilities. The assumption that such knowledge systems are limited to the local, or that they do not contain an understanding of mobility and cosmic phenomena, is based in ignorance of indigenous knowledge frameworks.

The Relation Between Local and Regional Knowledge of Country

In order to investigate the ways that place knowledge moved from local to regional we used the categories of regional knowledge that had emerged in the first study. These categories of regional knowledge included, storylines, special creation story places and ceremony. In *Connecting the dots*, under Tony Perkins' continuing leadership, we moved the location of the research to southern Gumbaynggirr Country in partnership with Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Cultural Co-operative. It was through the process of language revival in which storylines were connected back to country, to the physical terrain where the events in the creation stories took place, that we understood the connection between local and regional knowledge.

We developed the method of deep mapping in which we mapped layers of place knowledge from the immediate present to the deep past with each preceding layer visible and active within the present. We began with the stories of the Muurrbay language and culture centre today as the place where 'the language was brought home' from the archives in Canberra (Somerville and Perkins 2010). The next layer of stories was memory stories Girr Girrjuga, or Stuart Island, in the Nambucca River, their equivalent of No mans land. Stuart Island was the place where southern Gumbaynggirr people established new ways of living after white settlement until they were displaced again by a golf course. Finally we mapped the creation storylines of the great ancestral beings as part of the deep past. The deep past is cyclical, returning and being re-created in the present each time a story is told so each of the

layers of present, historical and deep time stories are all visible as layers in the present. People continue to inhabit all of these places through their actions in local places, through their stories and through the language work that is central to language revival at Muurrbay.

The mapping of a present day walking story from the nearby town of Bowraville to Stuart Island offers a practical insight into the basis of the storylines that criss cross Gumbaynggirr country. As we mapped the events of the walking trail, gathering food, learning to make spears, avoiding dangerous and lurky places, we became aware that this everyday walking trail was part of the storyline of the creation ancestor, Birrugan. We realized that the linking trails, or songlines, rather than being esoteric spiritual journeys are the actual walking tracks that people followed when they travelled back and forth through Country. They followed the walking trails of the ancestral beings as they moved through the landscape. The storylines that follow these trails link the many smaller stories of particular events that happened along the way, as the ancestral beings created the forms, and all the living creatures, of the land. A storyline is the plot or narrative outline of the larger story, and this becomes a songline once again when language, story, people, and place are re-connected. Deep mapping was the process whereby the larger narratives were reconnected to country, reclaiming their original status as songlines. Ongoing language work and storytelling in country keeps the local connections strong and helps people to care for Country. This knowledge project represented Connell's process of preserving indigenous knowledge frameworks and traditions as they evolved through the transition into contemporary social forms.

> That's that jigsaw puzzle that we talk about,' cause each young fella, they were taken out by the older ones when they're young and the older ones was very clever at how to teach you. They tell some young fellas about different things and they'll tell the other young ones other things and the idea is when the young ones grow up, when they go up in age they should be talkin' to one another then, they put together like a jigsaw puzzle and understand all the information, that's how they used to teach us. (Tony Perkins)

In using the same metaphor of the jigsaw puzzle that Chrissiejoy Marshall had also visualised in her overarching painting of the methodology of Thinking through Country, Tony emphasised the formation of new knowledge in the piecing together of the deep past and (post)colonial present. This alternative response to colonisation challenges constructions of knowledge itself because 'these analyses do not generally arise, and are not comfortably contained, within the knowledge structures of the global metropole'. These hybrid alternatives generate the fourth knowledge project of Southern theory: 'the reconstruction of knowledge that is set in train by colonialism and decolonization' (Connell 2014, p. 215). This offers an alternative approach to thinking about (super)diversity and (super)complexity as if these phenomena can be theorised as separate from the matter of the planet. Humans beings, human languages, human knowledge frameworks, social formations and political actions are all dependent on planetary resources that are the essential supports for all life including human life.

Global Knowledge in the Neoliberal Context of Water

The third project, 'Bubbles on the surface: a place pedagogy of the Narran Lake', was situated in relation to contemporary neoliberal economic rationalist approaches to water in the Murray-Darling Basin. Scholars internationally have named water as one of the most urgent and extreme cases of major resource depletion and the water crisis as 'the most pervasive, the most severe, and most invisible dimension of the ecological devastation of the earth' (Shiva 2002, p. 1). The problem of water scarcity, however, is not about whether there is enough water, but how we use that water. Australia, as the driest inhabited continent on earth uses more water per head of population than any other nation in the world (Sinclair in Barlow et al. 2008). Much of this water is consumed in irrigation to produce crops for food and fibre in the drylands of the Murray-Darling Basin which produces 40 % of the country's agricultural output, valued at $10 billion a year. Our collaborative research study was designed around Chrissiejoy's concern that the Narran Lake was dry for most of the time due to the extraction of water upstream by Cubbie Station. Cubbie Station, the largest irrigation property in the southern hemisphere comprises 96,000 ha (240,000 acres) and is managed by the Lempriere Group, on behalf of CS Agriculture, a joint venture between Lempriere and Shandong RuYi Group, a textile manufacturer owned by investors from China and Japan.

The discourses of neoliberal globalisation present a contemporary variation to the discourses of modernity of the regulated river. Increasing demands for water from both urban interests and broad acre irrigation farming are seen to compete with an urgent need for 'environmental flows' because of the dire state of 'the environment'. The most common way to calculate the amount of water that should be released as environmental flow is described by one scientist in: *What's 'left over', the historic situation in many of Victoria's rivers:* 'If the volume of water available for consumptive use is completely specified, and it is less than the total volume available, then the remainder could be considered to be the environmental flow' (Ladson and Finlayson 2004, p. 20). The current neoliberal economic solution is water trading. The previous Federal government bought back water from farmers with irrigation licenses in order to increase environmental flows resulting in a series of angry protests. The current Federal government has announced plans to return water allocations to farmers along the Murray-Darling river system.

While it is recognised that indigenous water practices need 'to be considered, understood, valued and integrated into any emerging water property rights framework' (Altman 2004, p. 30), the gulf between water as a commodity to be owned and traded and indigenous knowledge frameworks makes such integration impossible. Water, as itself, is fundamental to indigenous ontologies and epistemologies all over the world (Schama 1996; Strang 2004) and destruction of waterways and water sources is equivalent to cultural erasure (Shiva 2002). A fundamental paradigm shift is required in order that we learn to think about water differently and it is this paradigm shift that I am proposing in response to current neoliberal theories and practices of globalization.

Connell's Fourth Knowledge Project: Art and Knowledge from the Periphery Create New Theories

In our research study we collaborated with Aboriginal artists from throughout the Murray-Darling Basin following the methodology of Thinking through Country. A large number of artworks in different forms including paintings, lino prints and metal engravings, possum skin cloaks, sculptures and installations were presented in a series of six exhibitions of artwork and stories throughout the duration of the study. Artist conversations were held with landowners, townspeople, business people and school children. In the following I draw on only two of these works to illustrate how new forms of knowledge are created from the periphery. Many other artworks produced in this research study are described in the book *Water in a Dry Land* and represented on the book's website (Somerville 2013a, b).

The first, Paakantji artist Badger Bates' lino print 'Iron Pole Bend, Wilcannia', is a form of deep mapping. It materialises alternative relationships between Country, water, life forms, representation, and structures of knowledge. The print is visually structured around the two Ngatyis, the creation rainbow serpents that can be seen deeply immersed in the radiating lines of force that represent the creation of the waters. From their mouths the flow of waters bursts forth. Their bodies make the shape of the rivers and the invisible underground waterways in their travels. The flowing waters in the print are alive with the river's creatures – cod, catfish, shrimp, yabby and mussels. It is a story of the everyday – of the place where Badger's Granny caught their daily food, near where he grew up in a tin hut on the banks of the Darling River and where Granny saw the visible form of the Ngatyi as the Water Dog.

Iron Pole Bend embodies all of the complex knowledge required for catching the river's food and ensuring it is protected, as fundamental to survival. The edges of the water are shaped by the penetration of the mythical creatures whose movement and stories link to far away places and storylines. We can recognise these as creation ancestors because their internal structures are visible. The Kangaroo hops beside the shape of Koonenberry Mountain, the special place where the yellow foot rock wallaby became Kangaroo. The Goanna crawls in from its story place in the red sandhills and the Brolga flies towards Brindingyabba and the Narran Lake. They are passing through from one place to another in the great water songlines that create the vast drylands of the Murray-Darling Basin.

At the top of the print, in a hybrid combination of a bird's eye view and a more typical Western landscape, we can see Paaytucka, the Moon, and the Emu in the Milky Way. The story of the moon in Lake Paaytucka and the Emu in the Milky Way connect earth country, water country and sky country, opening the intimate attachments of the everyday and home to the immensity of planetary rhythms of country, water, moon and stars. The Moon Lake is represented with the skeletons of fish and water creatures, depleted of its life giving water in times of irrigation stress.

The lino print represents an image of a different form of knowledge, constituted from relations to Country through deep mapping that includes the deep time of

creation as well as the present within the one frame. Space, and the way the artwork delineates the spaces and places of these stories, is conceived differently from the way space and place is understood and represented in Western knowledge frameworks. The frame of the print does not foreclose meanings within its square boundaries because the meanings are both allusive and elusive. It points always to connections elsewhere in the flow of water and storylines. The lines of the waters flow in from somewhere else and travel to elsewhere. The mythical creatures travel into the frame of the print, but are not bounded by it, they are all in movement, in contrast to the idea that local knowledge is constrained and bounded.

The meanings of the storylines are *elusive* too, in the sense that we cannot know all of the layers and complexity of these stories, they enact a supercomplexity of knowledge of Country. They can be told and represented but they refuse the closure of the already-known. As Western viewers we are positioned as Other, as the unknowing learner, but the artworks, the maps and their stories, give some access to alternative understandings of water in this dry land. In this we are implicated, mutually entangled in what happens in this place by the actions we take in other places, in our homes in cities, in the urban landscapes that feed from this country. The print represents a knowledge project in itself in which new knowledge is created from the periphery by means that do not sit comfortably with northern theories of globalisation and neoliberal knowledge formations. It is the antithesis of the use of water for irrigating cotton on Cubbie Station and the concept of trading water to regulate environmental flows.

The second example of Connell's fourth knowledge project is Treahna Hamm's possum skin cloak. As the Darling flowed into the Murray River we moved down the waterways and Yorta Yorta artist Treahna Hamm joined the research team. Treahna Hamm was part of a movement in Victoria to revitalise the making of possum skin cloaks as art works. Possum skin cloaks were made and worn by Aboriginal people in the colder parts of Australia until the turn of the nineteenth century. Women used the possum skin cloaks by day as a covering across their backs and shoulders and by night as a blanket. They were also used as a sling to carry their babies when walking through country. In ceremonies they were used to reveal one's identity in country through the marks that were inscribed on the inside skin of the possum. People were buried with their cloaks, which is why so few remain today. Just 100 years later only two possum skin cloaks were known to remain in Australia, and these were held in the Melbourne Museum and four Aboriginal artists from Victoria were permitted to copy the cloak's designs and construction, including Yorta Yorta artist Treahna Hamm. Treahna went on to refine possum skin cloak making as a major art form, etching the creation story of Dunghala, the Murray River, onto the soft inside skin of a possum skin cloak.

> Baiame sent the old woman down from the alps with her stick and two camp dogs she walked along and she created a line in the sand and the camp dogs followed and then Baiame sent down the serpent to follow her and he followed the line she dug in the sand, which made the bed of the river and he sent down the rain, that filled up the Murray. She walked from the Alps right down the river to the mouth of the Murray where she fell asleep in a cave down there whenever you're there you can hear the sea it's the old woman singing in her sleep.

She tells the story as she points to the inscription on the cloak. The old woman is a tiny black figure at the top of the line of white winding river as it curves its way back and forth across the cloak between the red and yellow ochre forest of sacred red gums. The river red gums stretch out as tall spirit trees to fill the spaces between the back and forth curves of the river, their branches meeting each other in the centre. The serpent, with its diamond patterns of red and gold, snakes along the white river's course. At the bottom of the cloak the old woman, no longer a distant stick figure but a fully embodied old woman, lies sleeping in a cave surrounded by tiny dancing spirit figures. Underneath the cave, along the border of the cloak, two long-necked turtles, Treahna's 'mulgury', swim away from each other emitting a flow of white water from their mouths.

In this collaborative research the artworks functioned as transitional objects between different knowledge frameworks and relationships. At the most simple level they were offered as gifts, becoming literally incorporated into the other through their presence in the other's world. These gifts were a way of bridging different cultural understandings, relationships and knowledges of Country and water. They are gifts of Country that expressed our mutual entanglements in water. They represent the gift of alternative knowledge frameworks through which to reimagine the ways that we live for the time of the Anthropocene. In her talk presented at the University of Sydney 'Encountering the Anthropocene' conference in February in 2014, Deborah Bird Rose described the gift of Country as a gift without entitlement: 'the gift is always coming, every moment is a gift, the food we eat, the water we drink and very breath of life, it is all a gift' (University of Sydney 2014).

Conclusion

This chapter takes as its starting point the tension between the seemingly unstoppable forces of neoliberal economic globalisation and planetary sustainability. It argues that the superdiversity that has resulted in global movements of human populations on an unprecedented scale arises from underlying processes of neoliberal economic globalisation. Braidotti's analysis of the ways that advanced capitalism has absorbed all forms of life on earth extends our concerns beyond the human as an isolated self-determining species to consider superdiversity as inclusive of the more-than-human world. Her advocacy for an adaptation of classical forms of a politics of location is considered in the light of Connell's proposal to look to knowledge generated from the periphery for the possibility of new ontological and epistemological positions.

The chapter examines this possibility in relation to collaborative ethnographic research with Australian Aboriginal people in specific local places. In these collaborative projects the necessary entanglement of settler and Indigenous Australians in Country is acknowledged and examined as an essential element of Aboriginal knowledge frameworks. Contemporary Australian Indigenous knowledge frameworks are understood as deriving from the land and producing modes of being

and knowing that remain inextricably linked to the materiality of local places while adapted to contemporary mobilities and conditions of living. These knowledge frameworks, generated from the space between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ways of being and knowing, potentially offer alternative onto-epistemologies to prevailing forms of globalization. They provide a philosophical and theoretical context for understanding superdiversity and supercomplexity in the age of the Anthropocene as including the entangled relations of human species within the more-than-human world.

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Chapter 7
Super-epistemic Diversity: Intersectional Interplay of Educational Knowledge in Programa *Futuro Infantil Hoy*

Jing Qi and Christine Woodrow

Abstract Vertovec's (Ethnic Racial Stud 30(6):1024–1054, 2007) summary notion of 'super-diversity' challenges social researchers to multivariate inquiries of diversity. This chapter presents super-epistemic diversity as a conceptual approach to understanding multi-stranded, uneven and multidirectional flows of knowledge in the context of Futuro Infantil Hoy (FIH), an innovative transnational early childhood education program. It critically examines primary evidence of the interplay of global and local knowledge of the super-diverse intellectual stakeholders in FIH. Findings show that this knowledge interplay has promoted a perceived paradigm shift about family involvement in children's education and prompts a reconsideration of the nature of super-epistemic diversity.

Keywords Super-diversity • Super-epistemic diversity • The global and the local • Interplay of knowledge

Introduction

Futuro Infantil Hoy (FIH) was a transnational education program which focused on pedagogical changes for literacy teaching and learning in early childhood education. It was developed by Australian early childhood academics in partnership with Chilean early childhood academics, educators and a private sector organisation. The Australian team was invited to take a leadership role in a transnational collaboration to develop a sociocultural literacy program in early childhood centres located in vulnerable communities in northern Chile. The FIH Program was developed in the

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context of the Bachelet government's 2006–2010 reform agenda aimed at achieving significant improvements in coverage and the educational quality of early childhood programs, flowing from a historical legacy of unregulated and often poor quality early childhood teacher education (Pardo and Woodrow 2014; Galdames 2011).

The FIH Program adapted a funds of knowledge framework (González et al. 2005, 2013), which proved to be a powerful mobiliser for educators to find new ways of forming relationships with families and to seek and incorporate family and community knowledge and values into the children's learning experiences (Woodrow et al. 2014). In particular, the new pedagogical approaches that were practiced through the FIH Program transformed the epistemic relationships families had with the participating early childhood educators (Qi 2013, 2015). Contrary to educators' implied and explicit expectations, families in these poor communities demonstrated high-end intellectual skills and assets that they mobilised in the interests of their children's education.

The FIH Program involved a team of Anglophone academics from Australia supporting a group of Spanish-speaking early childhood educators in Chile to develop ways of engaging with low-income families in contexts of poverty. This chapter explores how the knowledge interplay between the Australian academics, Chilean early childhood educators, and Chilean families has stimulated a paradigm shift about family involvement in children's education in the context of this transnational literacy-focussed project. The process of the Australian academics mobilising the Chilean early childhood educators to incorporate the Chilean families' knowledge into their children's learning experiences was both enabled and challenged by a perception of the inequalities of knowledge. Similarly, the process of mobilisation was both enabled and constrained by knowledge of the (frequently) adverse social conditions in which the families lived, and characteristics of their presumed precarious existences obtained through anecdotes, direct experience in the early childhood centres, research and social profiling reports obtained or introduced by various stakeholders. Such information included evidence about the incidence of drug-related violence, incest, poverty, migration and incarceration produced through agencies such as the regional office of the national Statistics Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas – Dirección Regional Antofagasta 2015).

Vertovec's (2007) notion of 'super-diversity' accentuates the interplay of a myriad of variables that challenges social researchers to multivariate inquiries of diversity. For educational researchers with a keen interest in how diversity plays out in an interconnected local/global education, it seems imperative to acknowledge the missing variable relating to the contribution of a diversified range of intellectual labourers in producing knowledge (Qi 2013, 2015). At least for educational researchers, this absence reinforces the deficit framing of ethnically diverse people as epistemically inadequate. Whilst this concept draws our attention to the diversity of participants in the FIH Program, it fails to account for the interplay of knowledge in an educational context driven by the local/global mobility of diverse ethnic intellectual labours, such as educators, families and academics (See Qi 2013, 2015 for detailed analyses of different knowledge hierarchies in the FIH Program).

In the context of early childhood education, deficit theorising attributes low educational achievement to inadequacies in family capabilities, dispositions, and practices (Comber 2011; Comber and Kamler 2004). A plethora of intervention programs have been designed to provide support to families and family learning environments. However well intended, it may be that such a framing for family support programs reinforces deficit perceptions and continues to ignore the knowledge and capabilities of families, therefore contributing to "the continual reproduction of inequitable educational outcomes for children with different cultural, linguistic and economic resources" (Comber 2011, p. 344).

This chapter begins with reference to the research literature regarding the global mobility of knowledge and its local repercussions. The concept of super-epistemic diversity was offered to analyse data which was primarily sourced through interviews with (mostly) Chilean family members, Chilean early childhood educators and Australian academics across the five participating centres in the FIH Program. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the super-epistemic diversity that is implicated in the relationship between multiple sources of epistemic contribution in transnational education programs.

The Epistemic Global and Local

The epistemic relationship between the global and the local is at the centre of the flows of knowledge within a transnational program. In this chapter we consider globalisation as a 'multi-layered process' rather than 'a single or universal phenomenon … nuanced according to locality (local area, nation, world region), language(s) of use, and academic cultures" (Marginson cited in Mayo 2009, p. 87). In early education contexts, there is growing evidence about how local, family and community knowledge is absent from or subjugated to 'authorised', school knowledge and its effects (Comber 2011). As a consequence, a universal globalised schooling discourse is produced and seen to contribute to and exacerbate the 'intractable problem' of inequitable educational outcomes for marginalised children living in poverty (Comber 2011; Sanchez 2011; Woodhead et al. 2013). One example of this is the standardised literacy curriculum that bears little relation to children's experiences in their families and communities. Lamenting the lack of progress in interrupting the persistent low achievement of children in poverty, Comber asserts the "urgent" need for studies of "innovative and inclusive early childhood education in culturally diverse, high poverty context" (Comber 2011, p. 344).

This chapter emphasises the importance of research that *"seeks to elucidate the links between the 'global' and the 'local'"* (Barton and Murray 2009, p. 83). These efforts to better understand the links have frequently been conceptualised by the term 'glocal' where glocalisation can be understood as 'a meaningful integration of local and global forces' (Brookes and Normor 2010). Whilst some research explores this interface in early education contexts (Carrington 2003) and its effects in and on marginalised and vulnerable communities (Bloch et al. 2003; Penn 2002), leading

researcher activists with a particular interest in early education in the global south note with regard to academic treatment of educational reforms, that there remains little attention to 'how these globalized discourses permeate, and are resisted, in local practice' . Others warn of the tendencies to construct meaning within the binary global/local and an over-romanticisation of the local (Biddle and Knights 2007), problematising assumptions about the local as subservient to the global, calling for alternative conceptual underpinnings for the analysis of local and global knowledge flows. Often too, glocalisation is understood in terms of unidirectional flows of knowledge down a perceived hierarchy from the global to the local (Qi 2013, 2015). This is exemplified in the definition of glocalisation as the 'adaptation of incoming foreign cultural identities (knowledge) to suit local needs' (Ho and Lin 2011). Additionally, a tendency to treat local relations as uniform and universal is somewhat problematic, leaving complex local–local relations unaccounted for. Listerborn (2013) argues that 'glocal lives are highly class-based, racialised and gendered' (p. 290). A closer analysis of the interplay of multidirectional epistemic flows examines the assumed epistemic hierarchies within local communities as well as those between global and local (Qi 2013, 2015).

This analysis points to the value of using intersectionality theory to interrogate the hierarchical and local–global knowledge flows in early childhood centres in marginalised contexts. Key scholars of intersectionality, together with many feminist researchers, work from the position of understanding race, class and gender, as forms of social stratification being fundamentally intertwined and therefore deserving of study in relation to each other. Although under-utilised in social research outside of gender research, according to Choo and Ferree (2010), the contribution of intersectional analysis is seen in terms of its powerful potential in providing a fuller understanding of social equality, particularly as these pertain to "core sociological issues, such as institutions, power relationships, culture and interpersonal interaction" (p. 130). These overlapping institutional elements are seen to be critical to an analysis of multiply marginalised people (p. 131) and an intersectional analysis ensures inclusion of their perspective. In addition, Choo and Feree (2010) see two other considerations as distinctive of an intersectional analysis: multiplication and transformation of the effects of independent strands of equality, and focussing on how institutions in their overlapping 'co-determine' inequalities.

Super-Epistemic Diversity

This chapter offers super-epistemic diversity as an analytical tool of the interplay of knowledge between the epistemically super-diverse participants in the FIH Program. The closely intertwined variables of ethnicity, class, gender, language and professional/parental roles in the FIH Program necessitate these forms of stratification to be studied in relation to each other, or 'intersectionally' (Creswell 2013). The concept of super-epistemic diversity emphasises the importance of including the epistemic contributions of multiply-marginalised people, in the case of FIH, families (and often women) in low socio-economic regions of northern Chile. Drawing on Choo and Ferree's (2010) discussion about intersec-

tionality, the concept of super-epistemic diversity conceptualises the intellectual involvement of predominantly (though not exclusively) Chilean families, accentuating the multiplication and transformation of the interactions between multiple strands of inequality. What distinguishes our analysis from that of intersectionality, however, is how the epistemic contributions of these otherwise marginalised stakeholders, disrupts the inequalities that have been co-determined by multiple institutions, if valued and acknowledged. It also illustrates the complex multi-directionality of local knowledge (Listerborn 2013). Whilst this analysis has been conducted with a relatively small sample size, thus limiting its generalisabilty, the families involved in the study were drawn from 3 widely dispersed geographical locations. This expansion of the concept of superdiversity provides in our view a novel and useful lens through which to consider this perceived disruption of marginality, responding to Combers (2011) call signalled earlier in the chapter.

Reflecting this key concern about the social reproduction and intergenerational nature of social disadvantage, marginalisation and poor educational outcomes for children living in poverty, a landmark study explored children's experiences of living with economic adversity (Skattebol et al. 2012). Whilst the findings are quite wide-ranging, of particular significance to this study are the findings in relation to family perceptions of their treatment by education institutions, and educator perceptions of family engagement, suggesting a wide gulf in perceptions. The research amassed compelling evidence about how the families felt they were not respected by the school, and believed they were informed about their children's education mostly in regard to procedural matters and behaviour. Children in the study expressed "strong views about how their parents and families were engaged by schools, and their assessments of this was a determining factor in their global perceptions of their well-being" (Skattebol et al. 2012, p. 127). The study also found "young people and their parents felt that schools perceived parents as inadequate" or part of the problem, rather than as part of the solution' (p. 129) and there were many examples of parents' knowledge being rebuffed by the school. Mills and Gale have suggested that rebuffing parental knowledge is part of the way professional identities are constructed and "… staff have little incentive to collaborate with parents, given that their claim to be professionals is seen by some to be undermined by giving credence to parental knowledge of the child" (2002, p. 7).

Research Methodology

The data that is the focus of this chapter and on which this chapter draws to inform and illustrate super-epistemic diversity and knowledge interplays were collected over several years within distinct data sets. These included successive waves of translator-mediated interviews and focus groups with local Chilean educators, and families in Antofagasta and Calama, along with Chilean educators, the project translator and Australian academics in Australia. Twenty early childhood centres, all located in neighbourhoods categorised as 'vulnerable' in the Antofagasta region of Chile, participated in the research between 2008–2010 and 2011–2014. More than 200 educators participated in iterative cycles of action research led by

Australian researchers, and approximately 80 participants attended Leadership Round Tables led by Chilean mentors, mentored by Australian academics in the same time period.

The research focus for FIH was framed by a diverse set of questions that related to the transnational character of the project, the possibilities for the development of sustainable leadership models, questions around the use of sociocultural frameworks and pedagogies, and the role of families' participation in their children's learning, with a particular focus on literacy learning. This has resulted in considerable variety in the use of analytical tools and a diverse set of findings. However the issues reported here are of fundamental importance to the project itself and for researchers interested in issues associated with transnational projects and the education of children, especially in contexts of social disadvantage.

The Epistemic Hierarchy Between Families and EC Educators

The section provides evidence which reveals an epistemic division that has separated early childhood educators from the early childhood centre research sites and the parents as potential knowers and pedagogical leaders. A very limited range of opportunities had been created for developing any meaningful relationships with families. As one Chilean educator put it, "before the FIH Program started, the relation with their parents was on the pickup and the drop off time and some meetings with parents." (CHI-Fina). Similarly, another EC educator observed parents' tendency to "leave their baby and take off as quickly as they can", considering this to be parents' apathy in their children's education (CHI-Gelana). Such a negative view of families was noted by Australian academics working on the FIH Project, who identified "a generalised view that the parents didn't care, they weren't interested in their children's education". However, she went on to say that "I do think that the parents would have felt unwelcome in the centres because the gates were locked, and particularly parents who come from very poor communities, teachers would definitely be seen as being some sort of an authority figure." (AUS-Ella).

These assumptions by the teachers were shaped by both their current and past experiences with family involvement, and contribute to an "unhealthy dissonance between teachers and parents/families" (Souto-Manning and Swick 2006, p. 187). However, the locked gates of the centres were more than a symbol of hierarchical division. The locked gates kept the centre safe and undisturbed from those outside, but risked treating or portraying parents on the outside of the fence as potential trespassers upon their children's education.

The issue here might be less a physical fortress than an expression of a *fortress mentality* in the minds of parents and educators alike, as illustrated in parents seldom being invited beyond the gate. Torche (2005) found that significantly less inequality existed across the non-elite class in Chile while there was high "elite closure". His findings showed "very low barriers across the non-elite classes" in the economic sectors. The *fortress mentality* might be related to economic inequality in

the region, but also illustrates an assumed knowledge hierarchy between the educators and parents: "Some of the educators had this view that, well, I'm the educator and you're the family and I know and you don't" (AUS-Betty). There was a similar view in the higher-level institutions: "'we can't invite parents; parents can't participate'" (AUS-Fay). Parents were seldom included in the educators' educational activities but only "asked to come to the centre when there were negative issues to discuss" (FIH report, phase 2, report 2, p. 33).

Families expected their interactions with the EC educators to be triggered by problems, to be antagonistic and to be prepared to hear blame for their child's misbehavior or learning difficulties. The timing of these invitations to the parents suggests that they play transient, troubleshooting roles in solving problems, within hierarchical, 'authorised' relationships rather than as potential intellectual partners in building their children's literacy:

> We came up against the idea, this 'ownership' of who teaches the child—'we as the educators are the owners of that' as opposed to the families being the owners. I think in Chile they really saw it as the educators have the role and 'ownership' of teaching literacy. We were saying the families have a really important role and responsibility in this and their everyday literacy practices help to build children's understanding of literacy. (AUS/Betty)

The "ownership" of literacy teaching that the EC educators claimed, reflected their sense of teacher professionalism. Historically engendered and gendered, according to Chen and Wang (2011), teaching is regarded as an occupation with a female caring ethic, trapped within a rationalised and bureaucratised structure. They reported that in Taiwan, notions of professionalism are one of the reasons that some primary teachers maintain a certain emotional distance from parents. Nevertheless, the sense of professionalism that these EC educators in Antofagasta expressed is strong:

> Many EC teachers in Chile do not show professional behaviours in many aspects. It has to do with this cultural idea that EC teachers are a professional version of mothers. The EC teachers are not socially valued as a profession…A few early childhood teachers might positively value the fact that their profession is actually complex, that it has to do with intricate objects which are childhood and teaching. But others do not think this way. (CHI-Abril)

This might be explained by most parents' sociocultural status in the low socioeconomic areas of Antofagasta where many of these EC educators worked but did not live. Divided by this knowledge hierarchy, educators asserted their claim to being authority figures, and parents accordingly felt reluctant to face the 'authority figures'. As one Australian academic remarked: "some of them would be on the other side of the legal divide, for sure, and would be trying to stay away from authority figures as much as possible. They may not have had a very good or much experience of the education system themselves." (AUS-Ella)

There are families living in precarious situations. The shifting from the use of the term *parents* to *families* suggests this. In these communities a notable number of children are cared for by their grandparents. The project's translator pointed out that "very often grandparents are the parents because the parents have gone away or in

some cases, are in jail. So sometimes I need to extend the concept of families in the translation to include grandparents" (CHI-AUS-Bridge).

The concept of *funds of knowledge* (González et al. 2005) conceptualised family clusters as platforms for US-Mexican children to internalise funds of knowledge through an inquiry-experiment process. Characteristically, it is the children who initiate and organise the learning for themselves through the performance of household tasks, which offer opportunities for them to observe and emulate the adults who display such diverse funds of knowledge (González et al. 2005). Undertaking such home-based observations to engage families could be an important source for the Chilean EC educators to gain knowledge about how children initiate and organise their learning at home. In the FIH Program, one parent told the story of how she was asked by her child to help organise learning spaces at home:

> My child is always asking me to create her a room or a corner like that she has at the centre. We don't have as big a space at home. There is a place where she and my other daughter have all the books, she said, 'Oh this is a book corner'. And then she asked for a kitchen corner. So I made the table. I asked a person who does good woodwork to make the chairs and other things" (FIH 2010 interview 3, Escuela Elmo Funes, Parent).

Home-based family studies by the Chilean EC educators could have focused on the children's "perspectives and methods of inquiry that led to that knowledge" (González et al. 2005, p. 19). An element of the *fortress mentality* that needs to be accounted for in considering effective communication with families is their self-image. It seems they tend to devalue their own potential in contributing to their children's education:

> A lot of the people in the region are very, very poor. We've heard, in some of the comments back from parents, that they didn't understand or feel that they had a role in their children's education. So one of the shifts has been the parents starting to see that they can do things to help with their children's education. That's opened up educational futures for their children in their own minds as well as practically speaking, with them being more involved in their education and now seeing that maybe they can have a future in schools, going through school and even university, which some of them have said we would never have thought of that before. (AUS-Ella)

It may be that with this kind of connection, the *fortress mentality* contributes to some parents being self-defeating. One Chilean parent said, "I was too shy to speak to my own children at home. Now I am speaking to a group like this" (FIH 2010 interview 17). Another parent said in her presentation at a FIH seminar, "I never thought that I would be invited to have a coffee with a teacher" (Gloria, a parent in Antofagasta, Chile). Gloria's comment is most telling. Being "invited" to "have a coffee with a teacher" surprised her because this hierarchy had not formerly conveyed a cordial approach. "Never thought" suggests how formidable she perceived the barrier of the hierarchy to be. Her comment suggested an impregnable hierarchy existed between parents and educators, which impeded educational communication—knowledge exchange—between them. What communication that did take place was hierarchical in character; with no intellectual equality being asserted by either party. This contradicts values such as equality, openness and (social) connection. What follows is illuminating:

> Gloria lived in the hills in Antofagasta. She was flown out of the hills to Santiago [to present at a FIH seminar], but still what overwhelmed her was having been able to have a conversation with the teacher. (AUS-Fay & AUS-Ella)

Gloria lived in a marginalised community. She had never flown before, nor had she even been to Santiago. The next section shows that EC education also reproduces the hierarchical system by requiring children to participate in it. This section analysed how super-epistemic diversity is implicated in a network of variables including Chilean educators and families' economic status, legal status and educational background.

Super-Epistemic Diversity in Cafe de Literacidad

Transnational educational programs generally encourage the flow of Western knowledge to non-Western contexts. In the FIH Program, the Australian academics were perceived as experts, a position they themselves did not feel comfortable with. In an established framework which positioned them as carriers of Western educational knowledge, the professional training they provided to the Chilean EC educators facilitated the transformation of the latter's mentality to one of valuing parents' knowledge. The extent to which this external intervention manifested the success of one dominant Western view of the project team largely informed by 'northern' Anglo/American theory and progressivism, rather than the success of super-epistemic diversity is the subject of ongoing investigation. The academics were mindful about the hegemonic nature of western knowledge and their own ambiguous positioning within discourses of 'epistemic ignorance', described by Kuokkanen as 'academic practices and discourses that enable the continued exclusion of other than dominant Western epistemic and intellectual traditions' (2008, p. 60). They openly acknowledged knowledge hierarchies within the project, their own reliance on western epistemologies and their lack of access to 'southern' knowledge'. This shaped their encouragement to EC educators to adapt newly learned western concepts to devise locally relevant strategies.

Within the project, the Café de Literacidad strategy was an outstanding example of a successful manifestation of super-epistemic diversity.

The ***Cafe de Literacidad*** (Literacy Café) was a pedagogical strategy created by an innovative Chilean EC centre director to engage families' funds of knowledge (González et al. 2005). This strategy was subsequently widely adopted across all FIH-participating centres in Antofagasta. ***Cafe de Literacidad*** was created as a way to establish meaningful centre/family partnerships supporting children's learning and was inspired by the FIH Program and the introduction of pedagogical strategies like *literacy trees* and *literacy quilt.* The wall-sized paper-cut trees or a patchwork quilt offered spaces for families to post artwork or narratives about their involvement in children's literacy learning (FIH report 1, 2008). These pedagogical strategies created a collage of families' funds of knowledge.

Cafe de Literacidad is an example of how a Chilean EC educator went beyond the Australian concepts transferred by the Australian teacher-educators to create something of contextual relevance. Qi (2013) drew on Rancière's (2010) concept of *partage du sensible* to analyse how the ***Cafe de Literacidad*** coordinated and oriented the elements of time, space, formality, size and blend of conversation groups, and topics of discussion toward the goal of disrupting the knowledge hierarchy between the EC educators and families. In this sense, ***Cafe de Literacidad*** supplements the pedagogical strategies of *literacy trees* and *literacy quilt.* The initial two strategies focused more on recruiting families' funds of knowledge, and less on the process of nurturing meaningful centre/family relationships.

> The café is a dedicated time and space for parents[1] in the centre…The initiative has been very popular with the parents who were used to only being asked to come to the centre when there were negative issues to discuss. The 'café' was originally planned for 30 minutes. The director says it is hard now to get the parents to leave. (FIH report 2b, 2010)

Putting into practice the concept of ***Cafe de Literacidad*** requires educators to master the use of tools like time, space and forms of activities. The agreement between these tools set up a *partage du sensible* through these educational discussions to share the common educational undertaking of these EC communities (Qi 2013, 2015). This redefined children's literacy learning in terms of "what they do" and "the time and space in which this activity is performed" (Rancière and Rockhill 2006, p. 12). Families invested enjoyable mornings with a cup of coffee in a dedicated EC centre space, talking with the EC teachers about their children's literacy learning. This arrangement of time, space and forms of activities changed the families' participation in their children's education. Previously the EC educators engaged them in a transient, troubleshooting role but it evolved into one more valued and valuable. That families were formally invited by the director to be physically "in" the centre helped overcome the stigma and barrier of the locked gates. The informal social setting reduced families' anxieties about the existing local knowledge hierarchy, possibly altering their sense of educators as authority figures. Previous concerns about families' apathy were disaffirmed — "it is hard now to get the families to leave".

The makeup of the conversation groups—a blend of families and staff members—worked to build educator/families intellectual relationships, while also engendering a sense of intellectual community. In ***Cafe de Literacidad***, parent/parent interactions and parent/educator interactions were interwoven, undermining the existing hierarchical divisions between educators and families within a network of intellectual relationships devoted to building an educational community committed to the well-being of their children. One parent said:

> It was very useful for me because we learn things as well. We had moments to share. Because normally we just dropped the kids there, and really never had the chance to ***talk with other families***. We just went when there were meetings, and there was not enough ***space***. It's a completely different scenario now. (FIH 2010 interview 3, Escuela Elmo Funes Families)

[1] "Parents" are used here instead of "families" which is more inclusive.

The staff also talked about the learning activities in the centre, and provided materials for families to better understand their pedagogical intentions and desired learning outcomes. Families' contributions were requested:

> All the new development within the centre was discussed with us. They told us why and what was the purpose of these areas, they ask whether we could contribute accordingly on the implementation. In every single space, there is a bin of information. So you can get a sense of the purpose and learning outcomes in the idea of introducing the particular spaces like science space, mathematics… (FIH 2010 interview 12, Families).

These exchanges of knowledge between families and staff assisted in crossing the pedagogical fault lines by connecting families and staff on a pedagogical continuum. From the locked gates to an open café created for the purpose of developing an integrated EC community, there slowly emerged a reduced sense of *fortress mentality* among families and educators. This also distinguished ***Cafe de Literacidad*** from the concepts of literacy trees and quilts in its approach to building intellectual relationships.

Conversation cards stimulated knowledge exchange in multiple directions. Through discussions about and reflections on family and centre activities, educators came to better understand family realities and children in the context of their families, and vice versa for families with respect to the centres. The new agreement between time, space and forms of activities demarcated a new sense about what is sensible—whose knowledge makes sense and the new sensibilities for using it to assist children's literacy learning. ***Cafe de Literacidad*** changed the "apportionment of parts and positions" by increasing, validating and intellectually engaging families and educators (Rancière and Rockhill 2006, p. 12). Through these discussions the educators recruited families' knowledge of their children which could not otherwise be reached for intellectual purposes, tapped into the families' funds of knowledge and family literacies to draw upon when planning their lessons. The families' sense of themselves being educators was an important change. Previous restrictions imposed by the hierarchy became less likely to be felt, at least in the case of one parent who said:

> I think the centre cannot do everything by themselves. We [families] are a key part in this game. If we don't do our bit, well it's not going to work. So participation is a key. (FIH 2010 interview 16, Parent)

Data also show the Chilean EC educators' respect increased for these "very, very poor" families, and improved their sense of them as valued and valuable educational partners with intellectual contributions to make to their children's learning. A descriptive coding of the 2010 FIH interviews shows the changes in educators' and children's perceptions about these families, as well as families' own perceptions of the EC communities in which they participated since 2008 (Table 7.1).

The sense and sensibilities the educators expressed regarding these parents shifted from what problems they might present to what intellectual contributions they might make to children's learning. Pertinent to their sense of change was how the children gained new sensibilities about their own parents being sources of knowledge, and collaborators in their learning. Parents' sense of themselves also

Table 7.1 Changes in perceptions about families

Perceptions of families	Change in perceptions about families
Educators'	Families have much to contribute
	Families are also learners
	Families are more involved/interested
	Families are more motivated (Families adjust their schedule for centre activities)
	Children's attendance rate increased through engaging the families
Children's	Children understand the value of their parents' knowledge
	Children feel that their parents make them proud
Families' (self-perception)	Families better understand kids' learning process
	Families value their own knowledge and contribution to kids' learning
	Families' self-esteem grows

Source: Extracted from Qi (2013)

changed. However, to develop this sense and sensibility, EC educators require specific preparation to establish and maintain positive relationships with families. ***Cafe de Literacidad*** is a well-designed field experience which leads to shifts in educators' sense of intellectual partnership, and the complex issues related to developing such partnerships. Family visits are also a type of field experience in which "the change in setting prompted critical reflection and shifts in thinking" (Hedges and Lee 2010, p. 268). One educator talked about her change[2] in sensibility with respect to how the multicultural collection of families in her centre had initiated a cycle of knowledge:

> Before, we didn't like parents around at all. We felt parents are like, you know, like a problem, wandering around, we never really thought about what they can do for us really other than annoy us. So now we realise that there is so much they can do, that is so much easier for us…So it's like a cycle of knowledge. (FIH 2010 interview 14, Teacher and técnica).

Educators also felt their work was being better understood and appreciated by families:

> All the teachers feel that finally parents can understand, value more their work instead of just drop the kids and run away. Now we really engage with them, with the centre. The first project we did just a few parents came to see it, the presentation and then the second one all of them came. (FIH 2010 interview 14, Teacher and technica)

Family involvement in children's learning can build their sense of connectedness to their schools and learning. Where efforts at family involvement have been

[2] These changes have been carried forward. Interviews in 2012 showed that: The principal focus of this project is working with families. Before the project we were working on activities without taking their opinions, needs or the context of their living, nor their knowledge, beliefs, and feelings (CHI-Katia); So far there have been a lot of changes that have been hard but not impossible, especially the socio-cultural point of view to integrate the families and their educational agency in the process of children's learning. (CHI-Dani)

developed and operationalised within limited conceptual frames, family involvement was limited to undertaking specified tasks that were subject to teacher decision-making. Souto-Manning and Swick (2006) suggested that in readying children for school, the traditional focus in parent family structures was on performing rituals, and these actions failed to be validated as contributing to children's wellbeing. Table 7.2 shows that in some FIH-participating centres, families have contributed to children's literacy learning.

These examples show that the families in these EC communities could offer a diversity of experiences and knowledge. The evidence analysed in this section challenges the description of Latino families in research literature, which has essentialised and homogenised them as backward, incompetent or indifferent to their children's education (Villenas and Deyhle 1999). The educator/parent interaction in ***Cafe de Literacidad*** could be further developed to focus on creating lesson plans that integrate family knowledge into teaching, rendering the curriculum more differentiated and responsive to place making, as argued by Comber (2011). ***Cafe de Literacidad*** provided communication channels in EC centres for sharing information through two-way dialogue. These channels need to be ongoing in a routine way to serve further engagement, such as developing educational plans (Leibforth and Clark 2009). Further evidence is being collected as to how ***Cafe de Literacidad*** has gone beyond finding out about family knowledge to effectively incorporating this knowledge into the teaching of the children. The tools of time, space and forms of activities in ***Cafe de Literacidad*** might be used for families and educators to co-plan teaching lessons. The transformation from a pedagogical fault line to a pedagogical continuum requires greater recognition and exchange of knowledge (Comber 2011).

Table 7.2 Family participation and funds of knowledge

Activities	Families' funds of knowledge
Making presentations with the child	Some parents come with PowerPoint presentations. They work on a theme. The child makes the presentation with a family… [One family] was working on the theme of flora and habitat. The idea is they introduce new words like *habitat* for example…They write these new words and they stick them on the wall, so the kids start learning these words. (FIH 2010 Interview 14, teacher and téchnica).
Making digital learning resources	Some of the families have this technology at home, so they will work on a computer and do the presentation, and they burn it on a CD and bring it to the school. (FIH 2010 interview 14, teacher and technica).
Massage	One mother knew how to do massage because she had a little child that had a problem learning how to walk. So she went to this centre to help kids with physical disabilities. So they did that project across the class, doing massage to the kids (FIH 2010 interview 14, teacher and technica).
Gardening	They created this little garden patch, vegetable patch, and they started working on that. The problem was they started kind of at the end of the year and then it's the holiday time, it kind of dies, you know, but they are thinking about doing it throughout this year now. They knew where to buy the goods, dirt, soil…They also built these fences to protect (FIH 2010 interview 14, teacher and technica).

Source: Extracted from Qi (2013)

Further development of ***Cafe de Literacidad*** would address the processes in more detail to show families' knowledge and critiques which they contributed through participating in this café have been engaged in their children's education.

Conclusion

This chapter offered the concept of super-epistemic diversity to theorise the interplay of educational knowledges between different intellectual labours in the FIH Program. It is argued that super-epistemic diversity is implicated in other pertinent variables, in the case of the FIH Program, economic status, legal status and educational background. The analysis demonstrated how a super-epistemic diversity based on intellectual equality (Rancière 1991) worked as an effective overriding principle that perceived and empowered both Chilean educational actors and Chilean families as intellectual laborers who have collaborated with the Australian academics in making intellectual contributions in the low socio-economic communities in northern Chile. In the FIH Program, this principle has facilitated the recognition of super-epistemic diversity through innovative pedagogical strategies such as ***Cafe de Literacidad*** .

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Chapter 8
The Global Architecture of Education and Its Ramifications for Education and Learning in the Global South

Anders Breidlid

Abstract The focus of this chapter is the hegemonic role of Western epistemology, and in particular the domination of what I call the global architecture of education globally. I argue that this hegemony in the education systems means a dislocation of home and indigenous languages, epistemologies and cultures with negative academic consequences in the 'global South'. The chapter discusses, on the basis of case studies from various countries in the South, what role indigenous knowledges can play in the schools in the global south, and argues that it is necessary for indigenous and Western knowledge systems to co-exist in education systems in the South in order to dramatically improve school achievements.

Keywords Contesting epistemologies • Superdiversity and non-hegemonic knowledge systems • Globalisation and education in the global South

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the hegemonic role of Western epistemology that spread in the wake of colonialism and the capitalist economic system, and in particular the domination of what Jones calls the global architecture of education (Jones 2006, 2007), As Jones states:

> For education, nation states are located within a complex web of ideas, networks of influence, policy frameworks, financial arrangements and organizational structures. These collectively can be termed the global architecture of education, a system of global power relations that exerts a heavy, indeed determining, influence on how education is constructed around the world. For poor countries, the global architecture of education shapes the relationship between education, development and poverty strategies (Jones 2006, p. 43).

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In my view, the global architecture of education is, however, not any system of global power relations or discourses, but a common Western epistemological discourse, which permeates most educational systems in the South and the North.[1] (Jones refers to a 'transnational epistemic community', Jones 2007, p. 331). It is a particular version of Western epistemology, which exerts a hegemonic and dominant role globally (Breidlid 2013).

I explore in the first section of the chapter the trajectory of Western knowledge production historically, and then discuss the ramifications of the hegemonic role of Western epistemology on learning and educational research globally, but with a particular reference to the global South.

In the second section of this chapter I draw on my research experience from South Africa, Cuba and New Zealand[2] arguing that the pervasiveness of the global architecture and the hegemonic educational research conducted in the North/West often means marginalization of home and indigenous languages, epistemologies and cultures with dire academic consequences. The chapter questions the sustainability of the hegemonic epistemology in the education systems in the global South, and explores whether indigenous knowledges would better serve the pupils, students and researchers in the global South and thus help promote sustainable development.

In order to make school and education systems in the global South better equipped to meet the challenges of globalization, I argue that there is a need for Western scholars to dialogue with scholars from the global South in order to communicate across the epistemological gap between contesting knowledge systems. The lenses through which we see and understand the world are multiple, and these understandings are often in conflict. The term superdiversity referred to in this book is understood as the ever increasing complexity brought about by globalization challenges in the education systems worldwide, but my point in this chapter is to question the nature and epistemological content of the super dimensions and superdiversity of globalization in the classrooms in the global South. As a matter of fact, my use of the term 'the global architecture of education' indicates that the superdiversity and super dimensions brought about by globalization are often reduced to a one-dimensional epistemological lens in the classroom, which is imposed upon the pupils and students in the global South.

[1] There are exceptions, primarily in some Muslim and communist countries. Cuba is discussed as an exception in this chapter while New Zealand has addressed the epistemological situation of the Maoris, also discussed in this chapter.

[2] The sections on South Africa and Cuba are based on extensive field work as well as shorter visits recently (2012–2014) while my discussion of the Māori education system is based on literature in the field and a research visit to the island in 2013. Both in South Africa and Cuba a qualitative approach was employed in addition to an extensive analysis of relevant documents and research articles In South Africa interviews were conducted of teachers, parents, students and community leaders in Cape Town and Eastern Cape and in Cuba (in Havana and the neighboring areas) government officials, students, teachers and taxi drivers (who were former teachers) were interviewed. For challenges doing research in South Africa and Cuba, see (Breidlid 2013).

The Hegemonic Western Epistemology

The hegemonic role of Western epistemology has had a major impact on the identity construction of the Other, and has marginalized and subalternized the people in the Global South, not the least through the school system. Hegemony in this chapter is used in a Gramscian sense to denote how states use institutions to maintain power in capitalist societies. It moreover exposes the proliferation/expansion of a particular conception of the world which becomes dominant (Gramsci 1971). Gramsci's focus was basically on European states, but his use of hegemony is often extended beyond the domestic realm to world order. Gramsci was mostly concerned with cultural institutions, and not the least how any analysis of hegemony necessitates a careful study of educational institutions. They are extremely important institutions in extending hegemony since they affect all (or almost all members) of a given country. According to Gramsci, hegemony is attained by brute force, but also by the powers of persuasion perpetuated through the activities and initiatives of a vast network that instils its conception of the world and its values in every corner of society.

Gramsci's discussion of hegemony is to some extent similar to Immanuel Wallerstein's world –systems analysis in which he argues that the world is linked together in a system of complex economic networks (1990). According to Immanuel Wallerstein the various states' position in the global capitalist system can explain the hegemony of the global North and the subalternization of the global South. In Wallerstein's view colonialism facilitated the incorporation of the former colonies as marginal or peripheral members of the world economy. Such a world-systems analysis has both economic and epistemological implications.

The term Western is here used to mean the hegemonic European knowledge production, which originated in the European Renaissance and generated a specific kind of knowledge most typically expressed in modern science with its universalist claims and which assumed a hegemonic role globally.

It is one of the characteristic traits of colonialism that it denied epistemic diversity, and created instead inferiority. The production of the hegemonic epistemology necessitated the Other, which was characterized as uncivilized, irrational, superstitious. This inferiorization or Othering was done in terms of race, gender, knowledges, and education systems, whereas hegemonic epistemology was perceived as the only means with which to achieve progress and development. The Othering not only alienated students in school but also defined what kind of development to pursue in the reconstruction of the global South after colonialism. Although the Spanish invasion, conquest, and subsequent colonization of America was in many ways a controversial endeavour that caused debate about political, ethical, and theological issues, e.g. the strong resistance from priests like Bartolome de Las Casas (1484–1566) and Franciscus de Victoria (1492–1546), the hegemonic view and rationale for the conquest was the civilizing mission due to the 'superiority' of Western civilization. In England and France the "intellectual" foundation of the Othering of

non-dominant knowledges and people was laid from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by philosophers like Rene Descartes, John Locke and David Hume. Other Enlightenment philosophers such as Immanuel Kant and Denis Diderot were, however, critical of the consequences of colonialism and challenged the idea of the West's civilizing mission, but to no avail.

Orientalism and Decolonizing the Mind: Epistemic Marginalization

In *Orientalism* (1979) Edward Said claimed that the Orientalist discourse was primarily based on the narratives of Eastern cultures by European academicians, novelists, journalists, visitors and scientists. Not dissimilar to Gramsci's perception of hegemony, Said also focused on cultural phenomena as playing a major role in subjugating the Other. In many ways, Franz Fanon pre-empted Said's *Orientalism* with *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967). In contrast to Said, Fanon's focus was on colonization in Africa, as he analyzed how colonization impacted on the cultural and psychological situation of the colonized.

Fanon analyzed the dichotomy between the colonizer and the colonized in terms of good vs. evil, rational vs. irrational, claiming that the identity of the colonized was destroyed after the encounter with the colonizer—he is no longer a man. "At the risk of arousing the sentiment of my coloured brothers, I will say that black man is not a man" (1967, p. 8). Similarly, the Kenyan author, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is preoccupied with (e.g. in *Decolonising the Mind*, 1981) how the West's perception of the colonized is adopted by the colonized, thus reinforcing the self-other dichotomy and creating a colonized, submissive mind. It is therefore necessary to decolonize the mind. According to Ngũgĩ the mental, cognitive conquest by the global North is both more subtle and more devastating than the military conquest: "colonialism's most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control, through culture of how people perceived themselves" (Ngũgĩ 1981, p. 10). It is the harmful consequences of this epistemic colonisation which Ngũgĩ speaks of, and which is retained, not the least through the education system, long after the colonialists have left militarily.

Globalization

What is important for the purpose of this chapter is the exposure of the West's epistemological colonization that followed in the wake of economic globalization. Nordtveit's definition of globalization is: "deliberate policies to create a global market system, and the reciprocal weakening of national boundaries and local economic systems…despite the limits of globalization imposed by certain national governments… the general (worldwide) tendency is characterized by a move towards

greater global economic connectedness." (Nordtveit 2010, p. 322). While globalization is thus often defined in terms of its economic aspects "educational, cultural and social aspects are seen as the results of changes imposed by the global economy." (Nordtveit 2010, p. 321). It was through the development of capitalism, and through the transformation and incorporation process of the semi-periphery and periphery that these zones outside the core were exposed to globalization or Westernization/modernity. Globalization is thus a bedfellow of capitalism which again was/is the heir of colonialism.

While one aspect of globalization is indeed old, with the spread of capitalism and colonialism, globalization has also taken qualitative new forms through the rapid expansion of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and social media which have changed the daily lives of millions of people, not only in the North, but also for millions of people in the global South. Even in remote towns in the periphery of the global South, the ICT revolution is visible at many street corners, with hundreds of cell phones waiting to be charged at the local shopkeepers. Clearly this fact opens the doors to the superdiversity of globalization, and brings the complexity and competing frameworks through which we perceive the world to the ultimate frontiers of the world.

The Situation in the Southern Classrooms

Globalization, new and old, has had and still has serious implications for knowledge production and epistemic hegemony in the classrooms in the global South. A common education discourse based on Western epistemology from the days of colonialism, still permeates most school systems in the global South. This global education discourse, which presumes universality, promotes, as Nordtveit states, "a Western-inspired ideology of consumerism and how even the educational debates are being reduced to questions of implementation strategies, instead of engaging in a more fundamental debate of education values … education inevitably supports this move towards a western-capitalistic discourse, not only by its structures (such as increasing privatisation, standardisation, and necessity to use private tutoring, etc.), but also by its curriculum and through the identity formation of children and adults…" (Nordtveit 2010, p. 326). This homogenous global educational discourse exists in countries with heterogeneous socio-economic and political systems, both in the core and the periphery, and is distributed in substantial part through the World Bank, the IMF, the UN organizations; INGOS such as USAID, Save the Children, etc., and through state-to-state cooperation on education. It is also distributed through leading academic journals like, e.g. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *Comparative Education Review and Compare*, even though articles can be found – in rare cases – which also question the global educational discourse.[3]

[3] A content analysis undertaken of the issues of the journals from 2012 to mid-2015 confirmed a very one-dimensional epistemological picture. The articles with a critical view of the current global educational discourse could be counted on one hand. See also, Griffiths and Knezevi (2010),

The epistemological transfer, besides its ramifications nationally and internationally, impacts school quality as it contributes, I argue, to alienating students in the South cognitively from their home environment by introducing them to an alien culture and epistemology in school.

An analysis of the most recent Global Monitoring Reports confirms the unwillingness or inability to question the epistemological assumptions on which the policies of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and UNESCO's EFA Global Monitoring Reports are based. At the launch of the UNESCO's 2013/2014 report it was stated that the Report will show "why education is pivotal for development in a rapidly changing world and …explains how investing wisely in teachers, and other reforms aimed at strengthening equitable learning, transform the long-term prospects of people and societies" (UNESCO 2014). But the report hardly asks what kind of education and what kind of knowledges are needed. The most recent report (UNESCO 2015), which takes stock of the achievements and failures since 2000, follows more or less in the wake of the previous reports by suggesting more of the same. There are some important exceptions to this bleak picture in the most recent report as it refers to the cultural challenges of some indigenous minorities when it comes to education (e.g. pp. 70 and 96), and to the inclusion of indigenous languages in the national curriculum in some countries in Latin America (p. 210), but there is no systematic exploration of how to overcome the educational challenges of indigenous people. The report acknowledges that "language is of considerable importance for the quality of teaching and learning, in terms of both the language of instruction and languages taught in school." (p. 210) and that: "language policy in education is intimately related to history and relationships of power" (p. 209). It also describes a situation in sub-Saharan Africa, where there has been a general trend towards more use of local languages, particularly the early exit transitional model (with the use of local languages the two- three first years of schooling) and that "the degree of alignment between home and school language has a critical bearing on learning opportunities". (p. 210). The above discussion notwithstanding the report fails to discuss the huge challenges in for example Sub-Saharan Africa where the **majority** children encounter an alien language and culture in the school also after grade 3, and there is regrettably no fundamental, comprehensive analysis in the report of the huge linguistic, cultural and epistemological barriers that pupils across the global South encounter.

As a result, the EFA 2015 stock-taking report does not basically transcend the conventional education interventions that have been tried repeatedly and with little success. Despite the ambitious goals set by *the Dakar Framework for Action*, *Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments* which was launched in 2000 education worldwide is in a profound crisis. Six comprehensive education

"Wallerstein's world-systems analysis in comparative education: A case study" for an analysis of articles discussing a different, but in many ways similar issue: Wallerstein's world systems analysis in *Comparative Education Review* (CER) . The authors conclude that "The analysis above demonstrates the varied and limited way in which Wallerstein's work has been taken up and applied to comparative educational research" (p. 457).

goals in the Dakar Framework should be reached by 2015. Goal number 2 was to ensure that "by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality" and goal number 3 was to ensure "the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes" (UNESCO 2015, p. 2) The stocktaking of progress in the 2015 report confirms that many of the Education for All Goals have not been met. While 58 million children still do not attend school and 100 million children do not complete primary school 250 million primary school age children cannot read and write. The UNESCO's U.N. representative called this a global "learning crisis" blaming the crisis primarily on a lack of well-trained teachers (Fox News 2015). There was no mention, however, of any issues related to the medium of instruction and the relevancy of the curriculum. The real concern is that the post-2015 agenda will try more of the same medicine, and that we at the next stock-taking juncture (in 2030?) will see the same dismal results of educational achievement that the 2015 report exposes. As before the hegemonic knowledge production in the West is exported as the *sine qua non* and is undoubtedly, as Ngũgĩ states, a continuation of the colonial export to the South.

The global architecture of education has multiple consequences, and imposes a kind of one-dimensionality in the school in the midst of global complexity and superdiversity. As Jones (2007) states:

> Thus, despite the persistence of local uniqueness, education around the world is seen to become increasingly standardized. Identical reform agenda emerge, in the most disparate places, rich and poor education systems being moulded and reshaped in accordance with uniform measures. Global hierarchies of knowledge emerge, giving preferred status to some lines of thought and method over others. Global systems of evaluation are adopted, testing the extent to which national systems are conforming to privileged global standards and reform agenda (p. 331)...
>
> Thus, the old patterns of power relations abide, however agile the rhetoric. The global dividing up of labour markets, a fundamental outcome of economic globalization, will shape education futures… (p. 335)

The curricula in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and other regions in the global South are based on Western values and a colonial language. The marginalization of home languages and cultures causes demotivation and learning problems. Basil Bernstein's (1971) exploration of working-class children's encounter with the middle-class English classroom is educative in this context. Bernstein tried to account for why working class children in the UK perform relatively poorly on language –based subjects. The working class children employ, according to Bernstein, a restricted language code whereas middle class children use an elaborated language code. Since the classroom in the UK is middle class in a linguistic sense (using the elaborated language codes) the working class children are exposed to an alien culture at school which impacts negatively on learning. It does not necessarily mean that the working class children have a more limited vocabulary, but that they use language in a different way suitable in their working class contexts. The restricted language code is economical and rich, and conveys a

lot of meaning with relatively few words. The problem is that this condensed way of communicating is not appreciated in the classroom.

Since the educational discourses in the global South are more or less *a priori* linked to Eurocentric epistemology and knowledge production and even European languages (confirming the success of the Western episteme), indigenous students suffer because the knowledges and (often the languages) they bring from home are not being discussed or valued in the classroom.

It means that the children in the schools in the global South do not have the 'right' cultural capital needed in the 'colonized' classroom to succeed (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). Thus, the global architecture of education is a powerful means to control and define knowledges, and to deny (super)diversity. According to Foucault, power controls the discourse, and in our case the educational discourse, and thus knowledges. The ramifications of such epistemic control and cognitive one-dimensionality are enormous, and for the indigenous child, potentially destructive (Foucault 1980).

Alternatives or Supplements to Western Knowledge Production

It is therefore necessary to interrogate the state of affairs of educational discourse production globally and query how nation states in the global South, often with a non-hegemonic, indigenous population, prepare the new generation for the future. Clearly schools and education institutions are important sites where knowledge production takes place. The global architecture of education reinforces the Western epistemic dominance in countries in the semi-periphery or periphery, which already experience the negative aspects of the present world order.

There is an urgent need to discuss what measures can rectify the current epistemic situation in the classrooms in the global South. What about other epistemic discourses? The identification of "indigenous" draws its significance from the context in which it is used, and is commonly defined as a group of people who are considered to have developed a long-term cultural relationship with an area of land which pre-dates the colonial conquests from Europe. What should be emphasized when locating and historicizing indigenous communities is the significance of colonial domination by the West (Breidlid 2013). Definitions of indigenous are shaped by historically initiated relations of dominance and subjugation which persist between Western and indigenous communities. It means that those dealing with issues of indigeneity frequently use definitions that in some way refer to colonization and its effects. Being indigenous means experiencing a social, cultural, political, ontological and epistemological domination by a hegemonic form of Western thought and social organization. Indigenous knowledges are knowledges produced in specific historical and cultural contexts and are typically not "generated by a set

of pre-specified procedures or rules and [are] orally passed down from one generation to the next" (Semali and Kincheloe 1999, p. 40).

While modernist knowledge is situated in written texts, legal codes, and academic canons, indigenous knowledges are orally transmitted. Moreover, even though there are multiple indigenous knowledges, they have certain common characteristic features. One feature is the holistic nature of the interrelationship between nature, human beings, and the supernatural. As Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz (1999) state, "A crucial feature of African belief systems is the absence of a firm boundary between the religious and the temporary" (p. 65). Another is the strong emphasis on the metaphysical and spiritual which is completely marginalized in Western epistemology. In my opinion a "definition of indigenous knowledges must therefore account for the holistic, metaphysical foundation (worldviews) of indigenous knowledge systems and their various ramifications. Consequently, I argue that indigenous knowledge systems encompass worldviews, cultural values and practices, and knowledge systems derived from these worldviews and practices, and they are related to metaphysical, ecological, economic, and scientific fields" (Breidlid 2013, p. 34). In this regard, I consider indigenous knowledges to be a counterhegemonic cultural force to that of colonialism and the major thrust of globalization since they generate (super) diversity which the globalization forces of the global North seem to suppress.

A key question is how we can overcome hegemonic Western hegemony without throwing away everything that is sustainable. It is, in today's world, necessary for indigenous and Western knowledge systems to co-exist. By co-existence I mean a third space (see Bhabha 1990) where Western and indigenous epistemologies meet and are transformed into 'something different, something new and unrecognisable' (Bhabha 1990, p. 210). It means that indigenous knowledges must be given space to question hegemonic epistemology which may open up "new avenues with … a counter-hegemonic strategy." (Breidlid 2013, p. 47) (For a comprehensive discussion of the third space and cultural- historical activity theory, CHAT, where different knowledge systems coexist, see Breidlid 2013 and Engestrõm 2001).

In Sub-Saharan Africa a comprehensive exploration of "the role of the social and natural sciences in supporting the development of indigenous knowledge systems" (Odora Hoppers 2002, p. vii) is now taking place. Similarly, indigenous peoples and scholars in some countries in Latin America and Oceania press for alternative ways to understand and conceptualize knowledges that take into account indigenous knowledges, not only in indigenous communities, but in majority societies as well. In New Zealand, the Māoris have managed to establish their own curriculum based on Māori epistemology and ontology without excluding western knowledge production.

In the second part of the chapter I discuss, with reference to three postcolonial, multicultural countries (South Africa, Cuba and New Zealand), how and to what extent the global architecture of education as well as the superdiversity of globalization have influenced their educational discourses, and how two of these countries in particular have tried to subvert the influence of Western hegemonic education.

South Africa's Curriculum 2005

South Africa's entry into the democratic fold and its very progressive Constitution are well known. The introduction of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) in South African schools in 1996 was looked upon by the South African government as an important tool in the transformation of the South African society:

> In the past the curriculum has perpetuated race, class, gender and ethnic divisions and has emphasised separateness, rather than common citizenship and nationhood. It is therefore imperative that the curriculum be restructured to reflect the values and principles of our new democratic society (p. 1).

Yet, despite efforts to incorporate these ideas of democratic participation into a multicultural vision of education, Black students continue to experience schooling as dislocated from their culture and daily lives. In an analysis of the Outcome Based Curriculum, Curriculum 2005 (the Revised National Curriculum Statement of 2002 RNCS), I found (Breidlid, 2003) that indigenous knowledges are referred to, albeit marginally:

> Given this history, it is fitting that traditional and indigenous knowledge systems should be included among the ideas the learner examines…there is much to learn from these ways of knowing. (Learning Outcome 3. (DoE 2002, Natural Sciences, p. 11).

But Curriculum 2005 is by and large based on a Western educational discourse[4] (the global architecture of education) (see also Soudien and Baxen 1997) despite the inclusion of some aspects of indigenous knowledges in the revised curriculum of 2002 (RNCS).

The question is how students and even teachers cope with a knowledge system in school which is alien to their home universe. One science teacher in the Eastern Cape told us: "I am a science teacher at school and a traditional practitioner at home" (Breidlid 2003).

The RNCS senses a critical challenge here, asking: "Is it a hindrance to teaching or is it an opportunity for more meaning full learning and a curriculum, which tries to understand both the culture of science and the cultures at home?" (DoE 2002, p. 12).

Even though the RNCS included elements of indigenous knowledges, the revision was not primarily meant to emphasize local, indigenous knowledges. According to the Task Team the intention was to reorient the curriculum from its local, context-based body to a curriculum "more suitable for a national curriculum in the twenty

[4] A Western educational discourse here implies a lack of substantial epistemic diversity in Curriculum 2005. As other scholars confirm (e.g. McKinney and Soudien 2010) there is a serious bias in favour of Western knowledge in the schools (and in Curriculum 2005) where the culture, beliefs and knowledge systems of the majority population in South Africa are totally marginalized. In the context of globalization Curriculum 2005 and it successor the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS), are good examples of how knowledge from the Global North has been imposed on curricula in the global South. Curriculum 2005 is heavily influenced by so-called good practices in countries like Australia, Britain, New Zealand and the US.

first century and more able to take its place amongst other regional and international curricula" (DoE 2009, p. 13). In other words- a marginalization of the knowledge systems of the majority of South Africans. This is in line with what McKinney and Soudien (2010, p. 11) note:

> Soudien's recent historical analysis of racial integration in South African schools has shown how integration has been characterized by asymmetry in which "white" people are positioned as the bearers of preferred knowledge and "black" people, by contrast, as the embodiment of inferior understandings of the world.

The Failure of South Africa's Education Policy

Education is thus still very problematic for the majority of black South African students. According to the Centre for Constitutional Rights (CCR) only 1 out of every 29 Black matriculants (3.5 %) are functionally literate after matric (CCR 2008). This means that only a small percentage will be able to "enter the realms of trainability, skills acquisition, higher education and employability – this in an economy where a huge shortage of skills exists" (CCR 2008).

Moreover, South African schools' dropout rate is 77 % over 12 years of schooling and, as the chief executive of the Institute of Race Relations reported: up to 80 % of South Africa's public schools are dysfunctional despite a decade of increases in public spending on the education system.

Alarmingly, these figures have not improved dramatically in recent years despite huge investments by the government to combat illiteracy. According to a report from World Economic Forum (2014) South Africa was listed at the global bottom in mathematics and science teaching (144th place), on 133rd place for quality of primary education and on 118th place for net primary education enrolment.

To alleviate the situation more radical steps have to be taken where there is a need to go beyond the obviously necessary investments in school infrastructure and teacher training, to give space to alternative knowledge systems in order to accommodate the Black pupils' epistemological and ontological roots. In other words, the more fundamental cause of the alarming situation is the nature and content of the school curriculum, i.e. the pervasiveness of the alien, Western knowledge system and the colonial language as medium of instruction. As Darnell and Höem state:

> The degree of integration between an entire system and its subsystems will determine how and to what degree the system will function. Where there is cultural homogeneity or a complementary relationship between the home and the school, each will reinforce the other. Conversely, if the cultural background of the students and the culture of the schools lack symmetry there will be conflict. The cultural influence of the school will tend to weaken the self-concept and identity of the students, render their background irrelevant and desocialization and resocialization will occur (Darnell and Hoëm 1996, p. 271).

A recent study from South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) on South African's perceptions and attitudes towards indigenous knowledges shows that the majority of the participants were more positive toward indigenous knowledges than to modern scientific knowledge. Moreover, the majority of people agreed that IKS

should be included at various educational levels. “The majority of respondents wanted: the department of education to include IKS in the school curriculum (76 %); traditional healers to receive formal qualifications for their skills (65 %); indigenous skills to be offered at vocational training institutes (73 %); and universities to offer degrees in IKS (69 %)” (SASAS 2014).

But the sentiments of the above-mentioned survey are still not taken seriously by the education authorities in the country. The power of the global architecture of education rests on economic realities where those in power are not willing to lose their economic hegemony. The superdiversity of globalization has also permeated South African society, but, somewhat paradoxically, its superdiversity is in some way or another limited to a specific form of (super)diversity where the traditional knowledges and indigenous epistemologies are not included. The inclusion of indigenous knowledges and epistemologies and those with indigenous cultural capital may threaten those in power, black or white, who base their hegemony on Western knowledge. The threat to the privileged power base is seen as more alarming by the elite than the fact that the epistemological exclusion of the majority of the people in South Africa in the curriculum does something profoundly damaging to the self-confidence and self-esteem of those people, aside from the obvious learning challenges it creates in school. A potential change in the educational system with a more inclusive knowledge portfolio will eventually democratize education and liberate the potential of the millions of Black youths in the South African schools, and have enormous consequences for the development of the South African nation.

Cuba’s Counterhegemonic Education System

While Cuba’s history is steeped in colonization, colonialism and imperialism as well as resistance and abject poverty, Cuba’s education system is recognized by UNESCO and even the World Bank to be among the best in the region, if not in the Southern hemisphere. What is important in the context of this chapter is to explore briefly the reasons why Cuba’s education system is so well reputed. Moreover, the chapter explores if Cubans experience the strong influence of a Western educational discourse, or whether Cuba has managed to steer a more independent, domestic course educationally.

Cubans are, rightly, proud of their education system, and strongly believe in the liberating potentiality of education. Moreover, the education system is reputed for emphasizing inclusion and equality, but also for political and ideological uniformity. Even though the Cuban education system is linked to Marxism (due to its close connection with the USSR until the 1990s) the education system is nevertheless based on Cuban national values, and is thus not a replica of educational ideas from the West or the global architecture of education. The question is nevertheless whether the education system in Cuba is systemically all that different from education systems in capitalist countries (see Breidlid 2013).

After the fall of the USSR, the education system in Cuba retained its decolonizing and anti-imperialist rhetoric, but dissociated itself both from certain aspects of Soviet ideological influence as well as the global architecture of education by focusing seriously on issues of sustainability and self-reliance. The school system based itself on national resources and ideas, with domestic text book production in all subjects distributed to all students across the country. Not surprisingly the textbooks in history and civic education serve the political and ideological interests of the regime by emphasizing a clear anti-colonial stance, while at the same time focusing on national identity construction. Moreover, in primary school the pupils are trained in using indigenous plants for healing purposes, and in school gardens sustainable farming is being taught. The educational discourse is thus to a large extent localized, thus very different from the discourse in South Africa discussed above. Despite the problematic, ideological aspects of the Cuban education system, its merits seem to be quite well documented.

While most countries in the global South struggle to reach the Millennium Development Goals of universal primary education by 2015, Cuba is one of the few countries which for decades has offered primary education for all (also confirmed in the 2015 UNESCO report: target reached by 1999 and sustained, p. 223).

In the 2011 *Global Monitoring Report* Cuba's excellence is underlined: "Over half of grade 3 students in Cuba performed at level 4—more than three times the share in Argentina and Chile, for example. Cuba registered by far the highest proportion of students scoring at the highest benchmark and by far the smallest proportion scoring at level 1 or below" (UNESCO 2011, p. 85). Undoubtedly Cuba's achievements can be credited the government's high level of commitment to education. Moreover, Cuba's example underlines the importance of localizing both the curriculum and the textbooks. The signals from UNESCO's Global Monitoring Reports clearly show that Cuba's departure from the global architecture of education has impacted very positively on pupils' school achievement, and Cuba was ranked by UNESCO in 2005 (see UNESCO 2005) as one of the most successful countries in education. The question is whether Cuba's deviation from the 'educational norm' makes the system more diverse, or rather more superdiverse than the global architecture, or whether one form of one-dimensionality has been replaced by another form of one-dimensionality. In any case, in terms of school achievement, Cuba's path seems academically superior.

New Zealand and the Māori

The educational situation in New Zealand with the Māori indigenous group is interesting in the context of providing viable and useful alternative models of education in multi-ethnic, pluricultural, and multicultural societies. Officially New Zealand recognizes its bi-cultural, i.e. its kiwi and Māori nationhood, and has therefore two statements of the national curriculum: The New Zealand Curriculum and *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa.*

The Māori curriculum is no direct translation of the kiwi one, but is founded on Māori epistemological and ontological principles without as it were excluding the western discourse. As it is stated in the Māori curriculum (*Te Marautanga o Aotearoa)*:

> *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* will ensure students have the skills and knowledge to participate, contribute to, and succeed in both te ao Māori (Māori world-view) and te ao whānui (global world-view). Students will be confident, connected, actively involved, life- long learners. (NZ MoE 2007)

Chris Carter, New Zealand's former Minister of Education was right at the launch of the new curriculum in 2007 when stating that the curriculum was world leading as it was "designed from a Māori perspective and … can sit alongside the New Zealand curriculum" (Carter 2007).

Te Marautanga o Aotearoa suggests that the Māori learners can more easily acquire new knowledges when the teaching is based on their previous cultural experiences and knowledge systems thus creating cultural homogeneity between home and school. Emphasizing the socio-cultural aspects of teaching and learning the curriculum is meant to uphold the cultural identity and heritage of learners and their families. Such a teaching and learning situation can be developed "out of the cultural sense-making processes of peoples previously being marginalized by the dominance of colonial and neo-colonial educational relations of power" (Bishop 2007, p. 457).

According to the introduction to this new curriculum it is "founded on the aspiration to develop successful learners, who will grow as competent and confident learners, effective communicators in the Māori world, healthy of mind, body and soul and secure in their identity, and sense of belonging. They will have the skills and knowledge to participate in and contribute to Māori society and the wider world" (NZ MoE 2011) *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* has been used in Māori-medium settings since 2011, and it is therefore too early to evaluate the full impact of the curriculum. However, since 2008, Māori assessment experts have been working on a framework for monitoring student outcomes of *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa.* According to one of our informants in New Zealand, a deputy head master, the results so far seem to indicate that pupils who attend the Māori classes fare better than Māoris in the kiwi school. The establishment of such a curriculum has, inevitably, not been without conflicts and tensions. As Sharyn Heaton (2011) states:

> Tensions and contradictions are inevitable when epistemological concepts are imported from one language and cultural context into another with an expectation of developing a common meaning…Potential problems that have an impact on the Māori language, Māori philosophy and content knowledge … need to be examined from an in-depth Māori epistemological viewpoint if tensions are to be avoided.

These tensions and problematic areas notwithstanding, *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* is based on some of the assumptions discussed in this chapter, viz. that learning is greatly facilitated when the home –school link is epistemologically and culturally strong. Both the examples from Cuba and New Zealand, while acknowledging the two countries' completely different positions in the present world order,

tell stories where subversion of the hegemonic global architecture of education has to a larger or lesser extent taken place. In the case of New Zealand, the Māori educational discourse has in many ways adopted a more superdiverse epistemological approach by encompassing indigenous knowledges not usually included in curricula in the global South. It is in this context quite telling that *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* is not referred to at all in the 2015 UNESCO report.[5]

Conclusion

It is incorrect when Nordtveit (2010) dismisses alternative educational discourses to the global architecture of education and relegates them: "to intellectual circles, religious structures, and mass protest movements. The latter are for the most part constructed by professional protest organisers (such as in Seattle), and are serving as warning signals to policy makers, in most cases without having a great impact" (p. 335). Although Nordtveit (2010) admits that this spreading of this global ideological system is "that the poor remain poor within a framework of 'justice' and 'liberty', or in other words, that development and education are creating a context that is strait-jacketing people in a system of discontent from which they have never any real chance to escape," (p. 335) there seems, according to Nordtveit, no cure for this very serious negative development. Admittedly, to turn the tide is an uphill battle, but there are already, as shown above, pockets of counterhegemonic educational discourses in countries of diverse ideological orientations.

There is a sense that ICT and the social media may play an important role in effecting epistemic change in the global South in the future. Since the costs of using Internet and social media have declined recently, they are within reach for the unprivileged and subaltern. During the Arab Spring, and during mass student protests in Chile in 2011–2013 known as the Chilean Winter or the Chilean Education Conflict social media mobilized people from all spheres of life to take to the streets. Powerful institutions that firmly held on to "old" solutions saw their powers base for a time eroding. Even though brutal crackdowns followed in the wake of the demonstrations the social media may have opened up for new political, cultural, and epistemic relationships between marginalized people globally which can bring comprehensive changes to the core/ periphery relationship.

Such relationships are superdiverse and supercomplex, but there may be ways in which they deviate from the superdiversity generated by the major globalization actors in the global North. With a streak of irony, the challenges to repressive power relationships and Western hegemonic epistemology may happen via the mobile phone or the laptop—the epitome of Western technology. If the grassroots manage to start new conversations with the government and the elite it is important that

[5] The Māoris are mentioned once, not in relation to the *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*, but to the 'language nest' model pioneered in Māori communities in New Zealand, where young children are immersed in their ancestral language with older community members.

scholars and researchers both in the global South and the North engage in these conversations and call for a radically new course in education and education policies, i.e. an *epistemic revolution*. These conversations should not only take place with governments in the global South, but with the main epistemic actors in the field, the hegemonic educational journals referred to above as well as the architects behind the EFA Global Monitoring Reports and the MDGs. The MDGs are a powerful ideological force that comes with funds, grants, ranking of nations etc., and it is vital that scholars and educationists bombard the powerful actors with counterhegemonic knowledge in order to divert funds to education plans and programs that subvert the current global architecture of education. It is urgent that the global actors in the North as well as in the South that now perpetuate the global architecture of education are being seriously challenged in terms of fundamental curricular reforms and paradigmatic changes in order to change the disastrous school achievements in many countries in the global South. The reinvention of the current hegemonic educational wheel will do no more. In line with the Gramscian concept of hegemony, a subversion of the hegemonic epistemology in the superstructure (in Marxist terms) may also generate changes of the ideological base in the various countries: i.e. effect social change, and thus help to bridge the ever increasing gap between the haves and have nots globally.

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Part III
Super Dimensions of Educational Research and Policy

Chapter 9
Unearthing the Forces of Globalisation in Educational Research Through Guattari's Cartographic Method

David R. Cole

Abstract Rosi Braidotti has said that: "The global system of post-industrial and newly industrializing worlds … function … in a fragmented and all-pervasive manner …. [yet] power relations in globalization are more ruthless than ever," (Angelaki J, Theor Humanit 17(2):169–176, 2012, p. 169). In order to deal with ruthless power relations in education, this chapter builds an activist framework for research based on the writing of Félix Guattari (Schizoanalytic cartographies (Trans, A. Goffey). Bloomsbury, London, 2013). Guattari moved beyond analytical frameworks to express the relationships contained in superdiversity (Vertovec, Ethnic Racial Stud 30(6):1024–1054, 2007), capitalism and subjectivity. This chapter explains the unconscious diagram from Guattari and applies it to young Muslims in Australia on *Facebook* and Sudanese families in Australia.

Keywords Sudanese refugees in Australia • Young Muslims in Australia on Facebook • Cartography as a methodology for analysing the effects of globalisation in education

Guattari's Framework for Research

The central challenge to understanding how globalisation under the conditions of superdiversity affects subjectivity in education has been summarised by Arjun Appadurai (2001) in terms of the imagination:

> If globalisation is characterised by disjunctive flows that generate acute problems of social well-being, one positive force that encourages an emancipatory politics of globalisation is the role of imagination… On the one hand, it is through the imagination that modern citizens are disciplined and controlled—by states, markets, and other powerful interests. But it

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> is also the faculty through which collective patterns of dissent and new designs for collective life occur. (p. 6)

However, the imagination is a notoriously difficult aspect of educational research to make sense of, especially in the divergent ways that Appadurai (2001) has indicated. The major problematic for this chapter is to use the disjunctive state of the flows of imagination in a way that is coherent with the context of superdiversity that runs through this book. If one wants to better understand how globalisation affects subjectivity through the imagination (i.e. disjunctively), and in a superdiverse manner, one could consult Félix Guattari's (2013) *Schizoanalytic Cartographies* due to the non-normative framing of his analysis. This book came from a seminar series that was launched in dialogue with Mony Elkaïm, a Moroccan-born, Brussels-based psychotherapist, whom he had first encountered in a Puerto Rican neighbourhood of New York.[1] What emerged from this dialogue was a series of diagrams that marked out four domains of the unconscious, and these domains are four interrelated varieties of experience that overrun the ego to produce an expanded field of transsubjective interaction (see Fig. 9.1 below). Each zone of this fourfold map is understood not as the only structural model of an unconscious process, able to represent its truth or meaning, but rather each zone is a *meta-model*, or a way of perceiving and reorienting the singular factors at play. Janell Watson (2008) defines meta-modelling in terms of schizoanalysis—i.e. a reinvention of psychoanalysis, stating: "Guattari himself declared schizoanalysis a 'meta-modelling', but at the same time insisted that his models were constructed aesthetically, not scientifically, despite his liberal borrowing of scientific terminology. The practice of schizoanalytic meta-modelling is complicated by his and Deleuze's concept of the diagram, which they define as a way of thinking that bypasses language, as for example in musical notation or mathematics," (online). Furthermore: "What I am precisely concerned with," Guattari explained, "is a displacement of the analytic problematic, a drift from systems of statement [*énoncé*] and preformed subjective *structures* toward *assemblages of enunciation* that can forge new coordinates of interpretation and 'bring to existence' unheard-of ideas and proposals" (Guattari 2013, p. 17). What he was working towards, in short, was the original articulation of collective speech, which will be taken forward in this chapter to unearth the superdiverse forces of globalisation in educational research.

The four divisions of the unconscious diagram (Fig. 9.1) deal with: (1) cut-outs of existential territories (T Territory); (2) complexions of material and energetic flows (F Flux); (3) rhizomes of abstract ideas (U Universe), and; (4) constellations of aesthetic refrains (Φ Phylum). Or, put differently, one could say that these four zones are—(i) the ground beneath your feet (T); (ii) the turbulence of social experience (F); (iii) the blue sky of ideas and (U); (iv) the rhythmic insistence of waking dreams (Φ). Figure 9.1 shows how the four divisions of the unconscious diagram relate to one another in terms of discursivity and deterritorialisation.

[1] Cf. Mony Elkaïm, "Schizoanalyse et thérapie familiale: Ce que j'ai appris de Féliz Guattari," available at http://www.therapie-familiale.org/resonances/pdf/monyelkaim.pdf

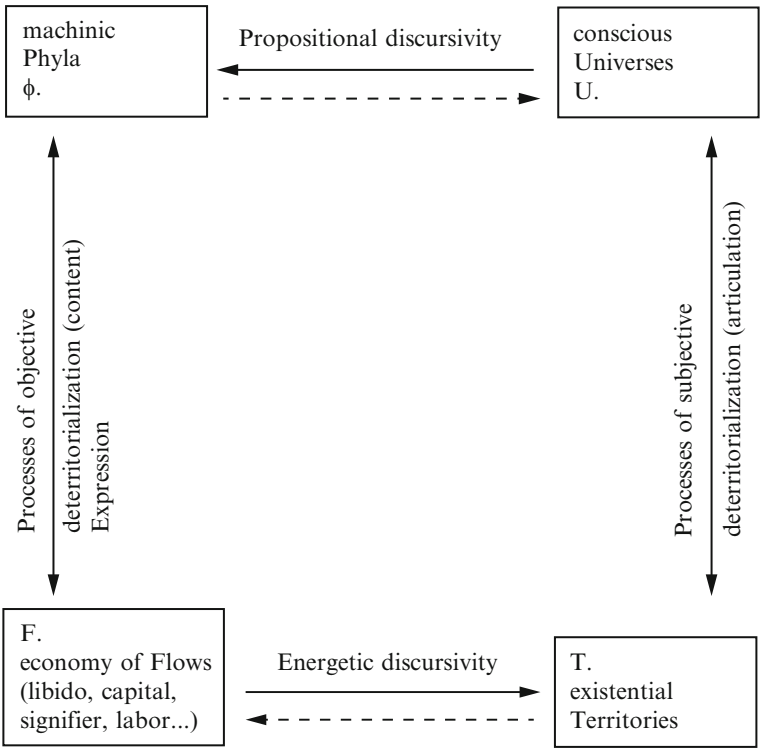

Fig. 9.1 Guattari's four divisions of the unconscious diagram and the inter-relationships of the divisions (See, for example, http://www.revue-chimeres.fr/drupal_chimeres/?q=node/215, for explanation of the diagram (in French). The diagram is reproduced here: https://diagramworkshop.wordpress.com/page/10/ and included amongst discussion on various diagrammatic thoughts.). Diagonal relationships are also possible, that would express more complex unconscious inter-relationships, i.e. $T \rightarrow \Phi$, $\Phi \rightarrow T$, $F \rightarrow U$, $U \rightarrow F$

These variations or moments of life are linked in a cycle of transformations, whose consistency and vectors make up an **assemblage**[2]**—**the individual, family, group, project, workshop, society, institution, and in this investigation: (a) Sudanese families in Australia and (b) young Muslims on Facebook, both of which are treated in the context of globalisation, education and superdiversity. Guattari's (2013) ultimate aim in relation with each assemblage was to arrive at "a procedure of 'auto-modelling', which appropriates all or part of existing models of subjectivity in order

[2] "In a book, as in all things, there are lines of articulation or segmentarity, strata and territories; but also lines of flight, movements of deterritorialization and destratification. Comparative rates of flow on these lines produce phenomena of relative slowness and viscosity, or, on the contrary, of acceleration and rupture. All this, lines and measurable speeds constitutes *an assemblage*. A book is an assemblage of this kind, and as such is unattributable. It is a multiplicity—but we don't know yet what the multiple entails when it is no longer attributed, that is, after it has been elevated to the status of the substantive." (Deleuze and Guattari 1988, p. 3).

to construct its own cartographies [or maps], its own reference points, and thus its own analytic approach, its own analytic methodology" (Genosko 1996, p. 122).[3] Such a notion of assemblage is taken from an interview with Guattari, brings us closer to the understanding of how globalisation affects subjectivity in educational research, because assemblages are about modes of inter-connected forces and their processes, that engender collective mechanics from within, and this, in turn, enables understanding of superdiversity in education. Assemblages are not about generalising about the groups in question but understanding about their inner workings through research or non-normative representation (affect).

The *Schizoanalytic Cartographies* are oriented from beginning to end by one of Guattari's oldest ideas as a therapist, theorist and political activist, developed under the influence of Jean-Paul Sartre, and directly relevant to the notion of a superdiverse, globalised subjectivity. This idea concerns the passage from a 'subjected group', often alienated by and through globalisation, to a 'subject group', that is capable of making its own statements in the context of superdiversity.[4] However, the Sartrean notions of individual choice and undivided responsibility for one's own actions were too restrictive and linear for Guattari (2013) and from a systemic viewpoint where the range of possible statements of the assemblage is determined by the basic parameters of the system or the four domains of the unconscious (Fig. 9.1). The passage of transformational thresholds became the most pressing issue for Guattari and his notion of assemblage as 'subject group'. Through the meta-modelling of chaotic processes and perhaps more pertinently, through pragmatic experimentation with the material and semiotic components at play within diagrammatic processes (cf. Cole 2012, 2013a), groups would better understand how to move themselves toward moments of bifurcation; or, in the case of this chapter, to an explanation of how the forces of superdiverse globalisation in education affect them. Ultimately, groups under the tutelage and direction of Guattari's methods would know how to embody the opaque and often incalculable element of chance that inflects the development of an entire system of articulation encapsulated by understanding the four domains of the unconscious in Guattari's terms (see Fig. 9.1). One could state that the moment of trembling between affect and expression (see, Cole 2011b) is the oscillating departure-point of the *Cartographies*. Yet what the fourfold diagrams try to map out are not just the latencies and possibilities of speech on the edge of an all-absorbing state of anti-conditioning and strikingly revolutionary action (Φ & U); but more specifically, the material situations and logical steps that draw subjectivity out of its containment and into unfolding, globalised flows and superdiverse educative inter-relationships; which are themselves reshaped through their collisions with ceaselessly mutating operational diagrams that Deleuze

[3] Interview with Guattari by Jacques Pain, "Institutional Practice and Politics," in *The Guattari Reader*, (Genosko 1996, p. 122). Originally published in Jacques Pain, (Ed.) (1985). *Pratiques de l'institutionnel et politique*. Vigneux: Matrice.

[4] The theme occurs throughout Guattari's first book, 1972, *Psychanalyse et transversalité: Essais d'analyse institutionnelle*. Paris : La Découverte. For example in "Introduction à la psychothérapie institutionnelle."

and Guattari (1988) called 'abstract machines' and that wholly reflect superdiversity. Abstract machines are defined by Deleuze & Guattari thus:

> An abstract machine in itself is not physical or corporeal, any more than it is semiotic; it is diagrammatic (it knows nothing of the distinctions between the artificial and the natural either). It operates by matter, not by substance; by function, not by form … The abstract machine is pure Matter-Function—a diagram independent of the forms and substances, expressions and contents it will distribute. (p. 156)

The affective pulse that leads from boxed subjectivity through social, global, superdiverse flows to the relation with abstract machines is the centre of the *Schizoanalytic Cartographies* and shows us how subjectivity in the face of globalisation, education and superdiversity may be formulated. In other words, any subjugated group may position themselves as articulating their desires through the relationships that they can make with abstract machines. The examples taken for this chapter (i.e., Sudanese refugee families and young Muslims in Australia on *Facebook*) are operationalized as abstract machines through their relations in education and with educational research, here depicted as cartography; however, this is not a straightforward or immediate solution to the facts of their possible subjugation.

What Guattari's (2013) book points to is not how behaviour is altered in plastic adaptation to context – because every top-down discourse of power does that – but instead, how people and things are able to leave behind sedentary territories and enunciate differently, often in problematic interaction with others and on a multiplicity of new, moving grounds (see, Masny and Cole 2012). The point of this method of research in education is to resist, to create and to propose alternatives, and to escape in terms of the evolving singularities of the group, despite the normalizing forces that are continually brought to bear on collectivism by aspects of contemporary capitalist and superdiverse society; e.g. the confinements of the bourgeoisie, or the oedipal family. One could say by analogy that whereas cybernetic engineering formulates a determinant endpoint in the hard wiring of a machine, and systemic analysis deduces a working model of purpose that defines the fit between an organism and its environs; the *Schizoanalytic Cartographies* map out the existential and socially globalised, superdiverse parameters within which a desire comes both to question itself in thought and to release its otherness in expression (see, Cole and Pullen 2009, pp. 124–138); — thereby helping to create a new grounds for becoming and launch a new cycle of connected transformations, here attached to the ways in which one may enunciate in the light of globalisation through education. To achieve this cycle or continua means enveloping the inter-connected circle of existence in thought, or describing what Deleuze and Guattari (1988) called the *plane of consistency*, in order to distinguish between the four domains (Fig. 9.1) that subtend any possible awareness and can therefore be considered as immanent fluctuation or flux-models of the unconscious. Analysis, or the process of differentiating and splitting—the *schiz of schizoanalysis* itself—is another way of describing the movement of deterritorialization that brings the four domains at least partially to consciousness in the thinker or group caught up in the processes of superdiversity. Any of the four fields of the unconscious can be a source or a stimu-

lant of this deterritorialization, and thus the domains are called 'functors' by Guattari (2013), to indicate their transformative effects on the assemblage whose overall dynamics they initiate and sustain.[5] Therefore, understanding about how globalisation affects subjectivity in education comes about as a result of the functors, and as the four domains of the unconscious (Fig. 9.1) is revealed in globalised, superdiverse, collected life.

Thus the methodology of this chapter is to choose case studies that demonstrate the workings of superdiversity and globalisation in education. The enabling of Guattari's (2013) four domains of the unconscious is an ethical-aesthetic task, exemplified by Gatens and Lloyd (1999) when they said: "Those who have been marginalised by the communities in which they—voluntarily or involuntarily—dwell, cannot be recognised in their difference unless the 'world', the ethos from which they draw their power to act, and their very identities, is recognised" (p. 148). It is in the ethos that we find the four domains of the unconscious and the globalised, superdiverse subjectivities of this paper. This chapter is an example of meta-modelling, whereby the examples chosen to exemplify globalisation in education feed into every other in terms of enunciation, affect and drawing emergent lines of flight from their immanent groundings. However, the meta-model of globalised subjectivities does not reintroduce a practice of hylomorphism,[6] as explained by Deleuze and Guattari (1988, pp. 351–423) in their work on nomadology and the war machine. On the contrary, the meta-modelling of this article works from within to make difference happen in each example, so globalised, superdiverse subjectivities are not essentialised, but realised in terms of their inter-relationships and in the singularities of the examples themselves. The examples below introduce vocabulary, concepts, literacies, their own forms of time and perspectives that feed into the four domains of the unconscious (Fig. 9.1) and the specific yet morphogenetic notion of subjectivity being globalised in the current state of superdiversity.

Sudanese Families in Australia

Australia is part of a global humanitarian effort to resettle refugees from war ravaged countries such as the Sudan. Families of Sudanese origin have been coming to Australia as part of this resettlement program since around 2000 and the Darfur

[5] I have been inspired in this reading of Guattari's (2013) *Schizoanalytic Cartographies* by Chapter 19 of Brian Holmes' online book: *Escape the Overcode*. Available at: http://brianholmes.wordpress.com/2009/01/19/book-materials/

[6] In *A Thousand Plateaus* (1988), Deleuze and Guattari picked up the critique of hylomorphism in the work of Gilbert Simondon and developed a non-hylomorphic or "artisanal" theory of production, in which artisans develop forms out of the suggested potentials of matter, instead of imposing their own creative ideas on passive matter. Simondon saw the political significance of hylomorphism as 'a socialized representation of work,' the viewpoint of a master commanding slave labor. Deleuze and Guattari suggested that a hylomorphic representation of a body politic can be used to justify fascism, in which a leader comes from on high to rescue his people by imposing order on chaos.

conflict. There has been extensive coverage in the Australian media and in the political arena about the ways in which the Sudanese have fitted in or otherwise to mainstream Australian society, and this coverage has not always been positive.[7] I felt strongly that the research should address the ways in which the Sudanese in Australia have been branded as 'other', how the categorisation of these refugees by some has worked, and how the Sudanese in Australia can become socially excluded according to the media reports of violence, crime, youth problems and educational difficulties. I received a research grant with colleagues in Canada to examine what is happening with respect to Sudanese families in terms of their educational opportunities and literacies.[8] This grant enabled the rare privilege to spend time with the Sudanese in their homes, at their schools and in the adult English classes where they were studying. I would like to apply the methodological apparatus of Guattari's four categories of the unconscious (Fig. 9.1) to the Sudanese families in Australia and their evolving group subjectivities in the context of Australian superdiversity.

One could state in a non-relative or non-normative sense that the Sudanese families in Australia are an assemblage as the term is defined in this chapter; i.e. a fully multiple group. The Sudanese families come from different regions of the Sudan, which is a vast and diverse country. For example, I worked with a Nubian speaking family from the mid highlands and a southern Dinka speaking family. The families have come through transit countries such as Egypt, where they applied for their refugee status and lived for several years. The families are large by Australian standards, often with nine or ten children, as was the case with the two families that I researched. The children and adults almost uniformly struggle in their English classes, the boys especially find the English language writing hard to master, the girls had much stronger English oral language skills than the boys as evidenced in the research interviews. One of the most interesting assemblage contrasts that the research uncovered was that when the boys socialised in their peer groups outside of school or the formal research context, they were far more sociable, gregarious and forthcoming. The boys dress up and inhabit the streets on Western Sydney at night, often meeting in small squares or at intersections between streets that might otherwise be deserted (T, F → Φ, U). The houses that the families dwell in are meeting places, with people constantly coming in and out, eating, talking or just hanging out. As part of the project, we gave the families flip cameras so they could film what takes place in their homes. One film depicted a wake, where their small house was filled up by fifty members of the Sudanese-Australian community, who gathered and shared the space in order to pay their respect to the dead. Women sat and beaded

[7] See, for example an ABC interview with the former Immigration Minister, Kevin Andrews, at: http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2007/s2057250.htm

[8] This study was funded by the SSHRC (Canada) International Opportunity Grant – *Immigrant Families and Multiple Literacies: Policy, Classroom and Community Connections Across Australia and Canada.* Full ethics permissions were obtained for this study and all names and pictures have been de-identified. The research was carried out by Professor Diana Masny (University of Ottawa), Associate Professor David R Cole (University of Western Sydney) and a research assistant.

each other's hair, the men relaxed and played cards, children streamed from room to room, laughing, talking and playing.

In terms of Guattari's (2013) *Schizoanalytic Cartographies*, the four zones of the unconscious (Fig. 9.1) for the Sudanese families in Australia correspond to: (i) the houses where the Sudanese currently live in Australia, which replicate the tribal and village spaces in the Sudan, and their convoluted journeys to get to these places from different regions in the Sudan, e.g. via Egypt (T); (ii) the Sudanese community world, including the influences of Christian worship and their perspective on Australian social life taken from Australian media and in contact with Australians such as their TAFE English teachers and Centrelink (a jobs centre) (F); (iii) the idea of being Sudanese and what that means, for example, in terms of the strong gender divisions in traditional Sudanese society, and how the idea of being Sudanese is changing under pressure from the transition to superdiverse life in Australia (U); (iv) the aesthetics of becoming Sudanese-Australian, for example involving craft, needlework and dress codes, music such as rapping, dancing, religious worship and imagery, and hairstyling (Φ). The way that the four divisions of the unconscious diagram from Guattari (2013) can be addressed that would aid the transition of the Sudanese families from a subjugated group to a group making their own statements that could be heard in mainstream Australian life is through education. To assist with this aim, the concept of multiple literacies in an educational context (see, Masny and Cole 2012) is useful to show ways in which the assemblage of the Sudanese-Australians may enunciate the four zones of the unconscious, these literacies are not exclusive to the Sudanese-Australians:

1. Peer and youth literacies. The Sudanese-Australians respond well to kinship and group bonds being preserved as much as possible. In mainstream educational practice, children are traditionally assessed, streamed and divided into year, subject and class groupings. The Sudanese-Australians thrive in social arenas where they can listen to peers and older members of their community speak about educative or social matters. For example, a year 7 Sudanese-Australian student would respond well to being taught Mathematics by a year 10 Sudanese-Australian student or at least having him or her there for peer support and knowledge sharing.
2. The literacy of synthetic time. The clockwork mosaic of discrete knowledge areas to study one at a time and after each other, and the confusing multitude of subjects in the secondary context, can be a hindrance to the development of the Sudanese-Australian assemblage in conditions of superdiversity. Rather, the Sudanese students could be taught for extended periods of unequal length and duration to encourage the synthesis of time, whereby their knowledge acquiring apparatuses are switched on and they are attuned to learning according to the four zones of the unconscious. The introduction of the literacy of synthetic time requires a new timetable for the Sudanese-Australians to be introduced into schooling, with longer and interconnected subject and study periods (see, Cole 2011a).
3. War literacies. The reality of war must not be watered down, sublimated or diluted in the context of schooling the Sudanese-Australians. Rather, the learning

of the Sudanese would be stimulated and engaged by understanding what war means and being able to articulate ideas connected to war, and not only how they have impinged upon Australian or British life and its people. This type of literacy cannot be isolated or designated as being merely relevant to the subject of Australian history, but could be extended further into the curriculum.

4. Oral literacies. Spoken language would take precedent with the Sudanese-Australians and their assemblage. The imposition of literate moves too quickly or too universally; i.e. the deployment of educational practice involving reading and writing with the Sudanese-Australians without oral explanation, will take the study focus away from their oral abilities, the use of such a pivot, and the sense of community that orality has embedded within it. Oral literacies coincide with the need for code switching in the classroom (Milroy and Muysken 1995); in the case of this study, between Dinka, Nubian, Arabic and English, so that knowledge and conceptual development may be supported between languages.
5. Tribal literacies. The tribalism of the Sudanese-Australian refugees cannot be overlooked, but used effectively as part of their learning practices. This set of literacies, that would benefit the assemblage of the Sudanese-Australians because of the socialisation processes in the Sudan; would require educators and students to reintroduce a pre-modern space into the teaching and learning arena, whereby neither capitalist nor industrialised education is incumbent on the forms of sociality that are apparent in learning.
6. Physical literacies. The sustained use of abstract knowledge in the classroom will hinder the progress of the Sudanese-Australians in the mainstream. This literacy is important because the ways in which their assemblage is constructed necessitates the physical reality of what is being discussed or studied to be paramount. Education could be a physical, indeed, visceral experience for the engagement and development of the Sudanese-Australian identity. This literacy means the acting out and physical activation of knowledge, stories, ideas and concepts in and out of the classroom. (cf., Cole 2013b, pp. 39–40)

The globalised assemblage of the Sudanese families in Australia is changing as they attune to the rhythms of superdiverse, everyday life in their adopted new country ($F \rightarrow \Phi$). The aim of the six multiple literacies above is to make the unconscious diagram of the Sudanese in Australia viable for the future of the younger Sudanese-Australians. The six literacies act through education to release aspects of the Sudanese-Australian collectivity parallel to the four zones of the unconscious diagram from Guattari (Fig. 9.1). Meanwhile, the adult Sudanese population struggle with unemployment, or 'underemployment', the English language, discrimination, racial abuse and their personal displacement issues. Such trauma will be communicated to the children, and make the outward feedback cycles of the unconscious diagram as described by the article more difficult to realise. The emergence of the Sudanese-Australians as players in Australian social and cultural life will therefore be dependent on the ways in which the functors of their four zones of the unconscious operate in terms of their traumas of displacement, war and cultural adaptation. In terms of globalisation, the Sudanese families in Australia often respond to the

pre-global forces from the Sudan, which can act in a fracturing manner in superdiverse Australia. In contrast, the Sudanese children can more readily take on globalised identities, which are hybrid mixtures, aided by the six literacies above, of what they extract from contemporary global culture, for example, gangster rapping, and what they can ascertain and incorporate from these identities on a peer level (U → Φ).

Young Muslims in Australia on *Facebook*

In a recent government sponsored research project that examined the voices that influence young Muslims in Australia (Collins et al. 2010), it was found that large numbers of young Muslims are using social networking sites such as *Facebook*. In fact, 82 % of the 15–18 age group asked said that their primary focus on the Internet was to socialize through such sites. 63 % of the 18–25 age group responded similarly, which points to the ways in which globalised and superdiverse social life is evolving under the influence of social media for these respondents. In this superdiverse example, the young Muslims are learning on Facebook, which defines an informal educational environment and assemblage in contact with electronic networks and global 'friends' lists (cf., Cole 2005). The research sample of 323 young Muslims (53 % female) was taken from the Sydney area, and the urban focus of the research prejudices the study in that all respondents should have access to computers. Yet this sample points to a tendency in Australia that is important in the context of the four divisions of the unconscious diagram (Fig. 9.1), superdiversity and globalisation. This tendency can be described by a dichotomy that is appearing between the ways in which the young Muslims such as those of this study are socializing on the Internet and in 'non-mediated life'. The young Muslims of the study often read the world and life differently through their virtual community world on *Facebook* sites and this contrasted their contact with non-Muslim social life in Australia (F, T → Φ, U). The mainstream media in Australia—especially the newspapers and Television networks—often transmit stereotypical messages of conflict and war with respect to Muslims, and this stands in contrast to the messages of support and community that the young Muslims may receive through social networking, especially with their contacts in Muslim countries. The young Muslims of the study can obtain stories from and about Islamic countries from a different perspective (i.e. pro-Muslim) in order to avoid the Western filter of the war on terror that realigns stories about Islam. The problem is not one of objectivity for the young Muslims; it is rather to do with the global forces that are positioning the stories about war and conflict with respect to Muslim countries. One of these forces is sensationalism, and the need for impact that the mainstream media requires to drive ratings, including their news stories. For many, the post-9-11 world is a hostile, *Islamophobic* (see, Schmidt 2004) one, that the young Muslims did not create or feel responsible for. Their reaction is to use the social networks to seek out new ways to understand who they are and what position they occupy in superdiversity (T → U, Φ).

The result of applying Guattari's four divisions of the unconscious diagram (Fig. 9.1) to the young Muslims in Australia on Facebook study denotes: (1) The Australia that the young Muslims inhabit, which might be, for example, Lakemba, Greater Western Sydney, or the suburbs in which they live, and the place where they go to study and work, e.g. Australian university campuses or the Sydney CBD (T); (2) Muslim identity as it is portrayed in everyday life in Australia, e.g. through media reports on Muslim countries, terrorism, issues to do with religious identity, differences between Muslim life, Christian life and secular life, or the multiple cultures in Australia and the ways in which they interact with Islam, plus the contemporary political position of Islam in Australian culture and society (F); (3) the notion of being a Muslim and what that entails on an abstract level, for many young Muslims in Australia the interaction on Facebook encapsulates the search for abstract Muslim identity through social contact with youth from Islamic countries, readings from the Koran, teachings from the Mosque and the ideas of what it means to be a young Muslim in Australia that is passed on by word of mouth amongst Muslim youth (U); (4) Muslim art, calligraphy, the style and core of what it means to be a young Muslim in Australia, including the history of Islam, the teachings of the Koran and the 5 pillars of Islam and how they are played out in the lives of the young people, e.g. through the desire to go on the Hajj or Ramadan (Φ).

Market driven media in western democracies are relentlessly looking for news stories to increase and maintain their audiences. The war on terror is a central narrative and organising factor for western democracies, that ensures funding for the military and maintenance of 'the fear of the other'. Young Muslims such as the ones in this Australian study are caught in the middle of these forces and are involved in this global narrative, both as consumers of the news, and as potentially marginalised others to the mainstream. The ways that Muslim youth are handled in democratic western countries such as Australia is a critical signpost to understanding the literacies that these youth will develop. This is because the group dynamics and issues to do with the voices that young Muslims listen to are vital if they are to avoid radicalisation. Research has shown that radicalisation often happens online, where networks of radicalised youth can share views and possibly escape detection (e.g., Abbas 2007). The voices that some young Muslims may listen to online tell of war against the West, and the struggle against the infidels that has been waged across millennia through Islam. These are powerful global forces for some young Muslims, especially as they hear about the war on terror as a ubiquitous narrative in the mainstream (Western) media. The digital world can be an escape route from victimisation and a source of power and unity for young Muslims (Φ, U → T, F). With respect to Guattari's diagram of the unconscious (Fig. 9.1), the assemblage that young Muslims using social media form produces a plane of immanence, that is an organising factor for the divisions of the unconscious or the workings of the functors in conditions of superdiversity. For some, the imaginative and associative aspects of digital media fit in with religious aspirations, as the user is potentially able to roam in their mind, and go wherever their desires take them on the worldwide Net (Φ + U). Consequently, in contrast to an Islamophobic (outside) world (T + F), the youthful Muslim imagination can be drawn to voices of brotherhood and harmony through the virtual interconnectedness of being online.

In terms of multiple literacies, the globalised young Muslims in the study practise political, visual, rhetorical, religious, multilingual (usually English-Arabic) and affective literacies online. The affective literacies are especially important to young Muslims using *Facebook*, as the affective contrast between the outside environmental and digital realms is a powerful driver in their learning. It is also true that the young Muslims of the study are not a group apart, but are invested in generalised youth culture in Australia, with its mixture of inter-generational and cultural issues, including those connected to music, the status of education, TV and film. Superdiverse youth culture in Australia is a powerful affective and collective organisational factor that is present in their lives through the use of digital media, and invites 'buy in' from the agents who view and participate. In this respect, the young Muslims are incorporated with every other group identity in contemporary Australia. Yet the religious 'push' that Islam gives these individuals in Australia makes them likely to question certain aspects of Australian youth culture, for example, the use of alcohol. Young Muslims of the study were found to read and participate in the parts of Australian youth culture that are appropriate from their Islamic perspective. This means that they are trained to be able to differentiate between actions that define a moral Islamic code for life. This is a powerful reading practice that is reinforced through religious observation and extra-curricular classes. This practice can help young Muslims to succeed and to find a path in their lives that avoids immoral temptation. However, many young Muslims in Australia in the study, both male and female, have come to question the virtue of these choices that they derive from religion, as they live in a pre-dominantly secular society. This questioning results in engagement with affective literacies, and a potential loss of certainty. These affective literacies find an appropriate place on *Facebook*, as the questioning of faith is taboo in strict Muslim society and should be hidden (U → F).

Thus there is a politics of affect, which is produced through examining the data from the young Muslims using *Facebook* in Australia. By excluding affect from its calculations, one could say that neo-liberal civil society may be at odds with the sometimes violent resurgence of contemporary revolts against the state, which are now under conditions of superdiversity. Ignoring or repressing affect, wallowing in it, or taking it for granted, have ultimately the same effect: affect remains a mystery, and politics itself is rendered opaque, as may be understood through the globalised, research-based example of young Muslims on *Facebook*. The return of affect in globalised, superdiverse educational contexts, demands ontological and epistemological theories that are an adequate conceptualization of affect's politics, and its relationship with the state, and this conceptualisation is achieved through the four divisions of the unconscious (Fig. 9.1) in this chapter. Deleuze enables us to rethink the notion of the 'return' of affect as politics through his formulation of materialisms in his *Capitalism & Schizophrenia* texts with Félix Guattari (1984, 1988). In contrast, history may be cast as narrative that emphasizes regularity and predictability, in Massumi's (2002) words, history comprises a set of "identified subjects and objects" whose progress is given "the appearance of an ordered, even necessary evolution … contexts progressively falling into order" (p. 218). Such an appearance is projected by the same political operation that nullifies pre-personal multiplicity

and the mobility that is characteristic of affect. In the research example of young Muslims on Facebook in Australia, what will be missed are the complex and passionate relationships between the superdiverse Australian youth and their counterparts in Muslim countries (Φ + U) (a superdiverse flow). Narrative history results from the selection, confinement, and capture of an affective flow that is in fact unpredictably mobile and in continuous variation. In Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) terms, "all history does is to translate a coexistence of becomings into a succession" (p. 430). In this translation, affects become emotion, singular collectives become identifiable individuals, and the state arises, imposing its order upon culture and superdiversity. As a result of these transformations, the affective - now constituted as the emotional, is represented as reactive, secondary, the essence of passivity: events provoke sadness, happiness, or in the case of young Muslims in the study, frustration and bewilderment. Affect's primacy and excess is translated into the secondary residue that is emotion. Therefore, history has to be remapped in view of the affective flux that resonates through (and resists) its linear orderings, in the case of this chapter from the perspective of the assemblage of young Muslims in Australia on Facebook. Part of this remapping includes the designation of the four divisions of the unconscious from Guattari (Fig. 9.1) and the comprehension of the multiple literacies of Muslim youth. The young Muslims in Australia on *Facebook* represent an important 'flow' of affective energies that may escape the controls of the Australian state, and therefore signal future tendencies about society and variations in a politics of control (Φ → T).

Conclusion

The two examples of educational research about globalisation in Australia that were selected for analysis in this chapter demonstrate the usefulness of Guattari's four divisions of the unconscious (see Fig. 9.1). Firstly, the Sudanese families present a form of collectivity that is well described by the meta-model of the unconscious, secondly, the ways in which the young Muslims are interacting online is explored and opened up through Guattari's analysis. The collectivity of the Sudanese in Australia is organised and motivated by memories and heritage from the Sudan, as well as their complex and traumatic journeys to Australia, and the ways that they are inter-generationally becoming Sudanese-Australian (Φ → F). In contrast, the social and group becomings of the young Muslims online is determined by the global peer relationships that the young Muslims are able to make. These relationships often involve contacts in the Middle East, where recent social upheavals have caused fractures and war, and which is deeply felt by the young Muslims in Australia as a politics of affect (Φ + U → T, F). The democracy, relative wealth and stability of Australia, contrasts strongly with the ways in which Muslim countries in the Middle East and elsewhere have intermittently undergone violent revolutions and civil war. The young Muslims in Australia on Facebook of the research project are participating in these conflicts in a virtual way, as they go about their everyday lives in

superdiverse Australia (Φ + U). The results from these studies show how globalised, superdiverse identities determine difference and complex, divergent imaginations (Appadurai 2001), which follow desires and form new ways of looking at the world from changing perspectives (i.e. transforming subjectivity, enunciation and learning). Both the Sudanese families and young Muslims in Australia face ongoing intergenerational and communal tensions, as the fracturing of globalisation and superdiversity continues to make the nodes and sources of their identities, such as tribal life in the Sudan or Islam, spread out, and sometimes harder to access and connect with. In corollary, the four divisions of the unconscious (Fig. 9.1) from Guattari (2013) is offered in this chapter as a methodological counter-narrative to the submergence of identity in contemporary, superdiverse society. This is not in order to get back to originatory or authentic identity, but to understand the processes of disjunction and abstraction that happen as everyday occurrences in systematic ways in education (T, F → Φ, U). If educational research is to be at all potent in the context of what Braidotti (2012) describes as the 'ruthless power relations of globalisation', the potential of the methodological resources given to us by Guattari needs to be recognised and deployed as a mode of experimental education research. This is in order to enable the articulation of the collective desires of groups: in the case of this chapter, those of Sudanese families in Australia and young Muslims on Facebook.

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Chapter 10
The Spatialities of Education Policy Analysis: Globalisation, Scale and Mobility

Kalervo N. Gulson

Abstract This chapter examines the spatialities of education policy in a globalising world, and focuses on the territorial and relational aspects of educational governance. The chapter proposes that an explicitly geographical focus on scale and mobility can contribute to new conceptualisations and empirical studies of globalised education policy. The chapter makes particular reference to notions of relationality that emphasise power and meaning in the movement and constitution of policy.

Keywords Spatialities • Scale • Mobility • Methodology of policy analysis

Introduction

> The movements of people (and things) all over the world and all scales, are after all, full of meaning. They are also the products and producers of power. (Cresswell 2006, p. 2)

This chapter conceptualises education policy and governance in globalised education realms that are characterised by multiplicity and interconnectivity. The chapter aims to raise methodological issues pertaining to the study of education policy in relation to movement, multiplicity and connectivity. The aim of the chapter is germane to propositions in the literature on super-diversity about the significance of methodology. Meissner and Vertovec (2014) argue that one the key aspects in the emerging field of super-diversity'is methodological. This entails a call to reorient some fundamental approaches within the social scientific study of migration in order to address and to better understand complex and arguably new social formations' (p. 542). These social formations are occurring as both relational and territorial formations, a simultaneity that poses methodological challenges for social science research, broadly conceived. This chapter narrows the focus of the methodological challenge to examine the spatialities of education policy as a territorial and relational technology of governance. These spatialities include movement,

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intensities and power, boundaries and transgressions, the global flows of policy ideas and people, and the ways policy ideas are taken up, generated and mediated in 'vernacular' ways in places (Rizvi and Lingard 2010).

The connections between education policy, movement and globalisation have been understood as part of policy 'travelling'. Policy transfer has been the predominant concept used to examine this policy movement, especially in comparative and international education that has used cognate notions of policy borrowing and learning (Dale 1999). The ideas of transfer are drawn from the policy science literature, and attempt to theorise the processes and actors and institutions involved in the movement and adoption policy ideas, along with the power relations that are part of the adoption or rejection of ideas (see McCann 2010 for critical overview). Education policy studies have examined movements of policy elites – especially national elites – that have led to a convergence of policy aims and initiatives in nation states. These convergences also result in divergences such as local 'policy inflection' (Ozga and Jones 2006) where combinations of unions, communities and social movements can create adaptations of globalised agendas, such as those around national testing or teacher performance pay. Convergence and divergence indicate the significance of, and the necessity of problematising, scale and movement in methodologies that aim to understand the links between globalisation and education policy. As Beech and Artopoulos (2015) propose, ideas of transfer and borrowing 'have significant limitations to capture the complexity inherent to new geographies of power/knowledge in education' (p. 1), and as such there is a need for new concepts and forms of analysis to capture the movement of educational ideas across space.

The need for new concepts can be seen in the example of policy transfer. While transfer might seem straightforward in that it deals with the movement of ideas, power and contestation, as noted above, critiques of transfer contend that it remains wedded to the nation state, and to hierarchical scales (Cochrane and Ward 2012). Policy transfer may, furthermore, reinforce the idea that there is a mobile global and static local scale in which policy is transferred between the spatial containers of nations; this is an idea that reinforces spatial relations as fixed (Massey 2005). What is further required is an exploration of the meaning attributed to the movement of policy, especially when it seems to 'jump scales,' that is when policy is seen to entail global and local practices and effects. This exploration has an affinity with the recent focus in critical education policy studies, and more precisely policy sociology, on policy movements and an increasing coherence to policy ideas and processes across private, public and philanthropic sectors. This includes the ways national, international and transnational policy makers in networks are reconfiguring policy making and implementation, and are re-articulating relations between the market, civil society and the state (Ball 2012; Ball and Junemann 2012).

One of the main foci of these studies has been research papers, policy recommendations, and data created, administered and disseminated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), including the *Indicators of Education Systems* (INES). The data generated by INES are published in the OECD's annual *Education at a glance* reports, which include categories such as:

- The output of educational institutions and the impact of learning on economic and social outcomes.
- The financial and human resources invested in education.
- Access to education, participation and progression.
- The learning environment and organisation of schools (OECD 2014, n.p.).

One part of producing data on educational outcomes is the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). PISA provides participating governments with outcomes of student achievement that claims to be comparable across countries, with the aim of increasing the effectiveness of education and enhance practice sharing. PISA encapsulates the conflation and convergence of harmonization of policy goals, and the dissemination of policy knowledges, as part of the creation of 'new reference societies' in a global policy field (Sellar and Lingard 2013a, b).

These approaches to studying the movement of education policy parallel, and draw upon, the approach to policy mobilities emerging from political geography (McCann 2011). These geographical studies propose to engage with and shift the policy transfer focus on the nation-state. The policy mobilities approach:

> offers a vision of society (and policymaking) as a multiply scaled, emergent social process. Furthermore, mobilities provide an opportunity to think about the transfer, translation, or transformation of policy models and ideas in terms of the embodied practices across what Ong (1999, p. 159) calls 'translocal fields of power' (McCann 2010, p. 112)

Working with some of the ideas from policy mobilities studies, this chapter works from two premises: first, that policy analysis requires new, or newly combined, concepts to study globalised education policy. While the movement of policy is not a novel phenomenon, for this has been how system analyses have understood the movement of national policy to state or local government levels, what is different are the changed time-spaces of globalisation, the intensity of policy movement and what types of effects are generated across time and space (Thompson and Cook 2014a). New time-spaces require analytic frameworks that may be distinct from those that have been used for the study of national policies (Dale and Robertson 2012). The second premise of the chapter follows from the first. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) posit that: 'The disposition for critical policy analysis in an era of globalization requires that we recognize the *relationality and interconnectivity* of policy developments' (p. 69). An explicitly geographical focus, therefore, is able to analyse relationality and interconnectivity, and to problematise rather than fetishise the spatial elements of globalisation (Roberston and Dale 2008).

This chapter works from these premises to first, outline different conceptions of scale in education policy studies, with a particular reference to the notion of relationality and to topological approaches. Second, the chapter illustrates how a focus on mobility both complements relational notions of scale and addresses the need for a focus on the movement of policy as a spatial problematic. The last part of the chapter proposes that the study of education policy mobilities using conceptions of movement, meaning and power has implications for the ontology of policy and policy studies methodologies.

Scale <-> Spatiality <-> Globalisation <-> Spatiality <-> Scale

This section outlines the ways different conceptions of scale contribute to analysing the 'stretching' effects of education policy (Rizvi and Lingard 2010). This section builds on the work of others in geography of education (Taylor 2009) to problematise the categories of scale in order to avoid charges of spatial fetishism. Brenner (2003, p. 38 cited in Roberston and Dale 2008, p. 10) describes spatial fetishism as involving 'a conception of social space that is timeless and static, and thus immune to the possibility of historical change'. The study of globalisation needs not only an initial attribution that globalisation is spatial, but a focus on the causal aspects of space; that is "*what difference does space make*?" (Roberston and Dale 2008, p. 10).

This question of what difference space makes is one that Smith (2004) poses as crucial for social science research. Smith asks: 'why space? Why *should* our analysis of social difference and political possibility be rewritten in the language of space?' (p. 13) Any engagement with policy movement needs to deal with such a question, for there is a 'common-sense' spatial argument that globalisation has radically shifted understandings of scale – that is, the relationships of local to the global has been reoriented through globalisation. What is perhaps less evident is the significance of the ontological-political aspects of scale. For example, the logistics of a mobile world have resulted in the prevalence of 'off-shoring' and 'out-sourcing'. Of interest in this idea is that:

> [f]inance, gambling, waste disposal and a host of other aspects of modern life are increasingly 'off-shored' in a space where such practices exist within different legal frameworks – which are defined territorially rather than in spaces of flow (Cresswell 2014, p. 6)

In the education field there is an outsourcing of policy ideas and shifting them from the national scale for example to a global scale where transnational edu-businesses like Pearson not only develop resources, but produce and disseminate educational data and policies (Sellar and Lingard 2013a). There are implications for what counts as political legitimacy and accountability, when policy ideas are outsourced, and then taken up as policy initiatives through new forms of network governance; a form of governance that includes public-private partnerships between governments, intergovernmental organizations, not-for-profit organisations, and edu-businesses (Ball and Junemann 2012). Network governance flattens scale and calls into question where politics might take place, and whether this can be considered a politics of scale.

The politics of scale has been examined in education policy studies that focus on the social construction and the contestability of scale in new geographies of power (e.g., Robertson 2007; Thiem 2007). This educational research is located more broadly in debates about scale and capitalist production, and especially work that is interested in the notion of the processes of scalar production (see Herod 2011 for overview). Herod (2011) notes that while there are disagreements within this body of work, there are four common ideas. First, that scale is 'socially constituted'

(p. 21).[1] Second, that scales are geographical boundaries that encircle spaces. Third, that scales are dynamic, that they are 'fluid – that is to say, although particular scales may be made and fixed at particular times and places, it should not be supposed that they are unchanging or unchangeable' (p. 21). Fourth, there is an interest in how actors 'jump' scales, and the power relations of these spatial relations, such as 'how various social actors seek to control one scale so as to dominate processes, actors, or phenomena at another' (p. 21).

While there are significant points regarding power and contestation in these four aspects of scale, what remains a problem is the invoking of scale, such as the national scale, or local scale, as something within which action occurs, and is knowable, coherent and complete. This problem is replicated in discussions about the geographies of education. Taylor (2009) notes that a key charge against educational research is that it has been too focussed on the local scale and hence over emphasises the agency of teachers and learners, while it under-emphasises structural constraints and opportunities. Taylor suggests that relational geographies have exacerbated this disparity. He proposes that an option is to:

> … [study] 'place' in its full diversity, with a return to the kind of locality studies employed during the 1960s, but that are also (a) firmly situated within and concerned with relevant processes at the regional, national and global level, and (b) concerned with the spatial dimensions (patterns, processes, inequalities, etc.) within those locales (Taylor 2009, pp. 662–3).

These approaches could be adopted in educational research around structures of global flows, for example, or agency, such as teacher resistance to testing, or the role of local parental choice. A further issue, however, seems to be the continued reifying of scales as levels, as if they are 'things' in and of themselves, an ontological move that has been challenged precisely by the moves towards theorising and investigating the relationality of scales.

There has been a move from topographical to topological approaches and a resulting re-conceptualisation of scale, most notably from the earlier ideas of social construction of scale to a focus on relationality and multiplicity. Topographical approaches posit scale as 'the boundary line that encloses a particular absolute space' (Herod 2011, p. 24), so that these bounded spaces can be understood as coherent and continuous such as the borders of nations states. Conversely, topological approaches, such as Actor Network Theory and other forms of relational space (see Murdoch 2006) tend towards the diffusion of boundaries. What topology focuses on is '*relationality itself* and …[it] question[s] how relations are formed and then endure *despite* conditions of continual change' (Martin and Secor 2014, p. 431). It is not what encloses relations that matters but the ideas of proximity and interconnectivity, illustrated through notions of networks and nodes. In a topological approach 'scales are represented not by the enclosure of different-size absolute spaces but by the relative length of the lines connecting various nodes – longer lines are generally taken to represent the global, whilst shorter lines represent the national or regional scales' (Herod 2011, p. 24).

[1] It should be noted that while space may be socially constituted so too is time (Thompson and Cook 2014b), and that these can be coupled together in the notion of space-time (Massey 2005).

The Work of Scale

An interesting aspect of topological approaches is the work or labour that goes into maintaining scale, or the 'length' of the line, and how scales are thus represented as stable and enduring. Ball's (2012) study of policy mobilities and new networks of governance, along with Lingard and Sellar's studies of the OECD and the role of PISA, points to how networks that appear to be national 'cut-across' scales that can deal with both the politics of scale and re-conceptualisations of scale. Lingard and Sellar suggest that:

> A policy sociology, utilizing topological analytics, would offer the possibility of theorizing ever-changing and polymorphous processes of policy production and practices, while sustaining attention on those agents and agencies that remain a durable presence in these processes, including nations and transnational actors like the OECD (Lingard and Sellar 2013).

To maintain scale as a viable concept in a topological approach requires recognition of the work that goes into relationality, and of 'relational effects', in order to identify how spatial difference is produced and consolidated. This is 'not to throw away the concept of scale [but] simply to be more sceptical of its importance and analytical purchase' (Latham 2002, p. 139 cited by Herod 2011, p. 23).

As part of creating more analytical 'purchase' is to posit 'a notion of scales as assembled relationally by particular interested actors, as unbounded and dynamic, but no less real or powerful' (McCann and Ward 2013, p. 7). The nation state is part of this assembling and, as such, is not eliminated as an object of study, rather the nation state is reoriented by the study of policy movement to a relational rather than bounded comparative undertaking. There is movement of policy between and across nations, a movement that can underpin a scalar politics while still fixing particular scalar representations. Take, for example, the role of PISA in creating new global scales of measurement. As Sellar and Lingard posit, testing is now:

> constituting an emergent global education policy field: policy as numbers writ global and part of a global infrastructure … . This infrastructure helps to constitute the globe as a commensurate space of measurement, and provides a significant policy lever that helps lubricate education policy making within and across nations and the global economy (Sellar and Lingard 2013a, p. 464).

In this example, what is identified is the continuation of the nation as the scale at which reform will occur; the nation retains its legitimacy and intelligibility as a political site. Scales in a global policy field, therefore, are not discrete but rather interpenetrate and fold onto each other.

Furthermore, the performative aspects of scale are crucial, especially the ways that scales manifest particular intensities and policy ideas, and political and economic interests (McCann and Ward 2013). Scale is the outcome of work that entails a 'focus on how scales are brought and held together – assembled – by actors and institutions' (McCann and Ward 2013, p. 5). Policy and policy-making are *emergent socio-spatial processes and practices* through which:

> [t]he global circulation of policies and expertise are shaped by, and also shape, social connections made by various policy actors. These connections, relationships and bonds are sometimes made through face-to-face encounters, such as meetings, conferences, site visits, etc. (McCann and Ward 2013, p. 9)

How to study these socio-spatial processes and practices points in the direction of ethnography, particularly global ethnography and the extended case study method, that locates the local in the global and regional (Buroway 2000). These approaches aim to 'extend ethnographic practice across space and time, "road-testing" hunches, hypotheses, and theories-in-reconstruction across a cumulative sequence of multisite investigations or "experiments"' (Peck and Theodore 2012, p. 27). One of the key problems that has been raised in the study of policy mobility is that finely grained ethnographic studies need to be balanced with the tracing of connections and reach.[2] Any methodology of mobility, thus, needs to be able to identify the scope of movement while being able to examine the varying experiences, or intensities, that occur through policy implementation (Peck and Theodore 2012). This indicates why it might be useful to problematise the movement of policy by focusing on the meaning in, and of, the line between A → B. This can be done by combining the mobility work of Cresswell (2006, 2014), and the policy mobilities literature being forged by critical political geographers (McCann and Ward 2013; Peck and Theodore 2012).

Geographies of Mobility: Power and Movement

What is evident in the literatures of geographies of policy and mobility is: one, there is a new landscape of globally mobile policies and ideas, that can be understood as having a scalar aspect; and, two, that new concepts and methods are needed to examine both relational aspects –how policy ideas are connected– and the territorial aspects – policies and ideas as manifest in particular places (McCann and Ward 2012; Peck and Theodore 2012). Additionally, Ball (2012) has identified new social actors who are 'hybrid social subjects who are spatially mobile, ethically malleable, and able to speak the languages of public, private and philanthropic value' (p. 145). The combination of the mobility of ideas, especially those around market notions in education, and new actors is re-configuring contemporary life and educational politics. Education policy ideas are created, understood and adapted by policy advocacy organisations – free market policy think tanks such as the Fraser Institute in Canada and Centre for Independent Studies in Australia, for example, – and schools within local and across global contexts (Gulson and Lubienski 2014). There is a new political economy of education around cultural politics, the market and mobility that needs mapping and critiquing at 'the nexus of power/knowledge and new spatialities

[2] Studying mobility and being mobile as a researcher carries with it culpability in the climate change effects of mobility – e.g. generation of carbon outputs, etc. This is a new kind of ethical concern to go with previous debates about the anthropological gaze and the researcher body.

of knowledge movement and mobility' (Gulson and Lubienski 2014, p. 76), a nexus that has been identified as part of new global assemblages (see Ball 2012).

The heuristic of assemblage has been adopted in the policy mobility literature to identify the relationality of elements and resources, rather than presupposing a policy as a coherent whole, as an unchanging entity, or one that moves from place to place unchanged (McCann and Ward 2013). What is asked, therefore, is not only *how* what passes as policy knowledge comes to be, and what comes to pass as critique or evaluation, and so forth, but also *where this occurs in situ and in movement*; it is this that can lead to an engagement with the geographies of both movement *and* mobility.

The mobility analytic concentrates on policy and policy making 'as both in motion and simultaneously fixed, or embedded in place' (Cochrane and Ward 2012, p. 7), it is an analytics of movement and speed and manifestation in place. These notions are addressed by a policy mobilities approach that asks: 'What situations, "transit points" and "sites of persuasion" do policies travel through? How do education policies mutate as they travel? How do mobile policies impact the character and politics of place?' (McCann and Ward 2012, p. 48)

The remainder of this section engages with the concept of mobility within what have been termed 'critical mobilities' that study the connection between power and mobility in the constitution of social, cultural, economic and political formations. The critical mobilities approach wants 'to probe the limits of the mobilities approach itself as well as productive encounters with other ways of thinking' (Cresswell 2014, p. 2).

Cresswell (2006) proposes the need to examine the materiality and representational aspects of mobility. Mobility can be as simple as displacement and moving between locations. The aggregation of these movements is coded as 'travel, nomadism, routes, or lines of flight' (Cresswell 2006, p. 2). This focuses on the content of the line between points and it is this content that needs to be re-thought, by making an analytic distinction between movement and mobility. Movement involves displacement 'before the type, strategies and social implications of that movement are considered' (Cresswell 2006, p. 3). Mobility is socially produced motion concerning meaning and power that involves a wide range of practices and sites.

Mobility and Its Application in Policy Analysis

Cresswell identifies three ways to think about mobility that can be applied in a globalised policy analysis. First, mobility as a thing in the world, as being measurable and analysable by transport planners, migration theorists and '[h]ere mobility comes closest to pure motion and is at its most abstract' (Cresswell 2006, p. 3). Topological thinking has implications for policy mobilities, where '[i]n a topological frame… power relationships are not so much positioned in space or extended across it, as compose the spaces of which they are a part' (Allen 2011, p. 284). The example of PISA is one such example, through which '[n]umbers as governing technologies of distance…are central to this post-ideological moment in education policy within the

global field and to facilitating the travel of policy ideas around the globe' (Sellar and Lingard 2013a, p. 479). This idea of governing at a distance is evident in what Thompson and Cook call the 'database effect' and a 'global testing topology' which, in the instance of PISA, testing data are referenced and used by policy makers in local and national contexts to reorient education systems. This creates an emerging global space while intensifying local effects – especially notions of anxiety and fears of 'failure' for students and teachers. In the example of 'global testing topology' scale and mobility interrelate, as the state and its bureaucratic functions are being reconfigured – the State is not disappearing rather 'this State is expressing new technologies, implicating, and implicated by, new forces, changed intensities and redirected flows on topological surfaces' (Thompson and Cook 2014a, p. 8).

The second aspect of mobility concerns representations of mobility that capture and frequently produce ideological meanings about mobility in law, literature and film. In this Creswell posits that: 'the brute fact of getting from A to B becomes synonymous with freedom, with transgression, with creativity, with life itself' (p. 3). This aspect of mobility enables questions to be asked about the ontology of policy when we talk about 'policy transfer' and policy movements. As Cochrane and Ward (2012) note '[i]t is already widely recognized that it is rarely possible to transfer policies directly, precisely because they emerge from and are responses to particular 'local' sets of social and political conditions which are not replicated in the places to which they are transplanted' (p. 5). The idea of being transplanted indicates the fantasy of evidence-based policy making where one (successful) idea is merely re-potted somewhere else (Cochrane and Ward 2012). If policy is taken to be a coherent and bounded entity – for example, high stakes testing or vouchers as part of choice initiatives – then this is to constitute policy as portable and not only translatable, but *transplantable*. Larsen and Beech (2014, p. 207) propose that:

> It is in the process of circulation that ideas are constructed, changed, and shaped. Thus, we should avoid a simplistic and static view of transfer as if ideas are produced in one place and then received in another place. Centering our attention in the communicative process can help us grasp the relational dimension of processes of knowledge construction across sites or places … (p. 207).

One option to avoid simplistic and static ideas of transfer is to propose that policy itself is incoherent, an inchoate and contested set of enacted and material practices and processes (Webb and Gulson 2012; Webb and Gulson 2013). This means re-thinking what movement entails for policy will not only be non-transplantable but also non-translatable.

The third aspect of mobility is as 'practiced, it is experienced, it is embodied. Mobility is a way of being in the world' (Cresswell 2006, p. 3). Movement also entails a metaphysics of presence, in which it matters where actors are located, and as such there is a need to examine what McCann and Ward call the 'sites of persuasion'. This is to move from a focus on texts and the tracing of networks to the topological approaches that examine power and differentiation such as Ball and Junemann's 'network ethnography' (2012). The interrelationships between representation and materiality are crucial, in that 'human mobility implicates *both* physical

bodies moving through material landscapes *and* categorical figures moving through representational spaces' (Delaney cited by Cresswell 2006, p. 4). One of the key focal points of policy mobility is the premise that there are a multitude of actors involved in policy movements, take ups and mediations; where 'knowledge actors' shape new knowledge terrains (Jacobs 2012). Yet, it is also important to be cognisant that focusing on connections and assemblages can fall into a kind of additive 'associative ontology' and a 'metaphysics of presence' (R. G. Smith and Doel 2011) in which a policy or policy idea is identified, and the task is merely 'join the dots' (Jacobs 2012) when 'instances of a policy presence are discerned and then a back story of connection, translation and arrival is charted' (Jacobs 2012, p. 419).

Conclusion

The focus in this chapter has been on education policy as a project of spatial production and ordering (Dikeç 2007; McCann and Ward 2013), that can be understood through the interrelation of scale and mobility. The primary aim of this chapter was to propose that studies of new forms of social, cultural, political and economic formations that involve movement and interconnectivity – new formations that are created through transnational migration, new forms of data movement, and the development of networked governance – require conceptualisations that allow for new methodologies.

In this chapter the various ways in which mobility has been understood, especially the work in policy mobilities that focuses on territoriality and relationality, may open up new possibilities for research on complexity and movement. With all of these is the premise of space and temporality, in that mobility is concerned with both the passing of time and the transversal of space. For example, methodologies in studies of education policy as globalised and globalising could attend to the ways in which policy is producing particular types of place affects – such as anxiety, while these spatialities also provide opportunities and constraints. Crang and Thrift (2000) suggest that 'the role of space in the construction of theory is itself important, not only in the ways that theory might apply to a spatially distributed world, but in the spatialities that allow thought to develop particular effectivities and intensities' (p. 3). This is to consider the intensities that are associated with policy movement and space-time, that is what is made possible, and what is possible to think about, in particular space-times. What a mobility approach reveals, perhaps, is how movement of ideas are intensified and ossified as a politics of educational policies, scales and spaces.

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Chapter 11
Persistence is Fertile: Pushing Methodological Potentialities in Education Research

Linda Knight

Abstract As more is known about contemporary global and local shifts in culture and the effect this has on the young, research will consider how children operate as international citizens. Children can be perceived as innocent and vulnerable, but at the same time actively participating in the world. This chapter suggests how research into early childhood can refine ideas and conceptions and develop research methodologies that understand the construction of children as superdiverse young citizens.

Intergenerational collaborative drawing, which involves adult researchers and children drawing together, is a methodology that opens up ways for researching the themes of super dimensions explored in this book. A group of researchers tested intergenerational collaborative drawing, and in so doing considered the politics of research, particularly researcher neutrality and the conventions around gathering 'unsullied' data.

Keywords Contesting methodological conventions • Developing research methodologies that acknowledge complex childhoods and child subjectivities • Contemporary knowledge sources • Researcher subjectivities

Introduction

Social and cultural shifts have diminished the university as a primary knowledge repository. As empirical and scientifically constructed knowledges make way for 'knowing [as] active, engaged and pragmatic' (Barnett 1998, p. 45) the construction and dissemination of knowledge is no longer centrally controlled by researchers. Social media, online news sites and web-based sharing often have far greater audience reach than most scholarly journals or research reports. This shifting and continuous slippage calls for research that pays heed to the complex knowledge systems

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of global communities, and how supercomplexity has deregulated knowledge and dissemination traditions. Supercomplex and superdiverse audiences present significant challenges to researchers, because global communities now hold the Academy in varying levels of trust and esteem. Researchers too are no longer a homogenous group; they can originate from different social backgrounds, disciplines, cultures, genders. Researchers also have many different research ideas, expertises and political motivations, and diverse agendas for conducting research. While scholars must consider ways of investigating that pay heed to the complexities of global lives, situations, and contexts as well as building critical awareness and performing rigorous research, 'the Academy' must be acknowledged as similarly globalised and superdiverse.

Contemporary social and cultural shifts have left the university unsure of its role in holding/producing knowledge, being at once relied upon to produce expert, empirical, scientific truths while also losing status in a postmodern era of mass access to free digital-based information. For Barnett (1998), the shifting sand has been effected through shifting valorisations of the university's core business: 'Research is judged by its use value; understanding among students gives way to performance; personal development yields to skill acquisition' (p. 44). Researchers must now carefully negotiate a path through the complex and often conflicting agendas of conducting research which is relevant and responsive to global super dimensions, against the corporatised and financially squeezed university, negotiating hypersensitive ethics processes and big-bang research competition, achieving quality, innovation, as well as pursuing personal research interests. Researchers are becoming highly strategic and looking farther afield conceptually, pragmatically and methodologically to conduct their research to continue to refine what is known and theorised on (Koro-Ljungberg and MacLure 2013; Lather and St. Pierre 2013).

Spaces in Childhood Research

Contemporary scholars involved in research with young children understand global supercomplexity (Alanen 2014; Ang 2010; Grieshaber et al. 2004; Pascal and Bertram 2009). Examinations, interrogations and understandings about young children, their lives and their worlds have exploded in recent years: steadily increasing, and ever-microscopic, studies can hold children and young people almost wholly in an analytic gaze and little is left as secret or unknown. Early, broad-spectrum investigations about children's learning and behaviours (see for example, Erikson 1982; Piaget and Inhelder 1969) made grand statements about development, cognition and growth and much about the child was left analytically, alone. Now, the field is highly complex and multi-conceptual in its attempts to interpret and examine children and their lives and worlds (Christensen and James 2000; Janzen 2008).

Technological advancements, migrations, and displacements have created massive global cultural shifts that impact on the lives of many contemporary children. As of June 2013 the UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency recorded in its annual cen-

sus 45.2 million displaced people (United Nations: Facts and Figures 2013). Children constitute a portion of these numbers, enduring hardship, vulnerability and uncertainty; certainly, many young displaced children might have no other reference for 'home' than a temporary camp or detention centre in an unfamiliar and often hostile environment.

Children experience poverty and disadvantage in complex ways. The 2012 Australian Council of Social Service Poverty Report declared that, in Australia, '12.8 % of all people, including 575,000 children (17.3 % of all children), lived in households below the most austere poverty line widely used in international research.' (2012, p. 8). Australia is a highly developed and wealthy country that did not suffer especially from the Global Financial Crisis of 2007/8 thanks to its ability to continue to trade on its high supply of natural mineral resources, nevertheless clearly there are families, and many children who do not have a share of this wealth neither are they benefiting from it indirectly.

Children are no longer considered simply as 'pre-adults' but have independent subjective power despite being "the most often silenced in the production of knowledge and understandings' (Pascal and Bertram 2009, p. 252). Young children have significant experiences, life events and engagements with the world as well as significant agency as global citizens. Theorisations on childhood superdiversity (Spotti 2011) and how the very young operate as global citizens must therefore drive contemporary early childhood research (Pascal and Bertram 2009). Thinking of a child as mute or neutral and regarding the data that research produces, as similarly neutral until the researcher brings it into action disregards the complex lives children live. Researchers must now shift their usual researching practices to pay attention to childhood supercomplexity, and not simply see the child as a neutral, homogenised subject to be examined (Masny and Cole 2012; Mazzei and Jackson 2012).

Scholars, irrespective of their own ways of conducting research acknowledge that there are many visions of childhood (Saltmarsh 2009). This supercomplex, crystal image of childhood, although too slippery for easy definition, is a productive image because it resists simplistic analyses of childhood. The quality of life for many children and families has vastly improved thanks to advances in research: for example the development of better teaching pedagogies and responsive sensory classroom environments for children diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorders. Despite these positive outcomes, greater attention and care to childhood agency and the child's role in research is still needed. Ethical sensitivity, and the altered visions of diversity brought about by poststructural theories offer researchers the opportunity to think critically about data gathering methods and whether the tools chosen are more comfortable, familiar and functional to the researcher than the participant (see Cole 2013). Research participants can quickly become mute and homogenised subjects without a great deal of governance over how they might manage or direct their participation. This is exacerbated hugely when the participants are young children, so what new ways for investigating can researchers consider in their work, to support global super dimensions?

This chapter discusses the trialing of an affective, creative research methodology by a group of Early Childhood researchers to prompt them to consider childhood

superdiversity, and to advocate for using respectively rich methodological approaches. The trial aimed to expose the researchers to investigation tools that use communication processes which are highly familiar to young children, but that also actively include the involvement of adults. Intergenerational collaborative drawing (Knight 2012; Knight 2013), an approach that brings adults and children together to draw, can be used methodologically to conduct affective inquiry as 'learning that incorporates body and material artefacts as a part of learning environments' (Taguchi 2011, p. 36).

Drawing collaboratively incites affective and corporeal communication, rather than aesthetic or decorative image making (Fig. 11.1). Drawings produced under the circumstances of an investigative collaboration do not work to the same criteria of art drawings, which might be concerned with aesthetic or technical refinement.

Collaborative drawings within a research context, form part of an assemblage of communications: discursive (talking, questioning, storytelling), gestural (moving, sitting, standing, drawing), aural (making sounds, surrounding sounds, sounds of the drawing tools and materials), and metaphysical (ideas, thoughts, imaginings). Collaborative drawings occur amongst the events of daily activity. They do not take place in isolation but become part of what is already happening. The drawings thus encounter chaos … and drawers build a network of references together on a paper surface. Talking, questioning, theorising, mark-making occur in random and unpredictable ways. The contents of the drawings are not governed or predetermined by either the child or the adult.

If researchers watch (even in close proximity) children as they draw they are not actually, physically drawing. By actually drawing, the researcher undertakes corporeal, physical activity that leaves a sensorial imprint that lingers in the body and the

Fig. 11.1 Intergenerational collaborative drawing. Charcoal and graphite on paper

mind. Physically drawing offers exposure to things not available to the observer, including the pressure needed to make a mark, the feel of a drawing tool being dragged across the drawing surface, the movement of the arm, wrist and hand, the interplay between surroundings, tools, ideas, actions and gestures (Fig. 11.2). The corporeality of drawing is deeply affective and fundamentally essential to the production of a finished drawing, and it is only through actually physically drawing that this essentiality is fully understood. Participating physically in drawing with a child not only exposes researchers to the sensorial imprints brought on by drawing, but it offers better clues on how the corporeality of drawing affects what, how and why children draw. To be removed from all of this by simply observing a child drawing is not as effective, relies more on guesswork and interpretation of imagery, and does not offer opportunities for interaction as drawings are created.

Drawing collaboratively is highly democratic then, because it raises critical awareness of the politics and power of image-making in early childhood contexts. 'Drawing' as an act and as an object can be loaded with pre-established pedagogic, discursive, and corporeal conventions and prone to a habitual or commonplace production: sitting in a certain configuration, drawing particular symbols, using particular drawing actions, and engaging in familiar dialogic exchanges.

Fig. 11.2 Collaborative drawing. Charcoal on paper

Methodologically, drawing is political because the act of drawing collaboratively with children can jolt drawers to pay attention to such conventions, the intersubjective agency of themselves and others as drawers, the materials used and the contextual mediations that often occur. Intersubjective homogenisation and neutralisation of researchers and participants can be interrogated and purposefully resisted.

Drawing collaboratively can thus actively investigate supercomplexity and superdiversity by fending off normative or idealist thinking that regard drawings as new or free from prior meaning. Many conventional readings of children's drawings encourage analyses about developmental or cognitive norms. Children's drawings can risk being assessed against checklists and standards that are at some distance to the actual ideas and meanings held in the drawing. By contrast, collaborative drawings hold multiple entanglements of ideas, materials, surroundings, atmospheres, actions, discussions and more. These drawings acknowledge superdiversity and supercomplexity because the researcher is pressured to rethink these archetypal expectations.

Greater awareness of childhood supercomplexity and superdiversity, can incite a willingness in researchers, to trial new methodologies that address the politics of research methods and the conventions around researching acts.

Methodological Sensitivity

Methodological developments play an important role in growing fields of knowledge. The theorisations given to the highly complex and often fluid (Skattebol 2010) intersubjective power relationships between researcher and researched, must be reflected in the methodological processes available to researchers. The trial discussed here complements methods often used by education researchers: focus groups, statistical analysis, narrative inquiry, action research, case study and others. The intention was to expand, rather than replace ways for conducting research with young children, to expose how techniques can work across methodological paradigms and in complementary ways with different methods while paying attention to supercomplexity and suprerdiversity.

Eight early childhood researchers from three Australian universities involved in a four year Collaborative Research Network project, titled *Excellence in Early Years Research* (DIISRTE, 2011–2014) participated in the trial. The group comprised senior, middle-career, early-career and Doctoral researchers with varying levels of research experience and different paradigmatic alliances, interested 'to engage with uncertainty and ambiguity' (Irwin 2008, p. 72) and test collaborative drawing as a research methodology.

The trial was conducted over a six-month period in 2012, during which time the participants were initially introduced to collaborative drawing techniques and supported as they experimented with it, with other collaborators. This was not a research project that sought empirical findings but a trial of an unfamiliar methodology, so the researchers kept folios and sketchbooks of the drawings they created (Figs. 11.3 and 11.4) and were also encouraged to keep written reflections and accounts of their

Fig. 11.3 Collaborative drawing. Texta on paper

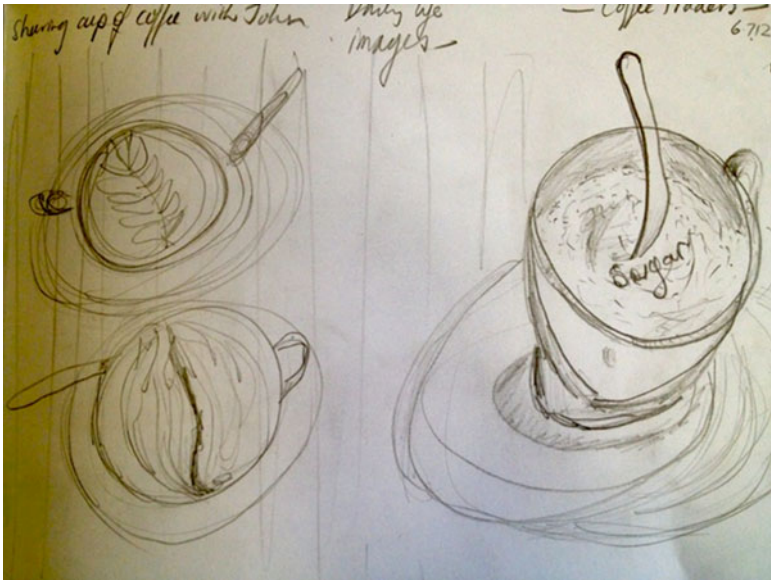

Fig. 11.4 Collaborative drawing. Pencil on paper

thoughts about the technique and process. These drawings and reflections, while briefly referred to in this chapter are therefore not regarded as data findings because the aim of the project was to experiment with new techniques. Drawings were created by each participant and others: these included peers, students, family members, and children respectively. Further details about the full structure of the study are reported on elsewhere (Knight et al. 2016).

Social justice in early childhood acted as the broad topic to focus the trial. Social justice has been a key theme in early childhood research (see for example Cannella 1997; Fennimore and Lin Goodwin 2011; Pelo 2008) and is concerned with 'how pedagogical systems, regulations, and programmes may harm people.' (Whitty 2010, p. 1). Despite paradigmatic, political, conceptual differences and varying levels of research expertise, collectively the researchers had prior experience of investigating social justice issues such as family poverty, exclusion and discrimination due to race, gender and ethnicity. Prior work into social justice enabled the researchers to use it as a context for creating drawings and helped to kick-start their conversations, dialogues, ideas and interactions between them and other drawers into issues such as fairness, bullying, and cultural identity. Contextual familiarity provided the researchers with a supportive 'prop' to experiment with a highly unfamiliar and somewhat intimidating process. The conversations each researcher had with collaborating drawers could be focused on themes and ideas of social justice already familiar to the researcher; this enabled each researcher to work on existing ideas gained through prior research, to trial how those ideas might be interpreted, extended upon, or contested when drawing collaboratively with others.

Drawing collaboratively showed the researchers how it was possible to create research materials, or 'data' with participants. Moral or ethical uncertainties about the authenticity of collaborative drawings as 'neutral' information, or that the drawings are 'manipulated' by adults are fuelled by historical discourses surrounding children's drawings that saw drawings solely as art, and innocent, pure and magical. Drawing with others is no more or less neutral or manipulated than a focus group discussion/interview, or action research intervention. Just as two people interweave dialogue to create a conversation, the drawings collaborators create together share a surface and their work combines to make images, but marks and symbols and the ideas behind them remain with the creator. Crucially, the act of collaborating on a drawing is what can expose adults to the ideas and conceptions children might have, to help conceive of supercomplex childhoods. Research projects that gather independently produced drawings as part of their datasets are often analysed at some later date by the researcher (see Milne and Greenway 1999) and require more 'reliable' forms of analysis such as interview transcripts, or written questionnaires and interpretive frames (Soundy 2012; Oğuz 2010; Whitmann 2010). Where independently-produced drawings often perform as illustrations or reiterations of discursive knowledge, or knowledge gained by other means, collaboratively produced drawings seek out complex and diverse ideas, and are meaningful to the researcher as well as the participant.

Children like to discuss their ideas and opinions with adults and peers. Unlike the purely discursive exchanges of interviews and focus groups and the distanced

observations of ethnographic filming, collaborative practical/creative/affective methodologies such as those used in arts education (Hannes 2011; Jagodzinski and Walin 2013), curriculum studies (McDermott 2012; Norris 2009) and early childhood (Coad and Evans 2008; Green et al. 2013; Hatch 2007) provide agentic, corporeal conduits to support articulation of ideas and questions beyond the written (Bigby et al. 2014). Ideas can be presented and further developed through embodied and gestural activity in order to be taken forward for further development. Two examples: the iconographic faces in Fig. 11.5 refer to discussion about identity, race, normality, gender and opportunity; the composition and details in Fig. 11.6 explore spatiality, power relationships and the emotions connected to bullying. The drawings are energy points where discussions connected, referenced, relayed, recalled, produced other ideas, suppositions, imaginings through 'social engagements and encounters' (Irwin and Springgay 2008, p. xxi). The drawings prompted visual, written, spoken, and enacted undertakings to occur in ways that are not controlled by the method. As a methodology, drawing collaboratively seeks out and encourages complex and diverse responses, because it does not reply upon regulated or routine activity. Researchers and participants can take it in the directions they feel are most effective for any particular drawing.

Rigorous research processes, which foreground corporeality and affect promote authentic exposure to the complexities and experimentations that go on during drawing. The researchers wanted to explore ways for investigating supercomplexity and superdiversity; the trial provided an excellent opportunity for the researchers to physically draw with others to understand relationships between gesture, action, ideas, sensations in drawing as well as be exposed to the diverse ways children participate in the world.

Fig. 11.5 Collaborative drawing. Ink and pencil on paper

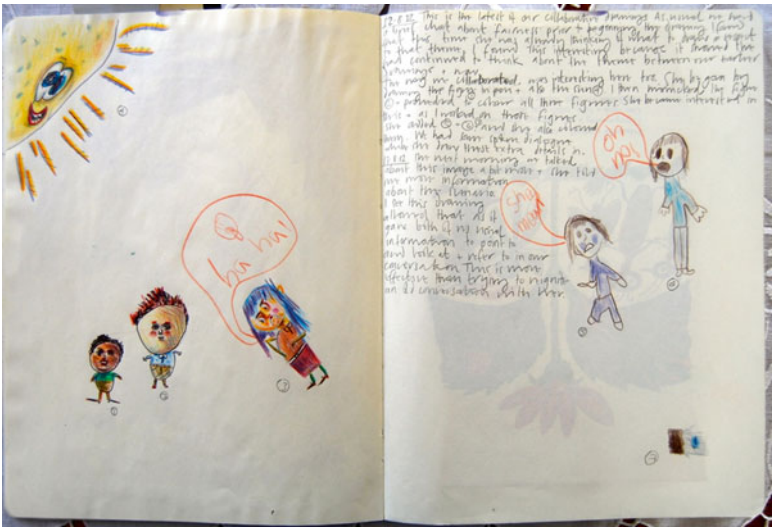

Fig. 11.6 Collaborative drawing. Pencil on paper

Affect and Methodologies

Affect can help produce knowledge in research projects concerned with interrelationships, intersubjectivities and other interactions. 'Affect' in this methodological sense hones in on 'the gain and loss recorded in a body, or your embodied subjectivity, as the result of an encounter. It is a margin of change.' (Hickey-Moody 2013, p. 79). Affect hones in on the micro/mezzo/macro physical and metaphysical reactions that occur around happenings, and are concerned with seeking out (often unguarded) change moments rather than the outward display of emotions. Methodologically, affect privileges the corporeal and the sensorial, the vocal, expressive and aesthetic, and takes notice of muscular and physical actions as well as encounters and entanglements between the organic, the virtual and the material. A striking example of affective encountering is seen in the following experience:

> Unspoken agreement between me and younger girl, to draw in our own space, on shared page. After doing this for several page turns, younger child began slowly, at first, to impinge on my space, drawing a line over my drawing, and then increasingly "emboldened", eventually scribbled all over my drawing, until it was obliterated …the older girl commented that it was not very nice of her to do that, and I also said I didn't think it was "fair". (R2)

Physically drawing (instead of observing someone draw) along with other aspects of the assemblage imparts an affective force as existing ideas and prior experiences become starting points for drawing. Shifts occur and cause changes beyond the straightforward action of picking up a pencil and making a mark on paper. The researcher's account details affective encounters, including the moment

when the child obliterates her drawing. In an alternate scenario, a researcher observing such an occurrence from a distance (as a silent witness observing children drawing alone for example) might be forced into constructing psychological interpretations of why a child scribbles over another's drawing; here the researcher does not focus in on the single act and view it as a performance of violence, she refers to a series of interactions and negotiations and how these shift over the drawing event. The researcher's physical involvement in the drawing enabled her to make a detailed recollection of the incident *that includes her as the researcher* because she considered the child's actions in terms of corporeal and sensorial affects, and that the drawing formed only part of a wider interconnected multiplicity of affecting ideas and sensations, which play out in the child's gesture.

Coagulating affect and methodology is messy, and may be difficult to think of in terms of quantitative measurements and statements, however affect can prompt researching activity that 'provide[s] rich aesthetic experiences for our youth, … [and] open the possibility for the development of compassion, empathy, environmental and social activism, democratic citizenship' (McElfresh Spehler and Slattery 1999, p. 3) to offer up meaningful and significant findings that have been produced in ethical ways with participants. For the researchers, drawing collaboratively brought on evocative thinking about the term 'social justice' and the associated meanings it could offer.

Trialing affective methodologies to explore concepts of social justice in early childhood puts up a challenge to sideline, tendencies to pre-organise and pre-group participants. Wandering into the methodological unknown prompts complex and reflexive thinking, 'an evolution of questions within the living inquiry process' (Irwin and Springgay 2008, p. xxiii) about familiar research habits and assumptions:

> At this point I'm thinking about what I can theorise on without reading first, then the drawing helps me to bring that onto a paper surface …this is a good process for mobilising fairly subconscious ideas and thoughts into action. (R5)

Collaborative affective methodologies help open up lines of communication in different ways to focus groups and interviews:

> She asked me about the purpose of the drawing and I explained a bit about the project to her. This enabled us to discuss the issue, and this time we went into more depth on the themes. The process of drawing together enabled us to continue to theorise on some of our thinking around these ideas and concepts (R5).

Affective methodologies play an important counteractive role in education research, because their attention to impromptu reactions presents a resistance to deterministic data gathering methods that support and uphold normalising agendas. In the obliterated drawing example discussed earlier the researcher did not think of the child's actions in terms of normative developmental/behavioural expectations, nor in terms of normative socio-psychological, social behaviours; the researcher, through being exposed to the materiality of drawing-with children focused her thinking on the impromptu decisions that occur as a drawing is created.

Methodological Potentialities of Drawing

If perceptions of 'authentic' research knowledge are conservative or fixed it is hard to imagine how drawing generates rigorous research data. Interrogations of static or rigid thinking processes consider how research knowledge is conventionalised, and expose how mainstream thinking produces mainstream outcomes. Interrogating conventions is important because it exposes how intellectual activity might be conceptualised within a research context and how this in turn establishes conventional thinking about the research question. Conventional research thinking can be seen to emit from the ways in which concepts are regularly 'representative, reflective or descriptive' (Coleman and Ringrose 2013, p. 7) rather than understanding concepts as creative, generative, 'immanent to the object at stake' (Coleman and Ringrose 2013, p. 7). That is, research can impose a preconceived assumption or idea upon a situation in order to verify it rather than allowing the free production of concepts to develop as things occur, and help progress knowledge in unpredictable but responsive ways. Imposing preconceived assumptions on corporeal activity such as muscle movements, twitches, sensations, or the performance of a dance, creation of a sculpture, reading of a poem in order to measure it through checklists is extremely difficult because so much of the activity is disregarded as surplus to the investigation, or is simply rendered invisible because data analysis does not adequately acknowledge what has occurred. A common example of this is seen in the elaborate, and often inaccurate or loaded meanings attached to the base schematic signifiers of stick figures, trees and houses in the completed drawings made by children.

Clearly, researchers need access to methodologies that are best suited for the 'object at stake' (Coleman and Ringrose 2013, p. 7). The researchers in this trial found drawing to be generative because it was difficult for them to hold on to or recycle pre-established notions and assumptions about what drawings can do. The thoughts, impulses, contentions, opinions, ideas, discussions that preceded a mark appearing on the drawing surface veered the image off in unpredictable directions, in ways impossible for the researchers to control. The polyactivity which surrounds a drawing makes it incredibly difficult for a researcher to persist with grounded notions or perceptions and try to control the process, so drawing collaboratively with the young takes researchers into a creative immanent space - nothing is for certain and nothing happens in the same way twice. Ideas, theorisations, imaginings, continuously emerge as a drawing takes place. Through their experimentations the eight researchers were exposed to the ways in which materiality and force foregrounds thinking, rather than being directed by the written research/project question/title (Springgay and Rotas 2014).

Innovative methodologies, as Law & Wakeford (2012, cited in Coleman and Ringrose 2013) suggest, instead of working wholly to a predetermined conclusion, can work both specifically and expansively, actually and virtually 'to a methodology of research-creation' (Springgay and Rotas 2014, p. 4). Methodologies can initiate and produce rather than answer or justify a question. Interrelating the corporal, sensorial and material, drawing collaboratively helps produce offshoots of thought,

and action as it creates data *and* knowledge. The offshoots are immanent, and open 'up spaces of and for difference' (Coleman and Ringrose 2013, p. 7) to blur the subjective lines between researcher and participant.

The researchers were not seasoned drawers, some did draw regularly while others had not drawn since childhood. A number of individuals demonstrated low-level anxiety around drawing and felt challenged in using a communication mode they felt they did not have high expertise in:

> From a lecturer perspective I carried some hesitancy incorporating drawing as a learning methodology (R1)
>
> I did not have a lot of drawing experience before this project. I did not think of drawing as such a powerful methodological tool in research (R4)

Irrespective of their prior drawing practices, the researchers were unfamiliar with drawing collaboratively and particularly in drawing with children in this context. Experiencing and examining the productive, generative ways in which making drawings can help investigate a research question challenges prior thinking about research conventions and authentic (research) knowledge production. Participation in a democratic activity that privileges ways of being, relating, and coming to know in ways more familiar to children than to adults introduced the researchers to methodologies that embrace supercomplexity and superdiversity, that contests micro and macro conservatisms which flatten individual differences.

Conclusion

Children and young people have unprecedented agency and presence. Children can be vigorous, informed and agentic global citizens, 'engaged in activities that illustrate a sophisticated understanding of concepts and a high level of competence with new technologies' (Grieshaber and Yelland 2005, p. 192). Global shifts and migrations mean that families and children live in places other than home yet families take with them the histories and traditions of their past. These life events need to be recognised as global, supercomplex and superdiverse and understood effectively in research, and in the methods used to conduct that research.

Recognising the shifting subjectivities of the contemporary, globalised, agentic child and the complex ways they communicate is the task ahead for the contemporary researcher. Sadly, the insidious conservatism that seeps into children's lives and their education has created a relational chasm between educators and children, and become 'a major issue for teachers and education systems … to understand and engage these young people' (Kenway and Bullen 2005, p. 32).

Methodologies that pay attention to childhood supercomplexities and which connect more with children's ways of being-with the world, might reduce communication spaces between children and adults, and expose the ways adults interrelate, govern and subjectify children. The more effectively researchers can communicate with and listen to children, the greater the probability they will produce research that has particular relevance and value to children's lives.

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Part IV
Super Dimensions and Issues in Educational Practices

Chapter 12
Teachers' Work in the Age of Migration: A Cosmopolitan Analysis

Carol Reid

Abstract The aim of this chapter is to examine the notion of super-diversity beyond descriptions of mobilities in order to argue for a reconceptualization of teachers' work. A national project on the global movement of teachers is drawn on to argue that cosmopolitan theory may provide a useful framework for understanding the changing subjectivities of teachers in the context of a globalised world. In particular, cosmopolitan dispositions are explored to illuminate the ways in which super-diversity not only shapes teachers' work but is part of teachers' subjectivities.

Keywords Cosmopolitanism • Teacher's work • Time • Place • Space • Mobilities • Education policies

Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between super-diversity and cosmopolitan social theory in order to generate an argument for reconceptualising teachers' work. This has policy implications for professional development of teachers and teacher education. Vertovec's notion of super-diversity (2007) provides a description of the *mobilities* (people, ideas, technology) shaping teachers' work in the age of migration and globalisation (Castles and Miller 2009). Indeed, one of the features of contemporary education is the increasing global governance of teachers' work and the increasing desire among nations for the workforce to be globally competitive. At the same time, processes of globalisation reshape who teaches, what is taught and who is taught. However, a purely descriptive deployment of super-diversity does not reveal much about the reshaping of subjectivity in this globalized world. As Anthias has noted (2012) 'all hinges on this slippery, and I believe unsatisfactory, concept of diversity that elides so much together and speaks with so many tongues' (p. 105). Vertovec also notes the overwhelming focus on group comparisons based largely on

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ethnicity and calls for more qualitative research to focus on intercultural interaction (2007, p. 1045).

This chapter addresses this gap through an examination of 'new cosmopolitan orientations and attitudes' (Vertovec and Cohen 2003) in teachers' work internationally, and in metropolitan, rural and regional Australian schools. It draws on a study across three states in Australia – New South Wales, Western Australia and South Australia – identifying emergent gaps in knowledge related to teachers' work. The chapter builds on the knowledge base of key scholars on teachers' work over the last three decades (cf. Ballet et al. 2006; Connell 1985; Hargreaves and Fullan 2012; Maguire 2010; Robertson 2012; Smyth 2001) and provides new insights related to the movement of ideas and people and teachers' responses to these.

In considering new theory for diverse contexts, the aim of this chapter is to build on, yet potentially move beyond multiculturalisms of the twentieth century, so that teachers' work can be better understood and supported professionally. Despite multiculturalism being viewed as a panacea for assimilationist policies of the past there has been a tendency towards bringing the 'Other' into the centre of the nation, which has also been considered assimilationist (Hage 2012). In education this lead to a mostly superficial focus on differences rather than issues of equity and to static constructions of culture rather than culture being negotiated (Leeman and Reid 2006). In examining mobile teachers' experiences in this chapter the aim is to understand the work of teachers as cosmopolitan subjects, with an emphasis on the kinds of "cosmopolitan dispositions" that are produced in super-diverse classrooms. The chapter begins with an overview of the literature on super-dimensions related to globalisation and teachers' work followed by a discussion of cosmopolitan theory, in particular cosmopolitan dispositions. The argument is that teachers' work has super-dimensions of super-diversity and to understand their work, and for teachers to navigate the complexity of teaching, a new theoretical framework is required.

Globalisation and Teachers' Work

There is general consensus that in the current historical and political context neoliberal forces are reshaping teachers' work in much of the Western world (Ball 2012; Connell 2011; Maguire 2010; Rizvi and Lingard 2010; Robertson 2012). Although the form and shape of these forces is debated, the time-space compression (Maguire 2010) that has accompanied globalisation has certainly accelerated their impact. While this is occurring at the level of nation and therefore shaped and constrained by contextual factors such as education funding arrangements, secular and non-secular schooling systems, teacher education, union structures and other social and cultural arrangements, there is an emergent and growing global governance agenda framing teachers' work (Robertson 2012). Robertson (2012), in an examination of the global governance agendas from the post-World War 2 period, outlines two main approaches, both modelled on the Western world. The first, shaped by the economics of education, centred on education as an investment in human capital. The other, promulgated by UNESCO, focused on culture, championing the 1948

Universal Declaration of Human Rights and especially universal literacy. Nation states were nevertheless the locus of control (p. 9). The International Labour Organization/UNESCO set about framing the Status of Teachers (1966) but nationally there were many models across the globe, and many differing constructions of pedagogy and what constituted a 'good' teacher.

In the developed world these policies of accountability and standards are rendered through discourses of the *quality teacher* but are also accompanied by 'a strong discourse of derision' (Robertson 2012, p. 11). The global reach of these discourses has emerged because the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and World Bank have gained symbolic control of teacher policy and practice and that this is most visible in the framing of the twenty-first-century teacher (Robertson 2012, p. 13). The OECD in particular has become a technical and moral entrepreneur of teachers' work.

However, despite the global forces shaping teachers' work, teachers do respond at the local and international level in the context of super-diversity. Teachers have agency and find space within these broader constraints (Ballet et al. 2006; Hargreaves and Fullan 2012; Reid and Mulas 2013) in different ways, in different places and times. This has been called vernacular globalisation (Lingard and Ozga 2007, p. 72) conveying the idea that wider dynamics and dimensions are mediated by local and national histories and politics. For example, Cuba has exported its education development model in 'south-south' co-operation to places such as Angola, Timor-Leste, Ghana and elsewhere in Latin America (Hickling-Hudson et al. 2012). There has also been an ASEAN forum aimed at de-parochializing education through forging a regional identity and socio-cultural identity among teachers (Koh 2007). The potential for knowledge exchange and the recognition of subjugated theories and practices is central to these processes (Connell 2007). These few examples point to the ways in which globalisation is reconfiguring teachers' work and the ways in which this work is becoming more outward looking and attuned to global flows.

This brief overview of the field reveals the super-diverse dynamics and dimensions of globalizing processes on teachers' work. Nation centric policies are continuously disrupted by supranational policy networks (Ball 2012) and global flows of ideas, people, finance, technology and media (Appadurai 1996). In this context teachers are increasingly mobile too. In the following section, a research project that examined the work of globally mobile teachers is outlined as well as the way in which it is revisited using a new theoretical lens afforded by cosmopolitan theory.

The Global Movement of Teachers into and out of Multicultural Australia

The project, funded by six partners and the Australian Research Council across three states in Australia sought to understand the experiences of immigrant and emigrant teachers who were globally mobile. It aimed to document their reasons for moving, their future teaching intentions, community and school experiences and barriers and opportunities. Quantitative methodologies were utilised to quantify the

extent, character, and location of immigrant and emigrant Australian teachers in New South Wales (NSW), Western Australia (WA), and South Australia (SA), drawing on primary and secondary data sources. The primary data sources were (a) a survey, conducted in year 1 of the project, of temporary and permanent immigrant and/or overseas trained teachers ('brain gain') in urban, regional and rural areas of all three states; (b) a survey, also conducted in year 1, of Australian trained teachers who have had periods of teaching in other countries (regained 'brain drain').

A total of 342 completed surveys were received: 272 from immigrant teachers and 70 from emigrant teachers. 194 surveys of immigrant teachers in NSW were returned, 27 from SA, and 51 from WA. 44 surveys from emigrant teachers in NSW were received, with 12 from SA and 14 from WA.

Qualitative methodologies were employed in years 2 and 3 and took the form of (a) focus group discussions; and (b) semi-structured interviews. Both took place in all three states. In each state two immigrant and two emigrant focus groups were intended in year 1 with a follow up 12 months later to capture some dynamic change processes (that is, four focus group discussions × 90 mins each in each state per year). However, follow up interviews were not possible. The focus groups were used to explore procedural and policy issues as well as other emergent themes for immigrant and emigrant teachers. In-depth qualitative semi-structured interviews were to be conducted with 20 immigrant (permanent and temporary) teachers and 10 emigrant teachers in all three states (60 immigrant and 30 emigrant teachers nationally). From these we selected participants within the parameters of gender balance, the need to include 10 immigrant and emigrant teachers in regional and rural areas in each state (30 nationally) and the need to include temporary as well as permanent immigrant teachers. We exceeded these numbers nationally. The teachers volunteering for semi-structured interviews were generally passionate, and lived in rural and regional areas. The interviews probed globally mobile teachers about:

1. their knowledge and perception of processes or arrangements operating and the identification of other key people in these processes; challenges, problems, gains and losses in terms of the links between mobility and teaching;
2. their opinions about the desirable role of schools in supporting greater diversity of staff who may also be more mobile;
3. the reasons for why some strategies work and why some don't, and suggestions of other ways of addressing the problem;
4. their opinions about possible strategies, intervention programs and useful indicators

The analytical frame employed across this project was Bourdieu's theory of conversion (1984) because we were interested in how teachers rework their professional capital in new contexts. Professional capital is formed through exchanges in a field of power that relate to Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capital:

> Exchanges are not only structured by economic capital, which can be converted into money and institutionalized in the form of property rights. Exchanges are also structured by "dispositions of the mind and body" and "cultural goods" institutionalized in the form of edu-

> cational qualifications (cultural capital). In addition, exchanges are structured as well by social obligations, networks and connections, which might be institutionalized in the form of titles and credentials (social capital). (Noordegraaf and Schinkel 2011, p. 104)

From an idealistic perspective consistent with the neoliberal free market view of globalisation, the professional capital of teachers is the passport to international labour mobility and that national or cultural differences would not be penalised. However the reality is that skilled and professional immigrants from a number of countries where English is not the first language are often penalised and their qualifications either not recognised or devalued formally. At the same time informal practices of selection and promotion often mean that racial discrimination works against (cosmopolitan) professional capital of these globally mobile professionals.

In this chapter a slice of the project's data is revisited to explore one aspect of professional capital, which emerged as a cultural good in the interviews with teachers. Overwhelmingly, emigrant and immigrant teachers argued that their mobility was penalised and their experiences ignored. In the selection of data chosen to discuss in this chapter, the interest is on cosmopolitan dispositions as a form of professional capital. The intent is to use this data as a vehicle for exploring, in an empirically informed manner, how cosmopolitan dispositions are performed. The slice of data used was also chosen to provide different examples of scale: an urban centre in a regional area, international site (other to Australia) and remote rural area to addressing the tendency for the rural to be constructed as 'other' to the metropolis and untouched by globalisation (Reid 2015).

Towards a Cosmopolitan Theory of Teachers' Work

There are immigrant and Indigenous teachers and Australian educated teachers with overseas teaching experiences in our schools as well as second and third generation immigrant teachers. From the study examining globally mobile teachers we are aware that these experiences and diverse backgrounds contribute to a cosmopolitan disposition of teachers (Reid et al. 2014) because they were frequently used to justify their perspectives about teaching as other research has suggested (cf. Agee 2004; Ajayi 2011; Akar 2011). However, it emerged that this 'extra' knowledge, and sometimes different experience, finds no space in schools for first generation immigrant teachers: they are seen to be empty vessels who only need to learn local pedagogical philosophies and practices and have to start again; and Australian educated teachers for whom overseas teaching experiences are invisible. Indeed an absence of five years means being treated like a neophyte and being asked to take a re-entry program (Collins and Reid 2012; Reid and Collins 2012). Little is understood about these different globally mobile experiences, which may go part of the way to explaining inequities related to why none of these experiences 'count'. So while the context of superdiversity is acknowledged, the capacities that teachers harness in response have been invisible. In a sense, their cosmopolitan dispositions are not valued.

The growing field of cosmopolitan social and education theory (cf. Delanty 2012; Hansen 2011; Lingard et al. 2008; Popkewitz 2007; Rizvi 2005) provides a useful framework to examine the ways in which teachers' work is being transformed by globalization and super-diversity. Complex conditions produce contradictions that in turn produce new contexts, new problems and new practices. In arguing for a cosmopolitan theory of teachers' work the chapter aims to account for these transformations as super-diverse because transformations involve situated practices (Sobe 2009).

In order to harness cosmopolitan theory it is important to acknowledge that there are previous and contemporary associations with elites, particularly colonial elites, and this lingers in the idea that cosmopolitanism is attached to those who travel or lead a transnational 'lifestyle'. It is not just the mere mobility of teachers that makes them or their practices cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitanism has also been simplistically attached to style – dress and demeanour – as well as consumption. It can also be applied morally: those that approximate a cosmopolitan disposition and those that do not.[1] In the old utopian cosmopolitanism, the individual is detached from the world, superior and free of commitments, whereas in the new kinds of cosmopolitanism the individual belongs to the world by being connected to multiple places and identity groups; the focus here is on the particular rather than universal (Goellnicht 2012, p. 207). By way of example, super-diverse subjects operate across different scales (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003) and groups, thus allowing for multiple transformations. Of course, these transformations are not equal as hyper-capitalism and global inequalities are constant political and economic structures. As Gidwani and Sivarmakrishnan (2003, p. 341) argue, cosmopolitan transnationals (patrician cosmopolitans) reshape the local villages in rural India through a demand for domestic workers (plebian cosmopolitans). Inequalities emerge since village girls occupy a vastly different class habitus and have little job security and 'participate in circuits of circular migration in pursuit of precarious livelihoods' (opcit).

This chapter operationalizes Werbner's notion of *vernacular cosmopolitanism* because of its situatedness, non-rootedness, particular and non-elite or 'bottom up' approach to understanding local manifestations of cosmopolitanism (Werbner 2008). There are however key ideas that underpin all approaches to cosmopolitanism. Central to a cosmopolitan view of the world is the expectation of mutual transformation of people and place and indeed a positive construction that all cultures and people progress through this change without eliding the inequities that emerge as a consequence of globalisation (Delanty 2009). Vernacular forms of cosmopolitanism are part of an everyday practical openness that remains at the heart of most cosmopolitan theorising (cf. Delanty 2009; Hansen 2011). Sobe (2009) argues that vernacular cosmopolitanism allows for 'describing the positioning of the self and community amidst local and global assemblages' (2009, p. 6).

To capture this positioning in terms of teachers' work the focus may need to be on pragmatic cosmopolitanism as a form of professional capital (Weenink 2008).

[1] For a comprehensive overview of cosmopolitanism cf. Delanty, G. (ed) (2012). Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies. Routledge: Oxen.

This cosmopolitan education theory provides a normative dimension, which is necessary in teachers' work; to understand how globally mobile teachers negotiate new contexts; the super-dimensions of place, space and time. In order to do this empirically, it is important to use methodologies such as multi-sited ethnographies (Falzon 2012) in order to examine 'actually existing practical stances' (Sobe 2009) across time, place and space.

The study on the global movement of teachers (Reid et al. 2014), examined the experiences of immigrant and emigrant teachers across three states in Australia (New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia). The movement into and out of Australia was considered important to understand given the increasing movement of people across the globe with the resulting 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007) and to examine this in relation to the changing global policy terrain. Returning to this study with a new theoretical lens is therefore appropriate given it was a multi-sited ethnography. In Australia for example, migration policies have increasingly aimed for settlement of migrants to occur in rural and regional areas so these contexts are critical to examine in order to account for the super-diverse scales of cosmopolitan practice (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003).

In the following discussion some of the manifestations of vernacular cosmopolitanism – situated practices – are examined in terms of the dispositions of emigrant and immigrant teachers in Australia and internationally. These are not meant to be representative of all the teachers in the study but are used as a vehicle to explore the relationship between super-diversities and cosmopolitan dispositions.

Cosmopolitan Dispositions

Cosmopolitan dispositions according to Delanty (2006) entail world openness and self-transformation and do not elide questions of inequality. According to Holton (2009, p. 21) 'cosmopolitanism is a disposition which is not limited to the concerns of the immediate locality, but which recognises global belonging, involvement, and responsibility, and can integrate these broader concerns into everyday life practices.' The pace of global change and super-diversity found in schools, particularly in a multicultural country like Australia, requires a reflexive engagement with difference, one that can recognise the local and particular without losing sight of the universal and global. Appiah has suggested that people can be partial cosmopolitans (2007, p. xvii) and emphasises that in the understanding of cosmopolitanism, there are some values that are of universal concern while values must be from a local perspective (xxi). In a similar vein, Woodward et al. (2008) argue that this means cosmopolitan dispositions are not consistent across all fields and that there are multiple cosmopolitanisms. Critically, rather than an 'us/them', a cosmopolitan disposition entails *self-transformation* through a concern for the world as if it was one's ***polis***, which is furthered by multiple, overlapping allegiances that are sustained across communities of language, ethnicity, religion, and nationality' (Benhabib 2004, pp. 174–5).

Cosmopolitan Subjectivities: Emigrant Teachers

Global mobilities produce social life through bodies as well as ideas, imaginations and communication, and can lead to processes of racialization (Buscher and Urry 2009) that are produced through, and result from, the mutual gaze (Maoz 2006). An example of the gaze is reflected in this anecdote from Melinda (26), an Australian-educated teacher commenting on teaching in Malaysia where her whiteness was suddenly up front and centre:

> I mean, I felt a little uncomfortable, you know, when you had 800 little heads careening out the window because…yeah… 'there goes that White chick'! You know my teacher said 'don't be offended if they call you "putih"' – or – I mean, like, what does that mean? I don't even know what it means – and they said it just means 'white'; it's a rude way of saying 'white'. 'Don't be offended by it, they're just curious'.

Recognition of 'whiteness' was part of the self-transformation that emerged in the stories of many emigrant teachers, particularly those working in the global English language market in many parts of Asia. The centrality of language to professional and personal experiences was therefore a common theme. While English is often seen as the lingua franca enabling global mobilities, it doesn't come in one form (Han and Singh 2007), another dimension of super-diversity. In teaching, this led to some challenges to authenticity for globally mobile teachers, including English-speaking Australian-educated teachers. The Australian accent is not always seen as 'real' English. Tamara explains her experience teaching in Japan:

> I think the company that I worked for did it as a bit of an experiment. They had never had an Australian before and usually they'd gone with American teachers and [while] I don't think I have an Australian accent, apparently overseas they thought I had a very strong one, and they found it very hard to work out what I was saying, so my boss actually asked me to speak with an American accent which I found very insulting, which I didn't do (laughs)!

While English speaking cosmopolitan mobile teachers might be in demand there is the potential for reproduction of particular capacities and capabilities in the global labour market, which can lead to homogenizing practices. In this instance, Tamara resisted this process and in doing so demonstrates that subjects have super-diverse layers to their cosmopolitan dispositions and may be 'partial cosmopolitans' (Appiah 2007) depending on the social space and the values they hold and whether the value is universal and critical to human solidarity in responding to local contexts.

National stereotypes also need negotiating. Many emigrant teachers developed an ironic distance from the negative constructions of being Australian while teaching overseas but it was at times particularly difficult for women in Asia. As Stanley (2012) has argued Westerners are commonly read through the cultural binary of 'Hollywood-like' foreigners (Stanley 2012, p. 125) and she found this was particularly the case in China, where Western women were invisible or marginalized, while Western men were embraced. These gendered dimensions add to the super-diverse ways in which cosmopolitan dispositions can be theorized. Western women are at times seen to be 'loose'. Stacey from South Australia speaks about teaching in

Japan and here uses performance metaphors, reminiscent of the Hollywood-like style outlined by Stanley (2011), as well as commenting on street interactions an example of ironic distance:

> It [teaching] was a shock to begin with because you are also up on a platform, raised above on a platform, slightly above, up higher, looking down on them. In the beginning it was really daunting and then I got the hang of it. I realized that I wasn't so much a teacher as a circus ring leader, actress, movie star, more of an entertainer, and it was about coming up with silly things you know?
>
> Also…you would be walking down the street and you hear, 'will you be my hot girl'? – or something. Well [and I'd say], 'if you speak English, yes!'

These encounters shape cosmopolitan dispositions. Cosmopolitan openness may not be instantaneous but require partial and gradual transformation of world views. Woodward et al. (2008) drawing on Bourdieu (1977) note that the habitus – a 'system of dispositions' – is useful in understanding this partial or gradual transformation from the perspective that a cosmopolitan disposition is a tendency or inclination to view the world 'depending on [their] social and cultural attributes' (223). For example, Jane from SA, experienced isolation and a lack of appreciation while teaching overseas and was able to use this knowledge gained through a process of self-transformation while teaching overseas reflexively considering her experience in relation to immigrant teachers in Australia:

> I think one of the problems with migrant teachers coming here is the lack of interest in their background experience in schools, by other teachers in the school, and I think most people would really have no idea what it has been like for me.

In a final extended example of a cosmopolitan disposition where knowledge exchange occurs it is possible to see how comparing and contrasting provides comparative insight (a global imagination) across the Western nations of Australia, England and Scotland, which reveals the different interpretations of dominant discourses in education and how political and economic relations shape these differences. Cosmopolitan dispositions then take account of the social, political and economic in given contexts. At the level of the curriculum in Scotland, in Maths, Jo notes:

> I couldn't believe how the kids were taught Maths, and it was all very much text book based, right from the age of five. I was told, 'right, they are up to Book 3 in a system' and the expectations were really quite different, and I would say a lot higher standard than here in SA for Maths. So that was very interesting I found. For instance all kids were expected to know their multiplication tables by the end of Year 2. It was just things like that that really struck me.

But while Jo accepted a more traditional approach to Maths, she felt quite differently about literacy.

> I remember introducing them to Big Books for instance and they spent a lot of money in purchasing Big Books because they had never seen them before and the kids just loved them and I brought some over from here…and, yeah, so there was a lot of interchange of ideas, and I just think that perhaps that was the beauty of being in a very small school because there was such a small group of people and you could do such a sharing of ideas, and they certainly initiated me into various traditions and customs of a Scottish school which was so different to what was here.

This negotiation by Jo reflects a cosmopolitan disposition at a number of levels. It also shows her super-diverse subjectivity. There is no negation of the importance of the nation or national context in her narrative, for some kind of universalizing statement about what constitutes 'good teaching'. Jo respects the Scottish way of doing things and does not override these (Sobe 2009), learning from them as much as learning with them. There is a process of knowledge exchange and the space for the creation of new knowledge. The negotiation of professional identities is critically important to the future of teaching and more and more it is a global conversation within super-diverse contexts. Cosmopolitan social theory reveals how this occurs and how it might be empirically studied.

The majority of emigrant teachers went overseas with the specific intention to teach. Many in the future will increasingly go to Asia where English is a highly sought after commodity. These new markets make mobility on a global scale increasingly part of the imagination of teachers and future teachers (Widegren and Doherty 2010). Of the 70 surveys received in this study and from the 35 interviews it was evident that the majority of women (32) and men (24) departed with the specific intention to teach to gain work/life experience. They rarely (3) mentioned to 'broaden their minds' yet this was the outcome they spoke about most and one third saw themselves teaching overseas again within five years while 50 % saw themselves teaching overseas at some stage again in their careers with Asia being the main destination. This form of circular migration (Hugo 2003) reveals that transnational personhood is increasingly part of the imagination of teachers and a cosmopolitan disposition is central to negotiating multiple identities and multiple, overlapping allegiances: super-diversity.

Immigrant Teachers and Cosmopolitan Ideals

The experiences of immigrant teachers echoes some of those of emigrant teachers although the demand for teachers is different in Australia and the places they find themselves are more diffuse with vacancies often being in hard to staff areas: jobs in disciplines such as Maths and Science are in demand and places in regional and rural areas more likely. While there were 230 immigrant teachers surveyed the focus here is on one in remote Western Australia and a group in regional New South Wales.

In the remote heart of Western Australia (WA), a teacher from Kenya works in a town set up by a large mining company and spends his weekends playing football and occasionally going pig shooting with the locals. Damian was recruited by the Western Australian Department of Education at one of the many 'Job Expos' held overseas. In his second year of teaching, he explained that he was an engineer but heard about the recruitment drive for teachers in WA so applied for a 457 Visa[2] to

[2]The Temporary Work (Skilled) visa (subclass 457) allows skilled workers to come to Australia and work for an approved business for up to four years. You must be sponsored by an approved business. A business can sponsor someone for this visa if they cannot find an Australian citizen or permanent resident to do the skilled work.

work and study part time due to the exorbitant fees for international students. He is actually an Australian-educated teacher and becoming a teacher was a pathway to permanent residency. When asked about the remoteness of his posting he said:

> I was asked the same question about the remoteness and I said it didn't matter so much to me as my family were back home and whether in Australia, in Perth, in NSW as long as I am in Australia. So I came here and I was ready to start all over again, so for me, it's not a big thing, I come from a small community back home so being in (town name) it's pretty much like being at home.

Of interest in this particular story is the remoteness, the rural context that is often constructed as untouched by processes of globalisation (Reid 2015). The town is a mining centre where the demographics reflect the fly-in/fly-out lifestyle, an example of super-diversity and globalisation as he goes on to explain:

> …they've come from Fiji, they've come from China, and they've come from other places. The kids are some Anglo Celtic and some African, we've got kids from everywhere.
>
> I think this is pretty much the nature of the town: new teachers come and go each year. Once a year the community … the whole nature and dynamics of the community change.

With the population in a constant state of flux place-making becomes an important part of being globally mobile (Buscher and Urry 2009). A cosmopolitan disposition therefore requires allegiances across multiple levels of identity (Benhabib 2004) to enable place-making. Damian suggests that:

> If you don't get involved and you don't want to become part of the town you get isolated, and that's true to the word because I feel I am a part of this community, I feel accepted and I go to any social engagement, and I think something else that really helps is the fact that there's no one single person who can lay claim on the town. We are all of us coming and going from somewhere and going somewhere else, so we can build a community around ourselves and our jobs and our common thing and at the end of the day you accept that and you come about one with the whole of us and live with us.

One of the consequences of migration is this super-diversity; different cultural expectations, accents and different knowledge. Damian reflects on some of these differences and notes the more technical rather than academic needs of the students and the community and student attitudes.

> I came here expecting pretty much an academic approach in terms of learning, I expected more support and I expected more support from the parents and the community in general. Something that I can't compare, the comparison between my learning processes in Kenya and the teaching that I'm doing here.
>
> I remember one class, more or less had problems with my accent, I was talking to a student and I said 'OK guys, you all complain about my accent, but I can also complain about you back-talking me when I am talking. You can't pay attention you can't understand my accent. I have to pay attention to understand your accent and I expect the same'. I think having it out with that class and repeating the same thing over time we have come to reach an understanding but at the same time they, you know the social expectations are… I never grew up believing that I could ask my teachers about their girlfriend or boyfriend, but that seems to be asked in the class and if I don't answer maybe kids feel as if I'm not a part of them, so just those small things that can connect you to the students.

In these examples Damian reveals a cosmopolitan disposition that is procedural in nature, drawing on processes of connecting, comprehending and evaluating to

arrive at cultural translation (Papastergiadis 2011). Papastergiadis argues that in the void that is created by being in a new space or place where old ways of knowing are less useful, a kind of creative process emerges whereby culture is transformed through this process of cultural translation. Damian has done this at a number of levels, once again showing the super-diversity of a subject's positionality and identity.

The final example concerns a group of teachers at a large regional town in the Riverina area of New South Wales. The teachers are primarily from India, Sri Lanka and Malaysia and are filling positions in Maths and Science/Technology. There were narratives of circular migration (Hugo 2003) in the town; children arriving for four months for the fruit picking season, then going back home to Kazakhstan, Turkey or the Pacific Islands, only to return 6 months later for the next season. Once again, high mobility where once families came, settled and successive generations ran orchards and vineyards; another example of the complexity of super-diversity.

There is a well-established Indian community, which holds annual cultural festivals including an Olympics of traditional Indian games. There has been decades of chain migration (Price 1963) or transnational 'trust' networks (Tilly 2007) into this regional town so socially and personally the teachers were very happy. However not all experience openness, particularly from a policy and employer point of view, which can be very parochial in terms of the qualities and capacities of immigrant teachers. One of the teachers explained:

> We had our education in India – I had my teacher diploma; did one in the UK and one in South Africa, so that made it very easy for me to get teaching approval to teach regionally, and also my wife because she was in India in one of the accredited colleges. She also got approval. So we started looking for jobs, that was the first thing, which was not very good or very easy because when you are here despite the qualification and the knowledge you have, you are a beginner, and the experience you have… you are a beginner.

One of the major findings in our study was that immigrant teachers' qualifications were often either not recognized or under-valued. Their experiences, sometimes more than two decades long, were negated. The idea that immigrant teachers could bring a wealth of knowledge and experience into conversation with local teachers just wasn't a possibility. From an employer and national perspective this is a market failure but it also underscores the inequities that emerge through mobility in a globalized labour market. A cosmopolitan perspective on teacher migration and teacher difference would better value the human capital of immigrant teachers and see an opportunity for knowledge exchange, particularly when there is a desire for a more globally prepared workforce of the future.

Conclusion

As Beck argues, the cultural meaning of mobility becomes important in a cosmopolitan project (Beck 2000, p. 94). Mobilities in the aforementioned study reveal the importance of 'place-making' (Buscher and Urry 2009, p. 110) and to think about teachers as more nomadic than in the past. The focus for research then considers the

emplacement of professional judgment and how it is shaped by movement as well as contexts of super-diversity.

There are different forms of 'outward-lookingness' and reflect Appiah's (2007, p. xix) claim that cosmopolitanism 'shouldn't be seen as some exalted attainment: it begins with the simple idea that in the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of coexistence'. Working towards that coexistence is at the heart of teachers' work and will be super-diverse in practice.

The implications for policy and practice are multiple. Policy that recognizes and rewards different knowledge and experience seems fundamental to an approach that is cosmopolitan. In terms of practice, a movement away from culturalist models that focus on the static construction of difference to one that is attuned to a contingent and procedural approach to negotiating the super-dimensions of super-diversity. This is necessarily political and requires a post-national model of education (Davies et al. 2005) focused on global interdependence. Professional capital is then constructed as *enabling* mobilities and transformations leading to new knowledge and new practices that underscore the relationality of culture.

The argument for a cosmopolitan theory of teachers' work is located in a time when the idea of the Twenty-First Century teacher has become hegemonic. This small insertion into the debate concentrates on vernacular forms of cosmopolitanism revealed in the dispositions of mobile teachers, in the context of super-diversity. In doing so, the chapter reveals the subjectivities of teachers and their agency and the super-dimensions they negotiate in their everyday practical stances. The approach taken avoids constructing prescriptive cosmopolitan dispositions in order to reveal the different scales of cosmopolitanism that are super-diverse, often partial, and in constant transformation.

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Chapter 13
Localising/Internationalising Teacher Education with Anglo-Chinese Theoretic-Linguistic Characteristics: Producing *dǐngtiān lìdì Teacher-Researchers*

Jinghe Han and Michael Singh

Abstract The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate the Anglo-Chinese concept, *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* to illustrate contemporary currents in the relationship between educational globalisation and Anglo-Chinese networking. In scaffolding the co-production of this Anglo-Chinese conceptual tool, we open up possibilities for forming theoretical assets to reframe the localisation/internationalisation of White, Western Anglophone teacher education. Conceptualising non-White, non-Western students as theoretic-linguistic agents of intellectual connectivity brings to the fore a richer, more sophisticated understanding of their capabilities in the context of superdiversity (Vertovec, Ethnic Racial Stud, 30(6): 1024–1054, 2007). Moreover, the co-production of such analytic tools interrupts the dichotomy of the 'West' as theoretical source and the 'East' as data mine.

Keywords *dǐngtiān lìdì* teacher-researchers • Bourdieu • Educational globalisation with Anglo-Chinese theoretic-linguistic characteristics • Educational research for Anglo-Chinese

Introduction

The main question that this chapter addresses is: How can ethnically diverse, non-white, non-Western, international, immigrant, refugee and Indigenous students contribute to teacher education in White, Western Anglophone societies in terms of localising/internationalising education in the context of superdiversity; i.e. with full regard for ethnic and linguistic complexity (Vertovec 2007)?

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The flow of research students from China is part of the ethnically diverse peoples who are moving from all over the world to White, Western Anglophone countries (Breslin 2010; Zhu 2010). Thus, in this chapter we ask how Anglo-Chinese theoretic-linguistic assets might be co-produced and employed to re-conceptualise the localisation/internationalisation of teacher education in White, Western Anglophone countries. In so doing, we join the debate over Vertovec's (2007) construction of global superdiversity in education.

Through the analysis of the Chinese concept *dǐngtiān lìdì* we extend our empirically grounded investigation into extending the capabilities of teacher-research students from China for theorising. We develop the Anglo-Chinese concept of *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-research* to frame this theoretic-pedagogical initiative.

Consider the recent case of the Nobel Laureate and human development scholar, Amartya Sen (2009). When he drew on concepts from South Asia he knew his book, *The Idea of Justice*, was vulnerable to the misfortunes of writing for White, Western, Anglophone scholars. He slipped in a caveat that laid bare his awareness of the reluctance among (some) White, Western, Anglophone scholars to engage non-Western theorising. Sen (2009, xiii–xiv) said, 'one of the unusual—some will probably say eccentric—features of this book compared with others writing on the theory of justice is the extensive use that I have made of ideas from non-Western societies …'. Given the ready up-take of (often mundane) French concepts (e.g. bricklaying or bricolage) for use in conceptualising educational phenomena in English (Singh and Han 2010), it does not seem unreasonable that the Chinese concept *dǐngtiān lìdì* should not follow a similar trajectory.

We are mindful that the labels *Anglophone, Euro-American, non-Western, non-White* and *Western* are commonly used flags of convenience. We acknowledge the considerable diversity and contestation *within, among* and *over* these categories. For instance, the term 'Euro-American theories' refers to the different, much-debated, and usually nation-centred traditions of positivist, critical and progressive theorising in Britain, North America and Western Europe (Alatas 2006; Brauner 1964; Karier 1965).

Moreover, in terms of local/global knowledge flows, social theories from France have had a substantial influence on the world beyond, but the same does not apply with regard to the influence of outside theories on France. Likewise, as Liu and Fang (2009) argue there is no clear divide between the so-called Chinese and Western theories, with each having been hybridized by varying intellectual sources over the centuries. This makes claims about there being unique Chinese or French or Southern theories debatable (Bilgin 2008; Clarke 1997; Connell 2007; Hobson 2004). However, they are useful as tools of scholarly disputation.

The argument advanced in this chapter is structured around a brief critical review of literature on Bourdieu's (1977) framework of conceptualising non-White, non-Western knowledge. Latterly, we turn to the emergence of educational globalisation with Anglo-Chinese characteristics, including Anglo-Chinese critiques of educational globalisation. We explain our theoretic-pedagogical framework for *Anglo-Chinese educational research*. After that, the concept of *'dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher'* is used to exemplify how concepts with Anglo-Chinese

theoretic-linguistic characteristics might be used in conceptualising educational phenomena. This creates possibilities for localising/internationalising education through moving beyond the privileging of English-only pedagogies and Euro-American theorising in the context of superdiversity.

Bourdieu's Framing of Non-White, Non-Western Knowledge

There are scholars in Western Anglophone institutes who focus on the hegemony of Euro-American theories. However, they do not necessarily make intellectual connections with non-White, non-Western theories in the context of superdiversity. Bourdieu (1977) is a representative of this traditional/modernist dichotomy. In his research in North Africa, Bourdieu collected Algerian proverbs from displaced Kabyles in the colonial French army's resettlement camps and used these as data rather than analytical tools. For Bourdieu the proverbs were representations of the Kabyles' 'authentic' pre-colonial life. He identified their attributes to develop his own concepts about the characteristics of Kabyles. He disregarded the Kabyles' uses of these proverbs as modes of critique for the intolerable circumstances French colonialism had created for their lives.

Bourdieu (1977) makes no reference to Kabyle having connections beyond their own 'world.' References to the Arab and French colonial presence are absent in Bourdieu's meaning making of these proverbs. He ignored these key connections that are important for understanding the daily life of these Berbers. Connections with, and meaningful involvement in networking with other different people do not count in Bourdieu's claims to represent the Kabyle's theoretic-linguistic practices. This creates a dichotomy between supposedly homogeneous societies. It is as if the Kabyle, Arabs and French had been untouched by one another via colonialism, migration, inter-ethnic marriage and capitalism. It is only in the belated translation of *Picturing Algeria* that Anglophone readers get access to Bourdieu and Schultheis' (2012) account of the Kabyles' criticality. Their critiques are directed at the war, their forcible relocation, difficult labour conditions, and the cost to life of living in the colonial resettlement centres.

Bourdieu (1977) constructed the French as theorists and the Kabyles as data sources. The latter are viewed as lacking in the capability for theorising and critique. Teacher educators have responded to Bourdieu's idea. Evans-Winters and Hoff (2011, p. 474) report that "teacher education courses that borrow from deficit or different models only serve to re-enforce pathological and deficit models." In Bourdieu's (1977) construction of the theory/data divide we can see "a system of advantage based on race which operates to the advantages of Whites and disadvantages of people of colour" (McIntyre 2011, p. 257). This system of advantage/disadvantage McIntyre (2011) calls racism. Racism's intertwining strands combine in varying ways at different times and in different places: "physical or biologically derived [racism is] a way of recognizing difference—skin colour, hair, features, body type [and the other form of racism] uses cultural attributes, such

as ways of life, customs, language, religion and attire" (Basit et al. 2007, pp. 293–294). In Siraj-Blatchford's (1991, p. 41) report, there is "considerable evidence that ITE [initial teacher education] courses have been reactive and failed to actively address anti-racism". Here we are interested in the type of education system that is against the uses of non-White, non-Western students' intellectual cultures and languages in conditions of superdiversity.

The Emergent Anglo-Chinese Characteristics of Educational Globalisation

Since the 1980s, Australian coalition governments have pressed for the increased recruitment of non-White, non-Western, non-English speaking full-fee paying students. Eighty per cent of these students come from throughout continental Asia (Marginson and Sawir 2011). The 'internationalisation of education' in Western Anglophone countries such as Australia is inflected by the monetised presence of international students from China and other major providers. Thus, we can speak of the Anglo-Chinese characteristics of educational globalisation, especially in Western Anglophone universities. In the decades following Deng Xiaoping's 'open door' policy in the late 1970s, the world has seen the re-emergence of China's intellectual capabilities. China has made a massive investment in education and research, albeit not without serious challenges. Its investment in this regard is nearly outpacing that of the European Union, and it aims to increase its investment to the level of the USA (Mohrman 2008). These developments are contributing to educational globalisation with Anglo-Chinese characteristics.

China benefits from transnational flows of knowledge from the West, as the West did in the past from China (Hobson 2004). It is securing sophisticated knowledge producing systems as a result of its students studying throughout the world. Through sending students overseas, China has accessed research education in many countries, thereby making up for shortfalls in its own capabilities. According to the US Council of Graduate Schools (Wendler et al. 2010, p. 24), about one third of doctoral degrees in the USA earned by the international students are from China. In contrast, research education in the Anglophone nations is aggravated by a limited pool of domestic recruits owing to high dropout rates at undergraduate levels, resulting in few undertaking graduate research degrees. Take the USA as an example (Wendler et al. 2010). Forty per cent of its domestic doctoral candidates failed to complete. Many of the rest take eight years or more to complete their studies. The Shanghai Jiao Tong University's rankings of the world academic institutions functions as a guide for Chinese students to select the best resourced Anglophone universities for their further education. More importantly, these rankings can also be read as an indicator of the re-emergence of China's intellectual prowess (Hobson 2004; Clarke 1997).

Despite its status of the 'world factory' in the global economy, China is producing knowledge capable of benefiting and challenging the intellectual world (Wu and Chan 2007; Zhu 2008). The massive investment in research and development has enabled its creation of intellectually local/global education hubs. These hubs made possible the sharing of similarities and differences between Chinese and Western academics in shifting their pedagogies to effect innovative contributions to knowledge. Take Higher Degree Research education as an example, scholarly efforts in China demonstrate a focus on producing pioneering pedagogies to develop creative, internationally-minded research graduates. Research supervisors (Zhou 2010) explored problems in the dominant model of training in research education in China. That is *fang yang shi* (放羊式) model which means 'letting students lead their study with supervisors overseeing them only' (Zhou 2010, p. 12). This method of leaving students wandering through their studies in the name of independence does not enable the graduates to produce the significant, original knowledge (also see Manathunga and Goozée 2007). Zhou (2010) proposes a unique mode of research education, namely *dǐngtiān lìdì research education.* This approach is oriented to having research students and their projects 'reach the sky and stand on the ground.' That is, they should be practical while also advancing theoretical knowledge.

Anglo-Chinese Critiques of Educational Globalisation

Throughout continental Asia there are mounting critiques of Western intellectual hegemony and English-only pedagogies (Alatas 2006; Gunaratne 2009; Qin 2007). The assumption is that educational progress involves the rest of the world consuming Western theories. In China there is growing criticism of the proliferation of educational changes "driven by Western theories [as] too far removed from actual school and classroom practice [leading to] increasingly worsening [a] situation of educational injustice" (Liu and Fang 2009, p. 408).

Scholars in Western Anglophone universities also criticise the hegemony of Euro-American theories. For instance, Connell (2007) criticised Bourdieu for failing to make theoretically-driven intellectual connections with the marginalised global South. Interestingly, several problems are found in Connell's (2007) argument. First, by limiting the timeframe to contemporary local/global knowledge flows, Connell (2007) does not explore the centuries of alternating knowledge flows between South/North and East/West (Hobson 2004). Second, Connell (2007) does not employ any non-Western modes of theorising or critique to advance the argument for the co-production of Southern theoretical knowledge. Thus, the robustness of Connell's (2007) argument is undermined by reproducing the occlusion of non-Western theoretical tools to advance the case for Southern theory.

From the post-colonialist perspective, Grosfoguel (2011) articulates Euro-American theories as "modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal western-centric/Christian-centric world system" (p. 24). This system privileges knowledge and epistemology generated by the West. This is despite the fact that no culture in the

'inferiorized' rest has been untouched by Euro-American modernity and therefore passively contributed to this system. Grosfogual (2011, p. 24) criticised "the monologism and monotopic global design of the West relates to other cultures and peoples from a position of superiority and is deaf toward the cosmologies and epistemologies of the non-Western world". However, there is scope in his argument for pedagogical attention to concepts already built into Euro-American theories (Bilgin 2008; Clarke 1997), including those of questionable value (Wolin 2010).

However, it is possible to argue for theoretically-driven Anglo-Chinese intellectual connections based on the presumption that people in China do engage in theorising and critique. Davies (2007) verifies this presupposition through her analysis of the criticality in China across three realms, namely public thought (大众的思想 *dazhongde sixiang*), scholarship (学术 *xueshu*), and party theory (党的思想理论 *dangde sixiang lilun*). Davies (2007) verifies the presupposition that the Chinese public, academics and party officials have the "zest" (趣味 *quwei*) for theorising and critique. This is borne out by Yang's (2011) study of public modes of contention in China. This research is indicative of the potential for ethnically diverse international, immigrant, refugee and Indigenous students from non-White, non-Western countries to help White, Anglophone teacher educators to solve their problem of localising/internationalising education. They can do so in ways that move beyond privileging English-only pedagogies to deliver Euro-American theories. Even so, none of these studies has provided accounts of the research methodology that this might involve.

Discussions informed by Bourdieu's (1977) analysis of the intellectual cultures, languages and intelligence of non-White, non-Western peoples frame them as inhibited by extraordinary deficits (Marx 2004). O'Brien (2009) reports that the ethnolinguistic homogeneity of teacher educators in Ireland is a barrier to anti-racist education. Respondents in Siraj-Blatchford's (1991, p. 41) research have critiqued, questioned the content and delivery of the lectures:

> Lecturers get their facts wrong and attempt to teach you all you need to know about Sikhism etc. in two hours. Some lecturers don't feel they have to deal with multicultural and antiracist issues in their subject areas. Lecturers do not communicate anything about their antiracism policy.

Basit et al. (2007, p. 280) report that racism continues to be "a significant factor which deters those of minority ethnic heritage from choosing to go into teaching." McIntyre (2011) argues that thinking about, talking about, and addressing issues of racism in teacher education are imperative. The deficit views of non-White, non-Western students as being unable to theorise or engage in critique (Singh and Han 2009) perpetuate the division of intellectual labour between theorists and data generators. Not surprisingly, non-White faculty who engage in anti-racist education in predominantly White teacher education programs experience higher levels of alienation, aggression and marginalization (Evans-Winters and Hoff 2011). Amidst McNeil's (2011) sense of loneliness and experiences of silent hostility, she saw the marked silences in teacher education around racism. Failing to challenge White racism reproduces its pervasiveness. It also replicates the passivity of teacher educators who are privileged by such racism. Marx (2004) presents evidence of White teacher

educators who struggle with examining their own White racism. However, even these White teacher educators can give into despair they experience in recognising and acknowledging their own racism, without developing antiracist practices (McIntyre 2011). In the light of this and our framing of *educational globalisation with Anglo-Chinese characteristics* in the context of superdiversity, the next section advances the case for Anglo-Chinese educational research.

Framing Anglo-Chinese Educational Research

Anglo-Chinese educational research is a term we propose here for developing a heterodox methodological framework for making an advantage of the conceptual resources supplied by the dense theoretic-linguistic currents present in White Western Anglophone teacher education programs (Alatas 2006; Connell 2007). The idea of *Anglo-Chinese educational research* stands for the activation and mobilisation of languages beyond colonial English, French and Spanish. The purpose is to generate a multiplicity of concepts, metaphors and images as well as multiple modes of critique as resources for localising/internationalising teacher education.

Epistemologically, *Anglo-Chinese educational research* frames questions about whose forms of theorising and critique are included in, and whose are excluded from White Western Anglophone teacher education. In *Anglo-Chinese educational research* there is no division in knowledge-producing labour between theorists and data generators. Thus, data collected in Western Anglophone countries can be analysed using conceptual tools available in both Chinese and English (or the other language of multilingual research students). Pedagogically, the purposes of *Anglo-Chinese educational research* is to verify the capabilities that Chinese students have for theorising through using Anglophone and Chinese concepts, metaphors and images. This is our contribution to undermining the intellectually counter-productive knowledge/labour divide between Western theoretical sources and Eastern data mines.

Specifically, we can come to know the existence of non-White, non-Western students as theorists. In this method, non-White, non-Western students are regarded to exist as self-determining, intellectual actors capable of critique and making transnational theoretic-linguistic connections. This differs from research which characterises non-White, non-Western students as being uncritical, passive rote learners (Gu et al. 2010; Durkin 2008; Grimshaw 2007).

Anglo-Chinese educational research invites White Western Anglophone teacher educators to collaborate with Chinese students as co-researchers in disrupting the hegemony of Euro-American theorizing in the context of superdiversity. This mode of research activates and mobilises their questioning of presumptions about the deficiencies or inferiority of non-Western theorising and forms of critique (Marx 2004). In this way, *Anglo-Chinese educational research* re-stages the debate over the relationship between theorising and data, as much as critique and educational change. In addition, the privileging of the Anglophone, Euro-American theoretic-linguistic hierarchy provides a focus for teacher-research education programs to question the limitations of internationalising teacher education.

Teacher-Researcher Education

The Research Oriented School/industry Engaged Teacher-researcher Education (ROSETE) program is a 10 year (2008–2017) local/international collaboration. The ROSETE program is administered through a partnership agreement between the University of Western Sydney, the NSW Department of Education and Communities and the Ningbo Municipal Education Bureau (China) (Singh 2013). Under this Australia/China partnership research students from Ningbo come to Australia each year to teach Chinese to primary and secondary school students for whom English is their everyday language of instruction and communication. These Ningbo Volunteers invest 10 h per week supporting the teaching of Chinese in the NSW Department of Education's schools. This experience contributes to their research projects and theses undertaken at the Western Sydney University.

To enhance the professional development of these language teacher-researchers the partner organisations provide formal structured training in generic and professional skills (Department of Education 2014). Through the University they participate in research training workshops and tutorials each week, as well as attending regular seminars and making conference presentations. This educational program covers a range of knowledge including evidence-driven teacher research methodologies, teaching Chinese across the curriculum, Chinese as a local sociolinguistic practice, teaching for transfer from English to Chinese based on cross-sociolinguistic similarities, and Australia-China collaboration in localising /internationalising educational theorising and modes of critique. Through these work-integrated teaching/research experiences, the Ningbo Volunteers develop a sense of international mindedness regarding how the outcomes of their research can make practical contributions to improving the teaching and learning of Chinese in Australia and furthering Australia-China knowledge co-production (Singh and Huang 2013). In the next section we use the concept *'dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher'* to provide an analysis of how the ROSETE program is contributing to developing educational globalisation with Anglo-Chinese theoretic-linguistic characteristics in superdiverse Australian society.

Anglo-Chinese Theoretic-Linguistic Characteristics of Research Education

Non-White, non-Western research students can generate concept maps to visualise non-Western theoretic-linguistic concepts as having an intellectual presence in Western Anglophone educational research (Singh and Meng 2013). One pedagogical schema that makes visible and can orient efforts to make Chinese modes of theorising a material reality in Western Anglophone education involves *contextualizing*, *conceptualization, challenge* and *connectivity* (Singh and Huang 2013). Specifically this entails:

1. *contextualizing* Chinese concepts socio-historically;
2. elaborating upon and stretching their *conceptualization;*
3. using these concepts as theoretical tools to *challenge* existing understandings, and
4. giving reasons to explain and justify their use in Anglo-Chinese educational research as a means of forming local/international theoretic-linguistic *connectivities* (Singh and Chen 2012).

In this section, we map the materiality of our concept of the intellectual agent – of the *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher*. We have chosen *dǐngtiān lìdì* because it is one of the key concepts used by Chinese students in our teacher-researcher education program. These students draw concrete concepts and specific metaphors from their Anglo-Chinese linguistic repertoire into their research into Australian education, teaching and learning. A second reason for our choice is that there is no counterpart in English that can capture the full connotation of *dǐngtiān lìdì*. Thus, the advantage of the concept *'dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher'* is that it denotes that teacher-researchers can contribute to making both practical difference on the ground and generating valuable theoretical knowledge that benefits others.

More generally, the following analysis using *dǐngtiān lìdì* demonstrates how non-Western concepts, metaphors and images can be brought into English to contribute to theoretic-linguistic knowledge exchange and co-construction in conditions of superdiversity. Of equal importance, this demonstrates how students' multilingual capabilities can be employed pedagogically to engender post-monolingual learning.

Contextualizing dǐngtiān lìdì

Typically, Anglo-American uses of Bourdieu's (1977) theoretical constructs occur without reference to the military-colonial Franco-African context in which they were initially developed (Susen and Turner 2011; Goodman and Silverstein 2009). In contrast, a guiding principle of Anglo-Chinese educational research is to examine concepts within the cultural-historical, socio-political and intellectual context where they were developed. Likewise it is important to identify contemporary investments in their use and the effects they produce. *'Dǐngtiān lìdì'* is derived from Laozi's (288–233 BC) chéngyǔ, *shàng bù shǔ tiān,ér xià bù zháo dì* (上不属天,而下不着地), which means being 'unable to be backed by neither the sky nor the ground' (Li 2009). This chéngyǔ was originally used to describe a person in an isolated situation. In modern Chinese, this chéngyǔ is given a new meaning related to research education: namely that intellectual work should be cutting edge (sky high) and being practical (ground low).

*Dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher*s are not left in the 'middle of nowhere.' They can touch the ground below through their research directly contributing to school students' learning while also being connected to the sky above through making

theoretical contributions to knowledge. Thus, *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher*s can employ an evidence-driven approach to teaching school students Chinese, while also theorising about ways of making Chinese learnable for students for whom English is their everyday language of instruction and communication (Singh et al. in press). *Dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher*s show concern for making a worthwhile life by actively carrying forward their theoretic-linguistic heritage, and leaving theoretic-linguistic resources for future generations. Nevertheless, *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher*s studying in Western Anglophone universities citing Chinese concepts in their research risk being criticised as traditionalists rather than innovative, creative modernists.

Conceptualising 'dǐngtiān lìdì Teacher-Researchers'

Our interest in Chinese concepts, metaphors and images is not to index ancient Laozi or Confucian 'wisdom'. That is, we are not referring to these Chinese intellectual resources as data to reinforce the parochial stereotypes of Eurocentric cosmopolitanism. The cosmopolitanism flair and openness to ancient Chinese wisdom diminishes China's modernisation, and draws a temporal line between supposedly tradition-bound Chinese thinking and modern Euro-American theorising. This traditional/modernist dichotomy has flowed from Bourdieu's reading of Weber's study of religion in ancient China through to his own peasant studies in Algeria where 'tradition' was supplanted with 'habitus' (Bourdieu et al. 2011).

In contrast, our interest is in the pragmatics of using non-Western intellectual resources for theorising and critique in Western Anglophone universities under conditions of superdiversity. Anglo-Chinese educational research operates to entangle (rather than discard) Euro-American theorising in non-Western intellectual resources. This entanglement broadens Anglo-Chinese intellectual interactions with, and understandings of theorising and critique. Our concept of *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher* is inspired by Li's (2009) argument that what constitutes research education is *zhidian, jili, pulu* (指点, 激励, 铺路). In other words, his focus is on instructing, stimulating and paving the road for research students. His program of research education aspires to realise the spirit of *dǐngtiān lìdì* which is characterised by cultivating and producing graduates with the ethics and attributes of *dǐngtiān lìdì;* able to pursue *dǐngtiān lìdì* research and capable of producing *dǐngtiān lìdì* knowledge. Table 13.1 summarises what we see as the capabilities—the graduate attributes—of *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers.*

The education of the ROSETE program's *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* aims to produce cutting edge theory and practice. To do so, these *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* get to foreground their bi/multilingual communicative capabilities through creating Anglo-Chinese theoretic-linguistic tools. Opening the door to non-Western modes of theorising makes it possible to generate new conceptual tools and re-envision the theoretical relations at work in localising/internationalizing teacher education and superdiversity.

Challenges of dǐngtiān lìdì Teacher-Research for Educators and Candidates

The concept of *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-research* is its challenge for both research educators and candidates. *Dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-research* requires research candidates to have the courage to be innovative, critical thinkers. This means developing nuanced scholarly arguments reporting the successes and challenges of teaching Chinese to school students when neither they nor the schools want them to learn the language. Research educators scaffold the candidates' learning smoothing their path through the characteristic complications present in *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-research* (see Table 13.2).

Dǐngtiān lìdì requires research educators to *chuandao, shouye, jiehuo* (传道、受业、解惑). This means to pass on the sense and sensibilities of evidence-driven knowledge production by guiding research students to document and analyse puzzles or confusions. To do so they give them direction in establishing a theoretical framework that is likely to generate original knowledge.

Table 13.1 Capabilities of *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers*

Elements	Characteristics
Key feature	Creativity, innovativeness and contribution to knowledge
Aim	Bringing improvement and change to the lives of the people in the world
Route	Narrow and winding, full of thorns, and a lot of times there is no road at all, waiting for the pioneer to explore
Method	Testing and developing theory based on practice *(xingzhi)*
Performance criteria	Researchers should stand on the shoulders of scientific giants
Barriers	Overcome bias
Deadly disease	Practising fraud, falsifying data
Period	Limited to individuals but unlimited by collective intellectual heritage

Source: Adapted from Li (2009)

Table 13.2 Principles for researcher educators in training *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers*

Key principles	English explanation
因材施教	Research education considers individual students' differences
诲人不倦	Instructing students with tireless zeal
学而不厌	Having students learn without boredom
温故而知	New knowledge to be built on reviewing previous knowledge
知之为知之, 不知为不知	Guiding candidates to be honest to knowledge (do not pretend to know the knowledge one doesn't have)
向群众学习	Guiding candidates to learn from peers and any other person
学与问结合	Guiding candidates to combine learning and questioning
学与思结合	Guiding candidates to combine learning and thinking
学与实习结合	Guiding candidates to combine learning and applying knowledge
学与行结合	Guiding candidates to combine learning and action
从博返约	From extensive to deep learning

Source: Adapted from Li (2009)

Dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers are stimulated to be curious about the phenomena under investigation, to develop deep affection for research-based professional learning, and to be persistent in pursing truth (small 't') (Li 2009). To become *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* should develop an intellectual *life-force* or the ambition, will and courage (立志气 *li zhi qi*) to be scholars. Their investment in this life-force is proportional to their achievements. A key capability these *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* need support in developing is the capability to be adept at thinking-through research-writing:

> 心灵物也。小用之,则小成;大用之,则大成;变用之,则至神。When thinking is not used, it will keep its original unthinking condition. When occasionally used, it will reach a small achievement; when frequently used, it will produce large achievements; when thinking is used in a flexible, creative way, it will reach the summit or peak (Tang Zhen cited in Li 2009, n.p.).

Dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers learn the persistence needed to produce original and significant knowledge to meet the needs of an ever-changing world. *Gou ri xin, ri ri xin, you ri xin* (苟日新,日日新,又日新), that is, they keep studying the literature and evidence to learning something new every day (Li 2009, n. p.). For their theses to make a valued and valuable contribution to original knowledge, *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* can do so through renovating Chinese theoretic-linguistic assets (Singh & Meng 2011; Singh et al. in press).

To do this effectively, *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* need to ground their studies in the fertile soil of other research-based knowledge. Li (2009) reinforces this point by quoting from *Shijing,* a collection of poems from 1100–500 BC: "*ta shan zhi shi, ke yi gong yu* (他山之石,可以攻玉)". This literally means that 'rocks from other mountains can be polished into jade.' This refers to intellectual work of analysing—that is ordering and disciplining—primary and secondary data through research-writing to generate original, significant knowledge. Further, good *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* necessarily produce theses that involve *peng zhuang* (碰撞) (collide with). That is they activate and mobilise scholarly debates with contrary arguments and counter-evidence to create nuanced, robust knowledge claims that can incorporate these points of contestation (see Table 13.3).

One might simplify our attempt to introduce this concept, including the "Anglo" in "Anglo-Chinese", as the English translation of a Chinese concept, rather than in a critical syncretism of both Anglo and Chinese epistemologies. As demonstrated, this compound Anglo-Chinese concept is untranslatable because it exceeds the original meanings of its constituent elements. *Dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researcher* destabilises the asymmetry in the stereotypical relationship governing the division of intellectual labour. This disrupts the construction of the West as the producer of theoretical knowledge and the 'rest' as its dependent consumers (Alatas 2006; Connell 2007; Chen 2010). We employ the concept of *dǐngtiān lìdì* to demonstrate how non-Western concepts can be used as analytical tools, travelling into English and contributing to theoretic-linguistic knowledge exchange and co-construction. We acknowledge that the concept of *dǐngtiān lìdì* can be linked to similar concepts and theories in Western scholarship. Through a non-Western-centric lens, this concept opens up to further examination the intellectual interplay between Euro-American concepts of

Table 13.3 Research-writing challenges for *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers*

Key challenges	English explanation
无的放矢	Establish a random research question
概念模糊	Concepts are not clearly defined
文字表述不清楚、	Written expressions are not clear
不严格的创新点	Not rigorous
没有傍证材料	Insufficient evidence
与他人雷同或撞车的创新点	Innovativeness similar to others'
全文前后矛盾的	Contradictory within one's own thesis/argument
论述篇幅严重不足	Insufficient argument statements
改换名称、无实质性创新	New labelling but with no substantial innovativeness
没有理论、现实意义的	Raise new concepts but theoretically meaningless and practically useless
新概念	New concepts
立论不能成立的创新点	Arguments themselves cannot stand
拼凑痕迹明显的创新点	Arguments are patched together from different sources (cut and paste)
一语即可击破的创新点	One counterpoint can knock the argument down
涉嫌学术腐败的创新点	Plagiarism

Source: Adapted from Li (2009)

Western Anglophone education and those of the non-Western concepts and languages that are otherwise treated as distinct in conditions of superdiversity.

Connecting the Local and the International

In teacher education context, the concept of *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* provides a focus for the struggle over what materially constitutes local and international connectivity. Educational globalisation with Anglo-Chinese theoretic-linguistic characteristics is not an exogenous phenomenon. Instead, it is part of a collaborative intellectual process being produced inside Australia by local universities, places where local/international education is being activated and mobilised. More generally, such Eurasian concepts point to challenging possibilities for rethinking the tension between the universalism of Euro-American theorising and the particularism of Chinese concepts. One way to mediate this intellectual relationship is to see particular Chinese metaphors such as *dǐngtiān lìdì* as containing a universalist potential. This recognises the innovative, creative potential of diverse theoretic-linguistic resources playing into the formation of potentially universal analytical tools. Our aspiration is for the concept of *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* to acquire a universal status beyond any specific recognition it has in a particular language or superdiverse context. Our larger ambition is to activate and mobilise Eurasian concepts as an integral part of the promotion and protection of universalism through localising/internationalising teacher education.

However, it might be objected that the regulatory mechanisms governing Anglo-Chinese research education programs exceeds the capabilities of these Chinese research candidates to communicate their superdiverse theoretic-linguistic assets. The concern here is that the regulatory mechanisms of universities, and teacher education in particular, now exceed their capabilities to channel intellectual equality locally/internationally. On the contrary, for White, Western Anglophone universities and teacher educators to engage in localising/internationalising education is to reinvigorate their superdiverse "cultures of learning" (Ryan 2012, p. 62). To do so, they have to willingly activate and mobilise students' bi/multilingual communicative capabilities and theoretic-linguistic assets

Risk management associated with activating and mobilising students' bi/multilingual communicative capabilities and theoretic-linguistic assets is now a major issue for universities. Ryan (2012, p. 55) identifies these risks as "being complacent about the superiority of 'Western' academic ways [and the] risk of continued negative attitudes by lecturers about international students." Further Ryan (2012, p. 62) contends that "universities that limit their interactions with international students to the one-way transmission of knowledge risk stagnation and lack of appeal to students, both home and international, who now have more choices available." A system of teacher-researcher education that privileges Euro-American theorising and modes of critique using English-only pedagogies is a risk. In particular, it risks teacher-researchers not developing capabilities for networking in an era when educational globalisation is increasingly shaped by Anglo-Chinese characteristics in conditions of superdiversity.

Localising/Internationalising Teacher Education

For more than three decades Australian teacher education has continued to function by way of White, English-only, Euro-American assumptions constructing ethno-linguistic diversity as a problem (Han 2006). Marginson and Sawir (2011) have studied this mode of functioning which increases homogeneity and reduces super-ethno-linguistic diversity by posing it as a problem. They report that some argue for 'inclusivity' to more effectively transmit curricula grounded in Euro-American theorizing. Others invoke 'client support services' to rationalise and normalise 'student remedial support'. Others argue for 'equality' to legitimise English-only, Euro-American centred curriculum for both Anglophone and other ethnic-linguistic students.

This chapter has posed an alternative question that links intellectual equality with democratic concerns for the common good (Singh and Chen 2012; Singh and Meng 2013). How can ethnic-linguistically diverse students help solve the problem of English-only, Euro-American centred teacher education by localising/internationalising education under conditions of superdiversity? Thus, this chapter furthers efforts to activate and mobilise the use of non-Western, theoretic-linguistic tools *within* White, Euro-American centred, Anglophone teacher education (Singh, and Huang 2013; Singh and Meng 2013). We do this by focusing on the non-West, the

South, or the East as sites of knowledge production, especially the generation of theoretical resources (Singh and Han 2010). For us, this has created the added pressure of "increased emotional investment, as well as an increased professional work load associated with righting a century-long institutional dereliction of duty" (Mitchell and Edwards 2013 p. 109). Our research markedly extends O'Brien's (2009, p. 202) ideas for anti-racist teacher education to:

1. deconstructing assumptions and stereotypes that presume intellectual inequality and label theory as a Euro-American artefact absent in non-Western countries;
2. enabling students to develop their creative capabilities for theorising and critique using non-Western metaphors, concepts and images, and illuminate and reflect upon their complex understandings;
3. highlighting the power imbalances between the dominating and dominated groups in society relating to language, physical features, claim on place, inter-cultural connections, and the capacity to exercise public judgment on these matters; and
4. creating intellectual spaces for inciting curiosity, new questions and mutual understanding as well as change in the theoretic-linguistic conservatism of teacher education.

Our research is animated by the need for a better appreciation of how the theoretic-linguistic assets of non-White, non-Western students might count towards re-conceptualising the localisation/internationalisation of White Western Anglophone teacher education under conditions of superdiversity. However, we fully acknowledge that the extent to which the "East," comprising East, South, and Southeast Asia, cannot be reduced to Chinese representations. In the interests of a "superdiverse" (or "super-epistemic," to cite the adopted term in this book) approach to the politics of representation, we note the extent to which its focus on Chinese epistemologies risks eliding the important differences between Western and non-Western traditions.

Conclusion

Possible solutions to the localising/internationalising of teacher education can be found through (Asian) Australian research educators working with non-White, non-Western students to activate and mobilise the richness of their theoretic-linguistic repertoires under conditions of superdiversity. This admixture of non-White, non-Western students—international, immigrant, refugee, Indigenous and local—theoretic-linguistic tools presents methodological and pedagogical possibilities for furthering centuries of Eurasian intellectual connectivity (Clarke 1997; Hobson 2004).

Pedagogies of intellectual equality presuppose and verify that non-White, non-Western research students have the intellectual capabilities for theorising and critique (Singh and Chen 2012; Singh and Han 2010; Singh and Huang 2013; Singh and Meng 2013). *Anglo-Chinese educational research* broaches the relationship between theorising and language, as well as critique and educational change. Because of its

linguistic properties, the concept of *dǐngtiān lìdì teacher-researchers* is likely to travel well. Its ease of pronunciation means it can be readily inserted into Western Anglophone intellectual conversations. Localising/internationalising education without non-Western theoretical assets is Western intellectual imperialism. Non-Western theorising without localising/internationalising education is parochialism.

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Chapter 14
Educational Aspirations, Ethnicity and Mobility in Western Sydney High Schools

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Abstract Superdiversity provides a conceptual framework for thinking through contemporary sociolinguistic and cultural complexity in urban globally mobile communities. In this chapter, we put it to work in a project that explored aspirations for higher education within public schools in a highly diverse area in western Sydney, Australia. While superdiversity was not the initial focus of our study, it became useful alongside theoretical work on imagination and school choice within global education markets and movements. Superdiversity is now a "constant characteristic of contemporary schools" (Gogolin 2011, p. 241), and schools are thus ideal sites for examining how young people and their families constitute themselves, and are constituted by, global and local mobility and how this impacts on desires for particular careers and pathways into the future.

Keywords Case studies of superdiversity • Poly-centricity • Socio-cultural axes of differentiation • Imagination • Aspiration

Introduction

Globalization intersects with ethnicity and socioeconomic status in contradictory ways and enables new social imaginaries that variously shape young people's aspirations. This chapter draws upon a research project across western Sydney government-funded public schools that explored students' anticipated trajectories towards higher education (Somerville et al. 2013). Drawing on excerpts from parent and teacher focus groups and student created artefacts from two of the secondary schools in the project, this chapter traces how 'aspiration' for education is interpreted in individualised and institutional terms, is complicated by ethnicity, family histories and parental expectations, and shaped by a cosmopolitan sense of connectedness to multiple locations and future possibilities. We consider how the concept

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of superdiversity helps us to think through the spatial and temporal complexities that emerged in our data.

Globalization *per se* is not a new phenomenon, but as Wang, Spotti, Juffermans, Cornips, Kroon and Blommaert (2014) suggest, we might think of the present iteration of globalization as a "particular historical phase in which interconnectedness of Appadurian scapes and mobility of goods, people and knowledge have acquired unprecedented – indeed global – scale levels" (p. 24). The importance of education within these patterns of mobility cannot be underestimated. The "diversification of diversity," as Vertovec (2007, p. 1024) puts it, means that urban communities are more dynamic than ever, as "new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants" live alongside each other. Although Vertovec writes about London, the characteristics of superdiversity are emerging everywhere, including the western suburbs of Sydney, Australia.

Blacktown, which is the largest local government area (LGA) of Sydney, and where the two schools we discuss in this chapter are situated, displays much of the "explosive and conspicuous diversity" of contemporary cities (Wang et al. 2014, p. 23). Blacktown LGA forms a mini-city on the western edges of the supercity of Sydney, NSW, Australia. It sprawls across 247 km and contains 45 discrete and widely differing suburbs. Despite these variations, census data suggests that Blacktown LGA has lower incomes, higher unemployment, higher levels of employment in unskilled occupations, and lower levels of educational qualifications than other parts of the state of NSW and the nation (ABS 2015). Blacktown's age profile is younger, with almost 24 % of residents aged 0–14 and thus of particular interest to this study into educational aspirations. Of the total population of 303,528, more than one third or 128,577 people were born overseas (ABS 2015). While 58.7 % of residents identified themselves as speaking only English in the home in the 2011 national census, many residents (41 %) speak more than two languages and the five most frequently cited languages in the census were Tagalog, Hindi, Arabic, Punjabi, and Filipino (ABS 2015). This linguistic diversity compares with 72 % of households in NSW where only English is spoken, and 76 % of households nationally where only English is spoken. Most recently, refugee resettlements in Blacktown have included people from Iraq, Afghanistan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Iran and Syria, with people from Sudanese backgrounds forming more than half of the emerging community settlers, with their own complex and diverse civil war trajectories via Egypt, Kenya and Uganda and speaking different languages and dialects (Migration Heritage NSW 2011). These patterns of ethnic and linguistic diversity, advantage and disadvantage and educational access are unevenly distributed across different suburbs within the Blacktown LGA. However, Blacktown is clearly emerging as a nexus for sociolinguistic superdiversity where "perpetual change and motion are the rule [and] complexity and unpredictability are rife" (Blommaert 2014, p. 1). The two schools we discuss in this chapter represent the range within the Blacktown LGA. At the time of our research, approximately two-thirds of the students at School 1 were from Language Backgrounds Other Than English, while approximately one-third of students at School 2 were from LBOTE backgrounds (ACARA 2015). Both of these figures indicate higher percentages of students from

immigrant multilingual families than the state and the nation. In our discussion of the schools, we use LBOTE as a proxy for migration and ethnicity because this is the only publicly available information about school diversity. However, following the work of Creagh (2014), we are aware of the limitations of how this indicator is used by educational authorities given its inability to account for ethnicity, socio-economic status and other intersecting factors.

We outline the geo-demographics of the region in order to emphasize that, rather than individualizing aspiration to particular students and families, aspiration must be approached as a complex set of social, cultural, temporal and spatial practices. The mobilization of imagination and the "capacity to aspire" (Appadurai 2004) are shaped by previous experience and inflected at the local level by global flows and desires for new social futures. While aspiration can encompass a broad range of desires, the particular focus of this study was on educational aspiration and, for secondary students in particular, this was related to post-school pathways.

Aspiration and Access

Access to higher education for under-represented cohorts was identified as a significant problem in Australia by what came to be known as the Bradley Review of Higher Education (Bradley et al. 2008). The review identified low socio-economic status students, Indigenous students, and remote and regional students as having static or falling tertiary participation rates. Government responses included the Higher Education Participation Program (HEPP), a funding stream for universities that would allow outreach and partnerships with schools in order to "raise aspirations as well as provide academic mentoring and support" (Bradley et al. 2008, p. xiv) and this funded our research with a cluster of disadvantaged schools in western Sydney. We recognise that whilst aspiration may appear to be directed to the long term future, in terms of desired careers and educational pathways, it also manifests in more immediate ways as students make decisions about the present that will impact on the future, and as they mobilise their imaginations towards those desired futures. We were interested in exploring children's "aspiration trajectories" and the "enablers and barriers" that they and their families and teachers saw might impact on those imagined futures, and the relevance of these to higher education. The larger project included three primary schools and three secondary schools in the Blacktown LGA. In each school students created artefacts representing their imagined future selves, and we conducted teacher and parent focus group interviews. Although the Bradley Review did not address immigration as a factor impacting on educational aspiration, and this was not the focus of our study of low socioeconomic students' educational pathways, issues related to geographic mobility began to emerge in our data.

"Aspiration" can be understood broadly as the hope or ambition to achieve some *thing*, or to envisage a particular desired *target* that one wishes to achieve in the future. In education and social policy, aspiration is increasingly associated with "the *ability* to act in entrepreneurial ways rather than the *desire* for improved social or

economic status" (Sellar et al. 2011, p. 43). This entrepreneurialism is characteristic of the neoliberal subject who is able – with sufficient will and resources – to create his or her own future. In our school-based research, aspiration was framed in terms of intended professions, for which university pathways would (or would not) be required. Aspiration is not a singular or sufficient factor for understanding tertiary access and participation. As Sellar and Gale (2011) point out, capacities to access higher education emerge within new "structures of feeling" that are elaborate configurations of mobility, voice and aspiration. Aspirations entail the "'fantasy work' of hopes and future desires being formulated by young people accessing whatever resources they can in their everyday lives" (Smyth and McInerney 2014, p. 138). Strategies that aim solely to raise aspirations without addressing the spatial practices impacting on schooling, and geographic and social mobility of families and individuals, and that do not allow people to narrate their stories will overlook the desires and concerns of particular groups and individuals (Sellar and Gale 2011; Smyth and McInerney 2014). However, the resources that are available to groups and individuals are unevenly distributed.

Research suggests that in inner city public schooling in Australia a purportedly "colour-blind" neoliberal educational policy forms the "white middle classes as an assemblage of aspiration and idealisation" (Gulson 2011, p. 101). Individuals and families are positioned as the "desiring, entrepreneurial subjects" that are favoured within rhetorics of school choice (Gulson 2011, p. 97). In the schools that we discuss in this chapter, aspirations for higher education are framed by desires for better futures – however the white middle classes framing of aspiration that Gulson identified in downtown Sydney, where Anglo-Australian families aimed to secure private schooling for their children, is differently inflected in western Sydney where discourses of choice are entangled with immigrant families' desires to access selective public schooling. Thus educational entrepreneurialism is evident as public schooling is increasingly differentiated and marketed to families through practices of exclusivity (Gulson 2011). This differentiation is apparent through the formation of selective and gifted and talented strands within both our suburban schools, and also through the single sex status of School 1.

Case Study Analysis

In the opening section we outlined some of the theoretical work on aspiration that helps us think about the schools in our study. In this section we discuss two of the case study schools in detail, considering the implications of thinking through the lens of superdiversity. In School 1, looking at data from a focus groups with parents, Loshini traces the centrality of the imagination to the capacity to aspire for families who have migrated to Australia for whom their children's education is a key component of their imagined futures. In School 2, Tonia investigates the students' perceptions of enabling factors and barriers to career goals, whilst also considering the intricacies of parental influence on their children's career aspirations.

Case Study School 1 – (Loshini)

Context

School 1 is a partially selective girls' secondary school of 700 students from Years 7–12 with 65 % of the student population in 2012 from a language background other than English and 2 % from Aboriginal backgrounds. The school has 2.4 ESL specialist teachers. According to its Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage (ICSEA)[1] value, the school is classified as close to 'average' in socio-economic terms (ACARA 2015). The school offers ESL support to all students who require it. The School Annual Report describes various programs aimed at refugee students, and focusing on future study and work. These include the Refugee Action Support tuition program, the "Ready, Arrive, Work" vocational program; the Social Inclusion Program for Refugee Youth (SIPRY) focusing on life skills and courses in culturally bound knowledge (e.g. CV preparation, assertiveness training); the Macquarie Mentoring program; and the Refugee Transition Plan that assists students in intensive English programs to transition into mainstream high school. The school context is super-diverse in that it is characterised by a multiplicity of different ethnic and migrant minorities, but also differentiated in terms of variables such as migration histories, religions, educational backgrounds, legal statuses, length of residence and economic backgrounds.

Methodology

For the project on aspirations and higher education, fifty Year 9 and 10 Visual Arts students from selective and comprehensive strands participated in a day of activities incorporating creative writing, digital montages and videorecorded peer-interviews. Interviews focused on: plans after school, in 10 years, and perceptions of requirements to achieve goals and future prospects. Most students indicated aspirations for tertiary education and markedly, most aspired to enter professions as doctors, scientists, vets, nurses, actresses, writers, police women. Others wanted to be rich and famous while a few were keen to set up 'house' and be married with children. Some of these plans included overseas travel while most were content to settle in Australia. Some students also indicated that financial constraints could impede their future aspirations. Semi structured focus groups with parents and teachers focused on the career and further education aspirations of children and how they changed over time, and factors that would assist or impede plans for further education.

[1] ICSEA is an index constructed by the Australian Curriculum and Reporting Authority (ACARA) from a range of available data to enable the ranking of schools so that each school's results can be compared with sixty statistically similar schools.

Aspiration and Imagination

This section of the chapter reviews Appadurai's theory on aspirations and imagination in the context of super-diversity, in relation to the educational aspirations of the girls. The school is in an area with a highly diverse group of visible migrants where super-diversity is negotiated as a social process. In the case study, the interactions on digital media by students with varied and complex identities suggest super-diversity as their language use, mediation of cultural practices and products feature "mobility, plurality, heterogeneity, and poly-centricity" (Leppänen and Häkkinen 2012, p. 18). Their multimodal interactions serve as "a means for indexing identifications which are not organized on the basis of local, ethnic, national or regional categories only, but which are increasingly trans-local" (Leppänen and Häkkinen 2012, p. 18). In these practices, the girls are thus orienting not only to their school-based and local affiliations but also imagining more distant locales and opportunities. A number of the students in School 1 saw themselves travelling in the future and living overseas, sometimes combined with a higher education pathway (i.e. as a 'year off' before university or within a student exchange program). For young people of migrant backgrounds, citizenship takes on a hybrid nature through super-diversity. The quest for cultural capital and status through travel is very much a part of the migration imagination. Gender is not an obstacle to geographic mobility, suggesting a "feminisation of migration" (Castles and Miller 1993, p. 9) that could be considered a further characteristic of super-diversity, as women move across regions and play a larger role than ever in international migration. Fantasies of mobility and identity for these girls who picture themselves living in Dubai, Paris, London, New York, represent their "ideas about the kind of person one would like to be and the sort of person one would like to be seen as by others" (Moore 1994, p. 66).

As we have noted, super-diversity is characterized by the multiple origins, connections, stratifications and differentiations, and ethnicity-focused approaches to understanding aspirations are "inadequate and often inappropriate for dealing with individual immigrants' needs or understanding their dynamics of inclusion or exclusion" (Vertovec 2007, p. 1024). However super-diversity is not only caused by migration but local developments may also link to super-diversity. Migration is both a discourse and a social practice. Migrant aspirations and imaginings are linked to "socio-cultural axes of differentiation such as country of origin, ethnicity, language and religion" (Vertovec 2007, p. 1035). Most notable however is the axis of legal status, which exercises a constraint on the entitlements of refugees and asylum-seekers, which restricts access to employment and other social benefits. This impacts in School 1 because the school has a high refugee population and the girls from these backgrounds tended to nominate steady careers such as nursing, accounting, and architecture.

Australia is currently admitting entry to people from all over the globe through migration programs that favour skilled workers but do not necessarily guarantee economic success. In terms of neo-liberalism, which recruits "whole populations materially and imaginatively into a financialised and marketised view of the world" (Hall

et al. 2013, p. 13), economic integration becomes a crucial factor for immigrant families. In the face of patterns of downward mobility and a sense of betrayal among skilled workers which has led to socio-economic marginalization for most migrants entering Australia (Collins 2013), aspirations for economically sound futures among the next generation are crucial. In the case study, the aspirations of parents and students are linked to products that will bring them material and economic advantage. In this way, "neoliberalism has been engaged in constructing new entrepreneurial identities and re-engineering the bourgeois subject" (Hall, et al. 2013, p. 19).

There is a strong relationship between educational aspiration of students, parents, caregivers and capital accumulation. While the case study is framed around aspirations and imaginings as discussed by Appadurai (1996, 2004), it is also framed by research around 'capital' (Anthias 2007; Bankston and Zhou 2002; Bourdieu 1997; Zhou 2005) and in particular the mobilization of different forms of capital and their relationships with wider educational and institutional contexts. A study of aspirations therefore has to include an understanding of the relationship between imagination and capital since individual imaginings about future lives are intrinsically intertwined with economic considerations and socio-economic status.

Imagination positively provides the space for new possibilities for empowerment or new imagined alliances among disenfranchised communities such as migrants because aspirations motivate migration (Benson 2010). Appadurai argues that imagination "is the wellspring of increased rates of migration" (1996, p. 6), emerging within "the thick of social life" (2004, p. 67). The capacity to aspire, while being generated within social spaces like schools, also implies the capacity to navigate the different and varied pathways to post-school education. Students of migrant background at the partially selective girls' school negotiate the field of education (Wyn 2007) to become more successful in achieving their desired goals and aspirations because an important feature of super-diversity are the highly gendered feminist patterns (Kofman et al. 2005) that compel females to challenge conventional national imaginaries.

Parents from the partially selective girl's school who participated in the focus group interviews were mainly migrants who, though they lacked economic capital on migrating to Australia, were able to use their transnational social and cultural capital to assist in their children's educational aspirations and imaginings. So for many young people aspirations for the future entail negotiating their parents' imaginings including the pursuit of a good quality of life of imagined futures and freedom from prior constraints. Thus transnational families attempt to enhance "social, cultural and symbolic capital" by educating their children (Yeoh et al. 2005, p. 312). Aspirations to do well educationally and pursue high status career options are co-constituted by students and their parents as transnational actors. Parents in contexts of super-diversity are also much more aware of social, economic and political opportunities in the host countries because these opportunities have been transmitted through mass media, the internet, and diasporic networks (de Haas 2010). These lead to a determination to escape social and economic exclusion, as a teacher noted:

> *A couple of years ago when I was year advisor, I had a student whose father sat down to work out her subjects for 11 and 12, and he was adamant she was going to be a doctor.*

However imagination and high aspirations do not necessarily lead to positive outcomes. Another teacher worried that aspiring parents overestimated their children's intellectual capacities, and mobilised hierarchical and spatial notions of levels, grades and place to explain this:

> *Parents get this unrealistic idea about what their child is able to do ..and therefore they don't actually see where their kids are placed.*

For migrant parents, imagination becomes a source of agency in situations where they may be at a disadvantage. In the focus groups, parents offered elaborate narratives of their own experiences of education, so that present, past and imagined futures intersect at the locus of interest in their children's education. The focus group enabled parents to exercise "voice" in ways that may not have been otherwise available (Sellar and Gale 2011). If we are to understand the meanings of discourses in schools where a wide range of diversities intersect, we need to accept that no 'voice' is single. Voice is always plural, always multiple in the sense that every voice bears the traces of other times and other spaces, of words uttered before, even "repetition always entails difference, since no two moments, events, words can be the same" (Pennycook 2010, p. 43).

Super-diversity necessitates research processes which encourage all participants to present details of their experience and their conceptions of desirable changes in practice. One parent's narrative typifies how the capacity to imagine opportunities in other places, and to remember his own education elsewhere – leads him to desire a particular school curriculum and standard despite his position of disadvantage.

> *I would say that curriculum is below par and it needs to be looked at so that children achieve much more and they get more focused. What I have done in year 7–15 years back – my child has not done in year 10. ….I have two children. Both go to selective. My son was – is pretty intelligent, What I've seen is he is slowly going down. I still feel he is intelligent, but I don't think schools have done enough.*

Broadened possibilities come as part and parcel of interventions for change, "through which social effects are produced and new states of feeling and connection are created" (Appadurai 2004, p. 81). Parental reflections on their children's experiences of schooling demonstrate their understandings of the forms of capital enabled by the formal institution of schooling, and their expectations of change. In the context of super-diversity, parents are reconfiguring possibilities for the future and the present. Parent B sees higher education as enabling social economic mobility for her Pacific Islander community whose educational and immigration narratives are more often marked by low education standards and poverty. This challenges the "predominant assumption that diasporic communities always maintain their 'heritage' for purposes of maintaining their perceived 'authentic' ethnic identities" (Ndhlovu 2013, p. 433) and illustrates a deliberate strategy of survival and quest for access and participation in higher education. While most migrant families are subject to the symbolic violence of the dominant language ideology, this mother whose family has been traditionally associated with minority 'ethnic' languages is using language and languages in new ways (Rampton 1999). This mother is able to nego-

tiate her identity from a powerless position as migrant female, using her linguistic skills to negotiate a new subject position (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001).

> *I think the highest barrier for my ethnicity, or my – Pacific Islanders – is the financial side of things and the lack of education, because some of us parents, the highest education – our parents' parents – their highest education was primary school. So to get us to high school was – wow, that's big. ….I'm going to university next year for the simple fact that I want to set examples for my children and say to them, you know what? I'm struggling, studying, family and work. I don't want you to do this (Parent B).*

Globalisation, imagination and capital have expanded the aspirations and range of possibilities for parents and students of migrant backgrounds in School 1. Appadurai discusses the emergence of "diasporic public spheres", which become possible through transnational and postnational imaginings (1996, p. 15). Werbner (2005, p. 759) describes diasporic public spheres as spaces of "creativity" where new types of transnational cultural formations are possible. Imagination then for parents and students of migrant backgrounds is "a space of contestation in which individuals and groups seek to annex the global into their own practices of the modern" (Appadurai 1996, p. 4), making imagination "a staging ground for action, and not only for escape" (Appadurai 1996, p. 7). The aspirations of parents and students "show fantasies of success, the triumph of 'life-style' over substance, the refashioning of the 'self', the commercialisation of 'identity' and the utopias of self-sufficiency that characterise neoliberalism (Hall et al. 2013, p. 19). However, they also shift emphasis away from homogenizing discourses that traditionally result from low socio-economic status toward the possibility of social transformations. In the super-diverse spaces of western Sydney, including its schools, the capacity to imagine, articulate and create alternative futures is a crucial resource for immigrant children and their families.

Case Study School 2 – (Tonia)

Context

School 2 is a comprehensive coeducational secondary school from years 7–10. In 2012, there were just over 1000 students with 36 % from non-English speaking backgrounds and 5 % from Aboriginal backgrounds (ACARA 2015). The school has 1.1 ESL teacher. Its ICSEA value is very similar to that of School 1, and close to the average across the country. The School Annual Report describes its Multicultural Education initiative as comprising an annual Harmony Day that provides opportunities for students to share their community languages at the assembly and a poster competition. Special programs are provided for Aboriginal students through employment of tutors and the AIME program to encourage transition of Aboriginal students to higher education, in association with Macquarie University. The school's desirable academic reputation makes it commonplace for "out of area" students to seek

admission. As a result, many students travel long distances to attend. The school has also instituted their own in-school selective stream, separate from the official Department of Education and Communities (DEC) process. For Year 11 and 12, most students move to a nearby Senior College to complete their schooling.

In contrast to School 1, and the super-diversity of the Blacktown LGA that we elaborated in our opening discussion, this school initially appears to be anomalous. The diversity of the school population is not emphasised or foregrounded in documentation from School 2, it does not strongly feature in programs, resources or practices, nor is it evident in the student-created artefacts or focus groups conducted with teachers and parents. Yet the school population, according to ACARA figures, includes 36 % of students from LBOTE backgrounds, which, when correlated to the census figure of households that speak more than one language is significantly greater than the state of NSW (24.5 %) or the nation as a whole (20.4 %). The absence of mention of programs for refugee students, and relatively low provision of ESL support, implies that School 2 does not currently enrol significant numbers of students from the recent refugee resettlement in Blacktown LGA. Potentially, LBOTE students at School 2 may be from families who have been settled for several generations, from immigrant sectors who tend to be proficient in English prior to immigration, and from families where parents speak languages in addition to English but their children may not. What is striking in the data across the two schools is that the neoliberal educational market, with its orientation to school choice in a competitive education market, and the pressure on individuals and families to aspire to higher education and professional careers, are equally apparent. In particular, the importance of parental desire and intervention provide significant points of comparison between the schools.

The literature suggests that career aspirations of children are influenced by multiple factors including gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status, and that family poverty in particular is significant. However, some has shown that parental influence on their children's aspirations appears to be more important than socio-economic status, although clearly these factors intersect (Gemici et al. 2014; Somerville et al. 2013).

Methodology

In School 2, eighteen Year 8 students from the selective stream were included in the project. They were interviewed on camera and this was edited into a single 20 min film which was screened to parents prior to a focus group interview. Year 8 students in the selective stream made a class video of interviews articulating their intended career choices. Year 10 students were the interviewers and they edited the final film, incorporating backgrounds representing students' desired careers. Students in School 2 did not elaborate on where they saw themselves in 10 years time, however they did name their desired careers and the enablers and barriers that might help them to get there.

Before discussing the enablers and barriers to higher education it is important to understand the students' imagined career trajectories. In case study 2 these included:

chef, ultra-sonographer or cardiologist, hairdresser, dance teacher, photographer, radiology or veterinary science, casting director, zookeeper, graphic designer, electronics programmer or robotics, IT or computers, software engineer, RAAF fighter pilot, mechanical engineer and builder. Given these careers were voiced as the main careers on their 'aspirational radar', the enablers and barriers to success that students perceived for their career choices are conveyed in Table 14.1.

Upon closer examination, students were clearly cognizant, as research has shown, that "their own individual attitudes and behaviours are significantly more important than any other factors that might impinge on their career trajectories" (Somerville et al. 2013, p. 14). In terms of students attaining their career aspirations, positive attitudes towards learning were envisaged as more important than attaining good grades.

A majority of students perceived the risk of poor grades in the future as a primary obstacle. Students also evidenced a concern that they might change their minds about their desired career path. Year 8, perhaps, is rather premature for students to confidently expect that they are on a simple or direct career path, although their hesitation is marked. Lastly, in terms of academic pathways, students were mindful that their subject choices will be important for their careers. Access to these subjects was identified equally as both 'enabling' and 'disabling' (Somerville et al. 2013). In School 1, by contrast, students were not asked about barriers to achieving their desired careers, but only about what they 'would need' to get there (ie enablers). However most of these slightly older students mentioned money as the most important factor, followed by family support and good grades.

Superdiversity is a useful lens in which to view the phenomenon of transformations in population patterns, especially those resulting from shifts in global mobility (Vertovec 2007). Moreover, student aspirations may be hidden or submerged within the more dominant visions and contexts of school-based aspirations. Gogolin (2011) concurs with this stance and reinforces the notion that superdiversity is part of the

Table 14.1 Case Study School 2 – Enablers and barriers to success in career choice

Enablers	Barriers
Right classes	Not getting right classes
Get into elective	Not get into courses I want
Get into particular Bachelor degree	Not getting into desired institution
Good grades	Bad grades
Put time and effort in	Becoming impatient with study
Try hard, get into right courses	Changing my mind
Try to like science more	My attention span
Motivation	Too lazy/ not right attitude
Study more, get better grades	Not enough money
Study & get experience	
Work extra hard	
Parents in profession	

Adapted from Somerville et al. (2013)

rich tapestry of factors that influence educational attainment and success. Although super-diversity is not as evident in School 2 as it was in School 1, the multilingual backgrounds of more than a third of the students at the school suggest significant patterns of mobility and migration for their families. However these are nuanced by a range of variables including migration histories, educational backgrounds, length of residence and economic backgrounds.

Parental Viewpoints

The aspirational trajectories of students can be initiated, sustained and shaped by the day-to-day decisions made by the parents who guide their growth. According to Gill and Reynolds (1996), parents play a pivotal role in determining their child's career choice (see also Middleton and Loughhead 1993; Mulvey 2010; Palmer and Cochrane 1988). Case study school 2 demonstrated the relationship between parental expectations and student aspirations. Themes emerging from the focus group with parents included low socio-economic status as a limiting factor, but parents are prepared to make financial sacrifices to enable their child to fulfill their career aspirations. Though there was a lack of clarity and certainty about career choices, there was an overarching desire by parents for their children to be happy, content and successful with their career choice. Two important themes that are discussed in more detail in this section are parents as role models for children; and the importance of parents 'chasing the right school'.

Both students and parents alike mentioned that parents as role models played a significant part in shaping their career aspirations. One student remarked *"both my parents are in the medical profession and I want to be an ultra-sonographer or cardiologist"*. Whilst one parent offered *"I think his dad is his role model … [He] is very dedicated, studious and career minded. He always makes my son aim for the very best he can. And I think he thrives on that"*. Yet a more tempered insight regarding role modelling was articulated by one parent when she announced:

> *We are not very pushy parents … just encouraging him to do the very best he can do. But they also have to be "kids" and enjoy their childhood. It is hard to get the balance… We would definitely encourage him to do something after High School but it doesn't necessarily have to be University. We see a lot of people around us that didn't go to Uni and are thriving and really successful, so we don't want him to think that Uni is his only option.*

These factors resonate with the comments of the parent in School 1 who wanted to set an example for her children, and more broadly for her community. While broader communities and allegiances were not emphasised in the focus groups in School 2, the neoliberal emphasis on personal responsibility and choice within a differentiated school market are very clear. Unsurprisingly, the quality of educational provision was most important for these as it was for parents in School 1 who identified curriculum and standards. The success of the school and the quality of teaching were flagged as significant factors in the parents 'chasing the right school'.

Two thirds of the parents interviewed were from "out-of-area", and supportive of a daily commute in order to facilitate the best education possible for their child:

> *I wanted my child to go to a public school and there was only one choice in our area and unfortunately that was not a good school . … I spoke to the school and then we had to do an application for out of area and then this was huge – it was like my child was applying for a job. We had to put a CV together to explain to the school why they should take my child. I knew then that they were taking the application seriously and that this school was the one. They were doing things the right way. You can see if is a good environment, good teachers, well looked after . … To get my child here each day, there are a few of us where we live that car pool, so my husband does the morning shift, and another parent does the afternoon shift. It is worth the extra effort to come here.*

Notable here is the complexity of actions in the past and present that the parent needs to undertake in order to secure educational success in the future for their child. Another parent remarked:

> *Yes, we are in the same sort of situation, the area we were at, we weren't too happy with the local high school and this was the High School we chose. Same thing, intense application process, and we drive Adam to school and back every day. When we got the reply back to say he was accepted, it was a huge relief …. Yes, reputation played a huge role.*

It is not surprising therefore, given the investment that parents have made in securing a place for their child in their school of choice and then in organizing the daily commute to and from school, that parents from School 2 were highly satisfied with the educational provision.

In summary, the themes that emerged from the parent focus group data included the financial struggles of families from low socio-economic backgrounds and the hardships they endured to enable their children to pursue their career aspirations. These are not factors that were emphasised by parents in School 1 in the excerpts that we have discussed in this chapter, yet they do feature in interviews with students and parents. Some felt that their children had no clear ambitions for future careers. Parents repeatedly expressed a strong hope that their children would be happy, content and personally fulfilled with their career choices. In accord with Appadurai (2004), Gemici et al. (2014), Homel and Ryan (2014), and Nguyen and Blomberg (2014), parents can be seen to project their aspirations onto their children in a myriad of ways. This attitude can, in part, be linked to parents who were adamant that 'chasing the right school' was important. This strong pattern of parental initiative may be a result of a self-selecting subject pool given the nature of school 2. These findings concur with Appadurai (2004) and depict an intricate relationship between the social, cultural and spatial practices that shape aspiration.

Conclusion

Superdiversity is a helpful concept that draws attention to "the multiplicity of factors which … influence educational attainment and success" (Gogolin 2011, p. 247). Blacktown LGA is a preferred destination for people who have arrived in Australia

through skilled migration programs and through refugee resettlement; and arguably has been since its postwar growth by earlier waves of immigration. Multilingual households are the norm. It also has the largest urban population of Aboriginal Australians. It is a dynamic urban community with a population of multiple origins and innumerable transnational connections. The median age of people in Blacktown LGA is 32 years and by far the largest age group is 0–14 years of age (70,939) for whom educational opportunity and its capacities to enable some potential futures and shut down others is a crucial issue (ABS 2015). The superdiversity of Blacktown is evident in its schools, and impacts on the opportunities that are enabled by schooling and the variable capacities of parents to intervene and direct those choices. The snapshots of data in our case studies suggest that the aspirations of young people and their families emerge through elaborate configurations of desires and practices, that are organised on temporal and spatial (super) dimensions. Aspiration trajectories are impacted by global imaginaries and parental desires – beyond what happens at school, but schools have a crucial part to play in nurturing and productively mediating desires. Student aspirations for higher education do not emerge as individual or cognitive desires but, as we have argued, are collectively shaped and impacted by patterns of mobility, familial experience and by narratives that exceed the present time and place within which students and those around them make decisions about their future pathways into (or away from) university.

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Chapter 15
Afterword: Super Interconnectivity as Globalization?

Michael A. Peters

If a system such as globalisation is complex when it is composed of many parts that interconnect in intricate ways then what counts is the number, nature and frequency of the interconnections, their growth and dynamic interaction, which makes it difficult to judge or measure or predict emergent properties of the system, especially when small changes in inputs may produce large changes in different parts of the system.

If one thing is clear about globalization as an emerging international geo-tech digital system, it is that as different parts of the system become more interconnected and spawn elements with the potential to evolve in time, it becomes more and more difficult to predict the overall direction of the system or the velocity and speed of change.[1] Complexity theory developed as an attempt to reconcile the unpredictability of non-linear dynamic systems with simple cause and effect theories that no longer hold. The kind of dramatic change that we have witnessed with the so-called digital revolution with accelerated effects, scalability and intermeshing of global systems, makes it not only difficult to plan but heightens susceptibility to risk. What might education look like in this context? The historical and social sciences in particular are not yet properly equipped to understand emergent, self-organizing and dynamical phenomena. Most social and historical theory, that comes to us from founding discourses in the nineteenth century while useful for charting effects of industrialization in terms of linear causation or mathematical multiplication, are not well developed to cope with dynamic systems.

There is one neoliberal narrative variation of globalization, however, that asserts a liberal cosmopolitanism shared by the likes of Thomas Friedman and others who

[1] "Hyperconnectivity is the increasing digital interconnection of people – and things – anytime and anywhere. By 2020 there will be 50 billion networked devices." See http://www.weforum.org/projects/hyperconnected-world

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maintain that globalization is an international system replacing the Cold War system (CWS) based on the interweaving of markets enabled by the digital revolution in information and communications technology. By contrast to the CWS, symbolized by division, the new system is characterized by integration symbolized by the World Wide Web. According to Friedman we are all increasingly connected, but nobody is in charge.

In *Globalization: The Super-Story* Friedman describes globalization as a "force multiplier" (p. 474) that distributes power equally among nations and "leaves no one in charge" (p. 473) so that no one individual or nation can exert influence above the rest: power is a series of overlapping checks between the country, the market and the individual. In *Prologue: The Super-Story* (Friedman 2002) he writes:

> I define globalization as the inexorable integration of markets, transportation systems, and communication systems to a degree never witnessed before – in a way that is enabling corporations, countries, and individuals to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before, and in a way that is enabling the world to reach into corporations, countries, and individuals farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before.[2]

This has become the standard neoliberal account of globalization. What's wrong with this view? A variety of commentators have criticized the ways in which Friedman places economic integration at the center of the argument downplaying ideational factors at work especially the agency of various religions and ideologies arguing that "the story of religion and globalization is in some ways the *history* of globalization, but it is riddled with paradoxes" (Herrington 2013). Mona Domosh (2010) argues the world was never flat by analyzing early global encounters and the growing economic dominance of the United States. Others have questioned Friedman's postulate of "flatness" that tendencies towards an equalization of chances of economic development and displacement of vertical forms of organization (states) by more horizontal ones (markets) (Cox 2008). Rugman and Oh (2008) dispute Friedman's account of the world integrated through the advent of a new form of globalization based on the Internet by providing examples of international business strategy to show that multinational enterprises "do not operate globally, but sell and produce the vast majority of their output within their home region of the triad."

Perhaps the most telling criticism against Friedman's neoliberal account is that global inequalities have significantly widened since the world has been flattened as global protests around the world signify. An analysis of the relationships between 43,000 transnational corporations have identified a small group of companies, mostly banks that exercise disproportionate power over the direction of the global economy. Vitali et al. (2011) in their study "The network of global corporate control"[3] provide the "first investigation of the architecture of the international ownership network, along with the computation of the control held by each global player." They write: "We find that transnational corporations form a giant bow-tie

[2] http://www.thomaslfriedman.com/bookshelf/longitudes-and-attitudes/prologue

[3] http://arxiv.org/PS_cache/arxiv/pdf/1107/1107.5728v2.pdf

structure and that a large portion of control flows to a small tightly-knit core of financial institutions." They suggests that "this core can be seen as an economic 'super-entity'" (from the abstract).

Since Friedman (2005) completed his *The World is Flat* as an account of globalization, the world has changed dramatically. We can picture these changes as four persistent world crises not easily addressed by Friedman's too-easy technologically driven account, defaulting to US modernity: first, the crisis of climate change and global warming with ever-increasing levels of carbon emissions and cumulative environmental consequences; second, the structural crisis of the world financial system that continues to exist even five years after the 2007–2008 global meltdown; third, the rise of non-state Islamic militants who are currently attempting to establish a caliphate in intersecting portions of Syria and Iraq; and fourth the global Ebola crisis in West Africa. In each case the crisis belongs to a larger set of global problems and appears intransigent to easy political, diplomatic or scientific solutions. It is not obvious that any of these crises are resolved by the forces Friedman identifies.

As 2015 Davos (World Economic Forum)[4] meeting take place (at the time of writing this afterword), it is clear that there are a series of pressing issues including massive and growing global income inequalities. Globalization does not distribute benefits equally and indeed, it could be argue that under neoliberal globalization the wealth of the 1 % now exceeds the rest of the global population combined. Davos panels address "the new digital context" with an accent on the digital economy, big data, predictive analytics and surveillance, "inclusive growth in the digital age", the "new" energy context (low oil prices), new banking context, new growth context, climate change, concerns for instability and volatility with the new global system. *The digital is the "new" context*: the future of the Internet, of the digital economy, of artificial intelligence, of the Internet of everything, of the military, global science, global security and sustainable development with emphasis on regional theatres—Asia, China, Latin America, Egypt, Japan, Turkey.

Given recent Jihadist terrorist attacks in Paris and elsewhere, the effects of profound weather events, fiscal meltdown, food and water crises, biodiversity losses, interstate conflict, the spread of infectious diseases, and weapons of mass destruction, it is not surprising that one of the more prominent reports should focus on exploring the landscape of global risk.[5]

Yet even with a decade old growing awareness of global risk with increasing risks to the architecture of global governance by a variety of forces, prediction and analysis is extremely difficult, but not impossible with good practices of risk management and risk resilience. Fundamental to understanding risk in the context of the super dimensions of globalization is the merging nature of global systems. The conclusion to a global risk report (WEF 2015) begins:

[4] http://www.weforum.org/events/world-economic-forum-annual-meeting-2015

[5] In particular see Figure 1: The Global Risks Landscape at http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Global_Risks_2015_Report.pdf

> Our lives are very different today from when the first Global Risks report was published a decade ago. Little did the world imagine the possibility of the implosion of global financial markets that plunged the world into a socioeconomic crisis from which it is still struggling to emerge. The "real world" was nowhere near as interconnected with the virtual one: Twitter did not exist, Facebook was still a student-only service, and the iPhone and Android were still one and two years, respectively, away from their commercial release. The power of interconnectivity has since shown itself forcefully – be it from the convening power of the Arab Spring, the revelation of massive cyber espionage around the National Security Agency, or fast moving developments in new disruptive business models that are fundamentally changing the global economic landscape (p. 50).

Dirk Helbing (2013) calls for a 'Global Systems Science' to create the required knowledge and paradigm shift in thinking:

> These systems are vulnerable to failure at all scales, posing serious threats to society, even when external shocks are absent. As the complexity and interaction strengths in our networked world increase, man-made systems can become unstable, creating uncontrollable situations even when decision-makers are well-skilled, have all data and technology at their disposal, and do their best (p. 51).

Yet in view of complexity, we must emphasize a philosophy that recognizes the contingency of human life and history. We need to appreciate more carefully the role of the unexpected and the unpredictable by asking the question: Is the nature of history and world history itself unimaginable? World history to come is unpredictable in principle. Political and historical contingency as part of the study of the unexpected, the accidental and the unforeseen (Shapiro and Bedi 2007) is central to an education that emphasizes the super dimensions of globalization and teaches us the survivalist lesson against all forms of fundamentalism.

Survival in the age of super globalization, a third phase governed by digital logics and the digital revolution leading to the development of the Internet--what I refer to as "the epoch of digital reason" (Peters 2014)--is one of the tasks of Global and Internet Studies. These studies with Web Science together analyze the velocity of technological change, the Internet as part of our social DNA, including the capabilities and effects of emerging digital technologies and other developments in the new biology (genetics, stem cell technology), nano-technology, new chemicals and neuroscience, and that are transforming ourselves, our values and our modern institutions. Education in the age of super interconnectivity also concerns primarily intersubjectivity and the problem of other minds, learning with others, learning collaboratively, and learning to be with others. How else are we to learn to work together to tackle the global problems that face humankind?

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