Christine Hunner-Kreisel
Sabine Bohne   *Editors*

Childhood, Youth and Migration

Connecting Global and Local Perspectives

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Editors

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Chapter 1
Childhood, Youth and Migration: Connecting Global and Local Perspectives – Introduction

Christine Hunner-Kreisel and Sabine Bohne

In the year 2015, as this book is being prepared, Europe experiences to an unprecedented degree the arrival of refugees from Syria, the Balkan countries, from Afghanistan and Northern Iraq as well as from African countries. Among the refugees are many children and youth; many of them come with their families but some arrive alone as so-called unaccompanied minors. With the arrival of these people new challenges arise in almost all sectors of society; for instance in educational institutions such as preschools, kindergartens, schools and universities as well as for professionals such as educators, teachers and professors. Scientists, too, are called upon, and–considering that many of the refugees and migrants are still young–in particular those in childhood and youth research. Important issues include the experiences, hopes, wishes and fears of children and youth and their *well-being* before, during and following their migration. Other empirical questions concern educational policy and the organization of education for newly arriving children and youth: what are the preconditions in the destination countries for an equitable participation in society and thus for fairness, and what is being put into place? Also of scientific interest are questions of societal cohabitation: childhood friendships and peer relations among youth, engagement with different norms and value systems, and the need to address discrimination and racism by, among and against children and youth, as well as in educational institutions and other segments of society. Finally, it is important to understand how social practices straddle borders (Pries 2002), for instance keeping in touch with family and friends at home. Which forms of transnational life emerge and which motives and opportunities matter for children and youth?

'Childhood, Youth, Migration–Connecting Global and Local Perspectives': against the backdrop of these current events and the challenges they present the title of this book is program. Its four parts engage with the questions raised above: I Children and youth's own perspective in migrant societies, II Education, social

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differentiations and (in-)equality, III Questions of global and local living, IV Living circumstances shaped by patterns of migration and mobility. The book is based on an international conference at the University of Vechta in 2013 that was supported by the German Science Foundation and had as its topic *Childhood and Migration* with a special focus on gender and generational questions. With additional contributions the scope of this book has expanded. The focus on 'childhood' was broadened to include 'youth'; the ongoing debate on the significance of gender and generation in the context of migration moved into the background in order to make room for contributions that examine the social significance of other categories such as class, ethnicity and religion as well as spatial distinctions between urban center and periphery. This introduction will first put the notions of childhood, youth and migration that are central to the book into a thematic and conceptual framework. Then each contribution will be summarized briefly.

Childhood, Youth, Migration: Connecting Global and Local Perspectives

Migration as a phenomenon is most often motivated by the search for a better life (Punch 2010, p. 209). Very often people–children, young and adults, migrating alone or together as a family–, migrate to ameliorate their own or others' living conditions and seize opportunities for realizing a good life. Today as well as in the past this search for a better life is very often triggered by global economic restructuring in urban and rural areas of the so called Majority World, which impact upon the lives of children, young people and their families. Socio-economic transformations can result in increased levels of migration from rural to urban areas (see in this volume the chapter by *Yafang Wang* and *Diqing Jiang* on migrant workers in China and resulting educational inequalities for their children), and from national to international areas as well as across borders. The countries in Northern and Western Europe–the standpoint most of the authors represented in this volume are writing from–as part of the Minority World are today so-called immigration countries with migration flow for socio-economic reasons and because of people fleeing from war and terror into them. In contrast to a country like Australia, which is often described as a 'classic' immigration country (see in this volume the chapters by *Jen Skattebol* on everyday experiences of school achievement, migration and neoliberal education policy in Australia as well as the contribution by *Tobia Fattore* on children's conceptions of 'otherness': constructions of the 'moral self' and implications for experiences of migration), this has not always been the case in Northern and Western Europe–as a glance at history shows. In the nineteenth and twentieth century there was massive emigration from Europe to North America. That we have so little information on the children and youth of that epoch reflects the fact that at the time the notion of childhood (and youth) as a special phase of life in which children have their own needs and rights was not acknowledged–or if it was, then only for a privileged minority (Clarke 2010, p. 3).

Today as in the past, migration processes are embedded in structures of social inequality. The phenomenon of the 'global care chains' (Hochschild 2000) is a prime example. The system of circular migration of women and men from Eastern European countries–nursing the elderly in the ageing Northern and Western European societies–supports structural deficits in our social welfare systems. However, these same women and men are often also parents whose own children and families are staying behind in the countries of origin. The visibility of these migrants' children, their voices and questions about their well-being, as well as questions of education are still neglected in research on transnational migration processes (Heintz 2013) (see in this volume the chapter by **Beatrix Bukus** on children of circular migrants and the challenges for the European Union with respect to their temporary educational integration; see also the chapter of **Elisabeth Rohr** on 'children left behind' in Ecuador and the emotional loss they experience as a result). The term 'living transnationally' today may mean that families live physically apart in different parts of the world but are tightly connected with each other through frequent interaction on social media and through travelling. Clearly, we can acknowledge the fact that a transnational family life can be achieved more easily today (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; see in this volume the chapter by **Benjamin Zeitlyn** on transnational living experiences of second generation migrants from Bangladesh). Nonetheless, the ability to 'live transnationally' must be seen as a privilege that is not affordable to everybody and every family.

Childhood, Children's Rights and Own Perspectives

In current debates on the nature of childhood and what it means to be a child, universalist perspectives have argued that the notion of children's rights implies, on the one hand, a "subjectivity imbued with rights" (Andresen 2013, p. 29) and, on the other, the need of protection for the growing person. This notion of what may be, or should be, common to all children contains a paradoxical element, which becomes especially clear when viewed in a generational perspective on childhood and children's everyday behavior: Children's subjectivity, imbued with rights, and children's agency need to be negotiated in light of the agency of adults (Bühler-Niederberger and Schwittek 2013). This process of negotiating children's own agency (see here the chapter by **Karin Kämpfe** and **Manuela Westphal** on the topic of children acquiring agency within the context of migration in Germany) is also linked to the issue of protection: Children's bodily welfare depends at least in part on the care and protection of adults with whom children may have positive or negative relationships (see in this volume the chapter by **Kristen Cheney** on the subject of AIDS orphans and the transformation of kinship, fosterage, and children's circulation strategies in Uganda). The extent to which children will be able to obtain life skills and enjoy the freedom to develop their own notion of what might be a 'good life' (Sen 2009), and thus the well-being of children (Ben Arieh 2000), depend on the nature of their relationships with adults (for present research on

well-being of children in global contexts see in this volume the chapter by *Asher Ben Arieh* and *Sabine Andresen*). Paternalistic relationships may become problematic when adults try to impose on children (and youth) the adults' view of a good life. Balancing children's self-determination with adequate protection throughout childhood is a societal challenge that concerns all children and youth. In everyday life children's rights often differ for girls and boys, a gender bias that may be inflected further by social, ethnic, or religious backgrounds, and which needs to be analyzed accordingly (see in this volume the contribution by *Brigit Allenbach* on Muslim girls, boundary-making and gender in Swiss schools).

Childhood, Youth and Migration Studies

Within migration studies, with few exceptions, children and youth as a group only recently have 'become visible'. For quite a long time they have remained outside the main analytical focus of transnational migration studies (Gardner 2012; Punch 2010). Recent research findings show that children and youth, just like their parents and other elders, are involved–more or less–in the process of migration (White et al. 2013; Hutchins 2013; Camacho 2010, p. 127). Even more so, beyond being passively involved–depending on parents' concepts of childhood and youth (Hutchins 2013, p. 61)–children and youth take actively part in migration; for instance in the process of decision making. However, they also migrate independently or autonomously (Punch 2010). In addition to revealing children and youth's agency, ongoing studies document the significance in migration of children and youth's social networks, of which families, and children's integration into family relationships, but also peers, are particularly important (see also Whitehead et al. 2007). Another aspect increasingly acknowledged in migration studies concerns the effects of migration on children's lives and worlds (Nukaga 2012). Children may be part of migration because they are migrating together with one or both of their parents or with other family members. Yet, children are also affected by migration when they stay behind because one or both parents migrate for work and leave their children in the care of relatives or acquaintances (Heintz 2013). Although the latter case does not involve children's actual travel during migration, it does show the need for a broader perspective on migration, childhood and youth: 'Secondary' impacts of migration processes–e.g. in the educational systems of the destination countries–are significant for children and youth as actors and as–constructed–social groups.

Connecting Global and Local Perspectives

Therefore, the impacts of migration and mobility processes have both local and global dimensions, which migration research has discussed in terms of transnationality and transculturality (Vertovec 2009) (see the chapter by *Christine Meyer*

on the subject of transgenerational culture transfer as social constructions in inter-generational relationships). Migration processes rarely are unidimensional but are multidimensional; beyond societies of origin and societies of destination research needs to pay attention to spatiality–the emergence of new spaces that are constituted in the process of migration. This includes the crossing of national and political borders and of cultural boundaries and the merging of collective and individual 'identities' (Hall 1999) into new hybrid forms (Brettell and Hollifield 2000) (see in this volume the chapter by *Christine Hunner-Kreisel* on educational mobility experiences and identity processes of two young Azerbaijanis). Migrations can also challenge societal notions and discourses of childhood and youth and call for their renegotiation. However, transnational migration and mobility not alone emphasize the historical specificity and relativity of concepts of childhood and youth (Bailey 2009), but transnational processes may spread notions of these con-cepts, in particular those from the Minority World, globally and introduce them as normative standard. The chapter by *Doris Bühler-Niederberger* illustrates how specific understandings of childhood and growing up in the family are unquestion-ingly assumed to be the norm in the (aid) programs of international organizations, a practice that does not account for local context and the expectations of local social orders.

The contributions to this book show the different ways in which migration mat-ters in the context of global and local childhood and youth. The chapters in part II of this volume *Education, social differentiations and (in-)equality* (see the chapters by *Isabell Diehm*, *Melanie Kuhn*, *Claudia Machold* and *Miriam Mai* on the reproduction of inequality by ethnic differences made relevant in early childhood educational organizations as well as the contribution by *Margit Stein* on education of children and youths in rural areas of Germany) illuminate how national educa-tion policies shape migration and create structures with which children and youth then have to grapple and whose inequitable preconditions disadvantage them (e.g., language, educational background, emphasis on social differences). The contribu-tions to the book show that childhood, youth and migration as well as local and global perspectives need to be thought and analyzed in conjunction to address sig-nificant dimensions of social inequality in the context of growing up: in addition to 'generational space' and thus the social category of generation and migration as a dimension of inequality other chapters show the significance of the social category of the body: *Elisabeth Rohr* addresses children's body and the dependence of the developing body on appropriate care in the chapter on 'Children left Behind' in Ecuador. At the center of the chapter by *Kristen Cheney* is the body in the form of "blood" – a significant social dimension in processes of intergenerational negotia-tion and starting point of migration and mobility for children and youth in West Africa who lost their parents to AIDS. *Benjamin Zeitlyn* addresses another aspect of the body – smell in relation to emotions – in his analyses of migration experi-ences of children of second generation migrants that move between UK/London and Bangladesh/Sylhet. *Doris Bühler-Niederberger* analyzes children's bodies as rationale for early childhood education: the body of the child has established itself as a given; its vulnerability and dependency as well as a body-related, paternalistic

attitude of adults towards children and youth is no longer questioned but exists in a naturalized, globally recognized state.

In relation to a possible notion of global childhood James and James write that "[c]hildhood [and youth] has perhaps to be understood as both a local and a global phenomenon" (James and James 2012, p. 65). A central shared feature may be the meaning and significance of 'generational space' (ibid.): The contributions to *Childhood, youth, migration: connecting global and local perspectives* have in common that they make visible, across a range of different topics, how the position-ing of children and youth is secondary and subjected to societal structures geared toward adults. The chapter by **Noëmi Gerber** and **Roy Huijsmans** in this volume is one of several that illustrate how few opportunities children have to (co-)determine their daily life and their well-being at school and in the family. Therefore, these limited opportunities for children to develop agency and power to act often show only in the nuances of their daily actions. The experience of a 'generational space' may be a global feature of childhood and growing up. However, as Qvortrup et al. (1994) write, experience is lived differently in different societies and needs to be examined for its specific local conditions. A concluding remark at the end of this introduction may therefore be, that the long-standing questions of "[…]one child-hood or many [and] [H]how to research on childhood(s) and [youth]" (see James et al. 1989, p. 146) is not a matter of researching forms of childhood and youth as such but of analyzing notions of childhood and youth with respect to the question how these notions are constituted in specific local contexts (re-)producing condi-tions of social inequality.

In the remainder of the introduction the individual contributions will be summarized.

Part I Children and Youth's Own Perspective in Migrant Societies

In the second chapter *"Can we Compare Children's Well-being Across Countries? Lessons from the Children's Worlds Study"* **Sabine Andresen** and **Asher Ben-Arieh** argue that international comparison of children's well-being is not only possible but also desirable for anyone interested in the study of well-being. They start with a critical look at the concept of children's well-being, discuss selective findings from the Children's Worlds Study and conclude with perspectives for the future.

Brigit Allenbach, in *"Do Muslim Girls Really Need Saving? Boundary-Making and Gender in Swiss Schools"*, focuses on boundary-making processes based on notions of gender. Her analysis of an ethnographic example aims to uncover the views of four Swiss Muslim girls whose parents are Albanians from Macedonia. Their stories about how they live, including their religion, schooling, career aspira-tions and future plans, illustrate their multiple belonging.

In the fourth chapter "*Children's Conceptions of Otherness: Constructions of the 'Moral Self' and Implications for Experiences of Migration*" **Tobia Fattore** examines processes of identification and categorization that non-migrant children adopt to understand 'the other'. He does so by examining what children identify as being important for being a 'good person', that is, their understanding of what constitutes the moral self. Three themes emerge from the analysis: the normality of difference and the importance of the personal as moral; defending those who are different as a practice of justice; and the categorization of children as strange where other children exhibit different life practices from themselves.

In the Chap. 5 "*Acquiring Agency: Children's Perspective Within the Context of Migration in Germany*" **Karin Kämpfe** and **Manuela Westphal** reference the literature on well-being and agency within the context of unequal childhood. The perspectives children with a migration background have on their life and their ideas of what constitutes a good life have been rather neglected in recent literature. The article analyses group discussions with children with a migration background in order to identify how collective patterns of orientation point to children's acquisition of agency.

Part II Education, Social Differentiations and (In-)equality

In Chap. 6 "'*It's Hard to Blend in': Everyday Experiences of Schooling Achievement, Migration and Neoliberal Education Policy*" **Jennifer Skattebol** explores how the neoliberal logic of global education policy is experienced in the lives of disadvantaged migrant students in Australia. She sketches a broad policy context and then complicates it with two distinctly different resourcing experiences of being disadvantaged in this context. These cases allow insight into the way historical legacies and local contingencies interact with top-down policy.

Based on a practice-theoretical research project on the (re-)production of ethnically coded inequality in the educational organization of day care centers and primary schools, **Isabell Diehm, Melanie Kuhn, Claudia Machold** and **Miriam Mai** reconstruct, in "*Ethnic Difference and Inequality. An Ethnographic Study of Early Childhood Educational Organizations*", two patterns of the potential origins of inequality and discuss them in the context of educational policy standards. Designed as a longitudinal ethnographic study the project uses the example of a documentary and practice analysis of language screening procedures.

In the Chap. 8 "*Educational Inequality of Migrant Children in China: from Visible Exclusion to Invisible Discrimination*" **Yafang Wang** and **Diqing Jiang** explore the educational inequality of migrant children based on a brief introduction of the migration background and China's household system which functions as a decisive mechanism of social stratification. The analyses indicate a rough transformation of the educational inequality of migrant children from visible exclusion to

invisible discrimination, or more precisely, to a mixture of both. The two mechanisms together continuously intensify the reproduction of social inequalities that migrant children have been suffering due to the dual Hukou system.

In her contribution "*(Temporary) Educational integration of school-age children in the context of multiple and multidirectional migration: a critical challenge for the European Union and its Member States*" **Beatrix Bukus** outlines changing patterns of migration that have led to a diversification of involvement in migration among school-age children, focusing specifically on involvement in multiple and multidirectional migration. The paper suggests that this type of migration is present among two specific groups of students: firstly, those whose families have left their first country of destination and moved on to another country due to the economic crisis and secondly, those who arrive as forced migrants through several transit countries. The empirical data is analysed with respect to the potentials and risks multiple and multidirectional migration hold for educational biography.

In the Chap. 10 "*Education: Children and Youths in Rural Areas–a German Perspective*" **Margit Stein** explains how Germany is more affected by educational disparities than any other country. In Germany, the focus of examining educational disparities lies on issues of social strata and migration background. When analyzing educational disparities, regional and urban/rural differences in terms of participation in education, divergent skill levels and varying difficulty in entering the world of employment are barely considered. However, even a regional analysis and the application of an urban and rural dimension reveal diverging differences. Young people in rural areas, for instance, remain less involved in the educational process.

Part III Questions of Global and Local Living

In "*Making Sense of the Smell of Bangladesh*" **Benjamin Zeitlyn** draws links between the sense of smell, aesthetic choices concerning clothes, ideas about modernity and the aspirations of young British Bangladeshis. In doing so he highlights the preconscious and conscious factors that inform the identities that British Bangladeshis express. The paper argues that despite its importance for our sense of belonging, the sense of smell has been neglected in accounts of identity. This discussion leads to a critique of Bourdieu's notion of habitus and illustrates the ways in which the conscious elements of habitus draw upon the unconscious. Dispositions towards the smell of Bangladesh feed into ways in which British Bangladeshis express their identities through aesthetic choices and in turn reveal preferences for different discourses of modernity.

In "*Qualities of Childhood – Kyrgyz Preschoolers Between Local Exigencies and Global Promises*" **Doris Bühler-Niederberger** addresses educational programs as they are launched by international organizations, especially the Early Child Development programs of the World Bank. She shows how such programs are indifferent to the local societies in which they work. It is not the local starting point in which they are interested but the global goal at which they aim. At the same time,

it is not that easy to assess the quality of childhood which is produced in the interplay of global influences and local realities. Based on a study of more than 100 preschool children and their parents in Kyrgyzstan such an assessment is attempted and its inevitable biases are discussed.

Drawing on 10 weeks of research in four primarily ethnic minority villages in insular Malaysia, *Noëmi Gerber* and *Roy Huijsmans* focus in their contribution "*From access to post-access concerns: Rethinking inclusion in education through children's everyday school attendance in rural Malaysia*", on the analysis of factors and relations underpinning the frequency of children's school attendance. Using a range of participatory methods the authors illuminate children's active role in coshaping the outcome of everyday decision-making process concerning school attendance. The findings suggest that understanding exclusion and inclusion in relation to primary education in developing countries needs to go beyond the current focus on children's enrolment, drop-out, and adult-centered discussions of school attendance and toward an appreciation of the relational dynamics underpinning frequency of attendance and children's active role in co-shaping their inclusion in or exclusion from school.

In *"Transgenerational Culture Transfer as Social Constructions in Intergenerational Relationships" **Christine Meyer*** focuses on a new way of looking at generation that enables new possibilities between different generations in families and between generations outside family relationships. She points out that every society has it ways of articulating, transmitting, managing and preserving events, facts, knowledge, and experiences in an inter-subjective and binding way with a broad range of criteria for sense-making. The central question hereby is the issue of an active and conscious transmission. Especially in the discussion, promotion and development of joint values intergenerational contexts beyond the family memory assume particular importance. Each time younger and older people within or outside a family and/or internationally come together and take part in a conversation they participate actively in the trans-generational and trans-national development of new constructions. Therefore, they can be collectively responsible for the relevant social and cultural knowledge of the future.

Part IV Living Circumstances Shaped by Patterns of Migration and Mobility

In the Chap. 15 "*'Blood Always Finds a Way Home': AIDS Orphanhood and the Transformation of Kinship, Fosterage, and Children's Circulation Strategies in Uganda" **Kristen Cheney*** draws on participatory ethnographic research with orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in a peri-urban suburb of Kampala, Uganda, from 2007 to 2014 to examine the way AIDS orphans have influenced child circulation amongst kin caregivers in Uganda. Bringing literature from anthropology, children's studies, and development studies into conversation with each other to highlight the dynamic process of kinship construction, she traces the sometimes

contradictory social, economic, and emotional effects of orphan circulation within and across family networks, highlighting orphaned children's concerns with intra-family mobility.

In her contribution *"Transnational Childhood and the Globalization of Intimacy"* **Elisabeth Rohr** underlines that the majority of the studies on migration concentrate on the socio-economic effects of migration and pay attention mostly to those, who actually migrate, disregarding the enormous challenges that newly created transnational families have to meet and ignoring the fate of children left behind. She points out that it is in particular children, who usually are the most vulnerable members of a transnational family, who can tell us a lot about the hidden agendas of migration, about the losses, the loneliness and the emotional pain of separation that cannot be compensated by gifts and phone calls alone. Her reflections deal with some of these ignored realities of transnational migration and children left behind.

In the last chapter *"Back to Baku: Educational Mobility Experiences of Two Young Azerbaijanis and Identity Positionings 'Back Home'"* **Christine Hunner-Kreisel** underlines that educational mobility is attractive to young Azerbaijani women and men as it offers the opportunity to obtain a recognized degree with which to establish themselves in Azerbaijani society. She focuses on the period of returning home, and presents initial empirical findings from a study that reconstructs the meaning of educational mobility experiences made. To illustrate these meanings two case studies will be contrasted and interpreted in terms of identity politics and positioning by two young Azerbaijanis. The non-essentialist concept of "identity" and identity-political positioning serves as a theoretical framework, drawing on the work of prominent *Cultural Studies* scholar Stuart Hall.

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Sabine Bohne

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Part I
Children's and Youth's Own Perspective in Migrant Societies

Chapter 2
Can we Compare Children's Well-being Across Countries? Lessons from the Children's Worlds Study

Sabine Andresen and Asher Ben-Arieh

A Critical Look at Children's Well-being

Children's Well-being has to be understood in relation to children's preferences and opportunity structures, it is a dynamic relationship, not just a reflection of the level of income, consumption or status. The contexts defining the well-being of children change not only because of historical or societal changes, but because the factors producing well-being at one age level or specific context do not necessarily produce it at another level or a different context.

The sociology of childhood underscores two dimensions, or axes, in the understanding of childhood and children. These concepts refer to life as it is experienced in the present and life as it develops towards adulthood. Children's rights refer both to their rights here and now, and to their right to develop and 'become', as illustrated by the CRC emphasis on children's rights to realise their potentials. We may view *being* as a state at a given point in time, and *becoming* as the unfolding of the life course along trajectories shaped by social structures and the agency of the actor. The sociology of childhood, as well as modern advocacy of children's rights, underline children's rights as citizens of the present, not only as beings on their way to adult positions. The status and position of children have to be understood within the framework of the present, as description, and within a framework of life course and development, as predictions. The *total well-being* includes the well-being of the present and the predicted well-being of the future.

Sen (1999), understands commodities and resources not only as related to the differentiated profiles of utilities they represent for various children, but related to what

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they are able to achieve with their resources in their local contexts. The child resources have to be related to a system of values and possible transactions, as well as to the individual's preferences and possible strategies. The concept of capabilities is especially suited to relate to children's well-being because children's movements through life produce new contexts, assigning new values to resources and commodities. Therefore, socialization and development is understood not only as the evolving of capacities (as IQ or as economic or cultural capital), but as the evolving of capabilities. The concept of capability is also bridging development and change at a societal level, and socialization and self-realization on the individual level. Children's well-being as capabilities have to be based on subjective and objective measures, and be anchored in a matrix of being and becoming, related to the experiences of the moment, as well as in the capacities for development and self-realization.

Similarly, children's life courses, both as the cognitive and social dimension of development and as the relationship between the present and the future, will constitute one axis in our understanding, while children's experiences and rights as children in the present, represents another.

Finally, when one looks at the concept of children's well-being it is always good to do so in a critical way. Thus, we have to be aware of normative frames and selective perspectives. In his systematic and historical review Florian Eßer (2014) has shown the necessity of an approach which is reflexive regarding to western and hegemonic standards of well-being, childhood, subjectivity and culture. So a major concern would be - the extent to which approaches are sensitive with respect to different countries, contexts and the diversity of childhood. Obviously, every approach has to face the problem of embedding already existing theories and methods that differ in every national context (Wiesner 2014). Definitions of well-being are always controversial and conceptions of well-being are wide ranging (Ben-Arieh 2005).

Challenges in International Studies of Children's Well-being: the Case of the Children's Worlds Study

Recent childhood studies focusing on international comparisons that include poor countries primarily reveal an orientation towards an idea of childhood based on western ideals and realities. In particular, popular rankings between countries underline the western concept of childhood as the ultimate goal to be striven towards all over the world. Indeed, there is not sufficient attention paid to cultural differences and traditions or consideration, not to mention acknowledgement, of international efforts (Bühler-Niederberger 2011; Tag 2009). There is a need for research pointing towards a combination of children's material and social environments along with their personal ideas of a good life (Nussbaum 1999, 2000; Sen 1999).

It seems we need to start with some basic questions:

– How normative and/or narrow are the dimensions of child well-being in different countries?

– What is the relation between children and adults and the generational order?
– What are the relations between satisfaction, quality of life, well-being and happiness?
– What are the key-points for comparisons within countries and between countries?
– How fruitful are different measurements?
– What is the understanding of children and how can we make sure that they have the same image in mind when we ask them about e.g. their freedom?
– What is the potential of comparisons and what kind of limitations does one have to be aware of?

One fundamental theoretical research question addresses the differences between children's and adults' ideas of 'well-being' and 'satisfaction'. This can be examined by assessing how the development of children's concepts relates to the power relations within the generational order. It ties in with what one can consider to be the more far-reaching question in a theory of childhood, namely that of the relation between the here-and-now and the future, or between well-being and well-becoming.

It is the child well-being research that calls for a concentration on the here-and-now of the child. But there is a lack of research on how children experience the present and how they reconstruct the past and figure out ideas of the future. Andresen and Gerarts (2014) focused on that and argued for the impression that these relations between the present, past and future and the well-being and well-becoming have to be clarified more intensively within the well-being approach.

This also includes an understanding of childhood as an element in the generational order of societies, and requires a two-sided outlook on the child because, on the one side, children are equipped with an enormous potentiality that enables them to be autonomous, to focus on the past, present and the future; whereas, on the other side, they are vulnerable and dependent on care. A concept of childhood oriented towards children's rights, tries to do justice to both: the granting of autonomy and the right to protection.

What is the Children's Worlds Study?

Supported by the Jacobs Foundation the study is an international survey for researching and monitoring the well-being of children aged eight to 12 using a child-centred perspective. Scientifically, the project complements the growing field of childhood studies, capabilities studies, children's rights studies, research on children's quality of life and the rapidly expanding child indicators 'movement' (Ben-Arieh 2008). Using a range of perspectives (historical, sociological, psychological, and educational), these diverse studies have shown how to reconstruct and analyse the position of children within the generational order, while viewing childhood as a constructed life phase (Qvortrup et al. 1994). Research on well-being indicators not

only pursues theoretical and methodological scientific objectives but also has valuable implications for everyday issues in health, educational and social intervention practice and above all, in policymaking (Ben-Arieh et al. 2001). This field of research offers the potential to focus work on, for example, children's rights and their implementation in order to bring about lasting improvements in the life situation of all children in all life domains. These domains include the family and home environment, school and other institutions, the local community and other aspects of daily life including leisure and work (Bradshaw and Richardson 2009).

Child well-being research, which Ben-Arieh (2008) has also called a 'movement', takes its idea from one basic problem: possessing knowledge about the life situation of adults is not the same as possessing sufficient knowledge about children. This fundamental insight, established conclusively through international childhood studies in the social sciences, is the central starting point of the present research project. The following questions are important for the Children's Worlds Survey:

1. What constitutes well-being and good childhood and how can we ensure this is available to all children?
2. What are the key drivers of well-being and how do they interact?
3. What are the links between environmental factors (such as welfare regimes, religion or family values) and child well-being?
4. Who does not experience a good childhood and why?
5. How do countries vary regarding what is considered to be a good childhood? What can we learn from international comparisons?

The study consisted of 3 phases up to now. In the first phase–the pilot phase–we collected data from approximately 1800 children in six countries (Brazil, England, Germany, Honduras, Israel and Spain). In the second phase we collected data from approximately 35,000 children in 14 different countries (Algeria, Brazil, Canada, Chile, England, Israel, Nepal, Romania, Rwanda, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Uganda, USA). Yet the sample was a convenience sample and not representative and in some countries data was collected from only one or two age groups.

In the third phase we conducted a representative sample data collection of approximately 54,000 children in 15 countries (see Table 2.1 for the full information).

This data base offers a great chance to describe different situations of children, to analyse differences within countries and between countries, to get new insights on theoretical and systematic perspectives and the normativity behind it and to get a better understanding on fieldwork with children in extremely different national settings.

In the following parts we would like to discuss and reflect on main concepts we used in the Children's Worlds study. From the discussion about our experiences, we will raise some theoretical perspectives and give a first overview on the empirical findings of the study and it's potential.

Table 2.1 Children's Worlds study: countries and number of participants per age group

Country	8 years old	10 years old	12 years old	Total
Algeria (West)	1385	1216	1359	3960
Colombia (Antioquia)	1003	1071	1007	3081
England	990	989	1319	3298
Estonia	1131	1034	1033	3198
Ethiopia	1000	1000	1000	3000
Germany (4 federal states)	1069	1143	851	3063
Israel	1004	1030	954	2988
Nepal	1073	1073	1073	3219
Norway	977	1033	1000	3010
Poland (Wielkopolska),	1078	1156	1038	3272
Romania	1422	1424	1561	4407
South Africa (Western Cape)	1032	1109	1143	3283
South Korea	2323	2323	2607	7253
Spain (Catalonia)	1066	1082	1717	3865
Turkey (Istanbul)	1045	1079	1029	3153
Total	17598	17762	18691	54051

Four more countries are in final stage of collecting the data (Malta, Argentina, Portugal and Wales).

A Few Examples From the Children's World Study:

Images of the Child and the Focus on Schools

Is a child more or less the same all over the world? Does this question make sense beyond anthropological or ontological theories? First of all, we have to clarify our images of *the* child. The history of childhood and discourse analyses show the wide range of different images in time, but also in space. In the first volume of the new Handbook of Child Well-Being Bengt Sandin points out: "The well-being of children has historically been associated with a number of different social and political issues: participation in the labor force; the character, nature and extent of schooling, notions of parenting; and the evaluation of the quality of family life." (Sandin 2014, p.31)

So, looking back to our research the image of the child in our Children's Worlds Study could be characterized as a human being between the ages of eight to 12, who lives together with adults mainly in a family, who goes to school, who has friends in the same age-group, who makes experiences in the material world, who has a future, who has time in principal and some child specific goods, who has emotions and who is able to reflect on them or who is able to distinct between satisfaction and dissatisfaction. It is also possible to assemble the construct of childhood on the basis of our domains or dimensions as a specific life stage characterized by family, school, leisure, time use and children's rights.

For good reasons we decided to focus on children in schools, knowing the realities of children out of school in some global regions. That is why we have to reflect on significant limitations as well as on another issue: The new history of childhood in the western parts of the world (since about 200 years) is also characterized by adults fighting against child labor. However, there is some reliable evidence that children still take part in the labor market in several ways. Even though this is not part of our concept we should maybe keep that factor in mind for the next wave. Beside this limitation, we've got some major findings about school children to present.

First of all, school has different meanings for children in different countries. A school child in Ethiopia is not the same as a school child in Germany. One reason for the divergence is the relation between safety and school and safety and family. What we learned from our study is that in welfare countries children feel safe at home and less safe in schools, but that in other countries it is the opposite. A comparison between Figs. 2.1 and 2.2 shows that there are interesting differences between perceiving safety at school and perceiving safety in the family. In that regard, it should be noted that perceptions of safety among children are different from those of adults, even regarding the same place or institute (Ben-Arieh and Frønes 2009).

Earlier studies has shown that safety perceptions and children's subjective well-being are positively correlated and that safety perceptions (at home, at schools and at the neighborhoods) explain much of the variation in the subjective well-being of children. Further, this positive relationship between safety perceptions and subjective well-being is relatively unaffected by sociodemographic variables, and these relationships hold across different groups (Ben-Arieh and Shimon 2014).

Vulnerability and Precarity

Studies, which refer to the concept of child well-being, deal with the idea of the competent child and with the concept of children as actors and their agency in contrast to an idea of the child as a deficit non-adult. This is crucial in various ways, but from a philosophical point of view we have to be aware of the tension between the resources of children, their position as competent actors in the generational order and their vulnerability.

Going back to Judith Butler, we would like to point out that human beings in general are vulnerable. So, the analytical use of the precarious in this article takes a twofold perspective: first as a concept expressing the existential vulnerability of humans (their precariousness); second, as the concept of precarity in social theory. This grants access to the socially determined risks facing individual persons and/or specific groups in terms of, for example, the categories gender, generation, origin, religion, or membership. With reference to Butler (2006) and to Andresen's work on vulnerability in childhood (Andresen 2014; Andresen et al. 2015), the perspective on the precarious is viewed as an entanglement of ontologically determined
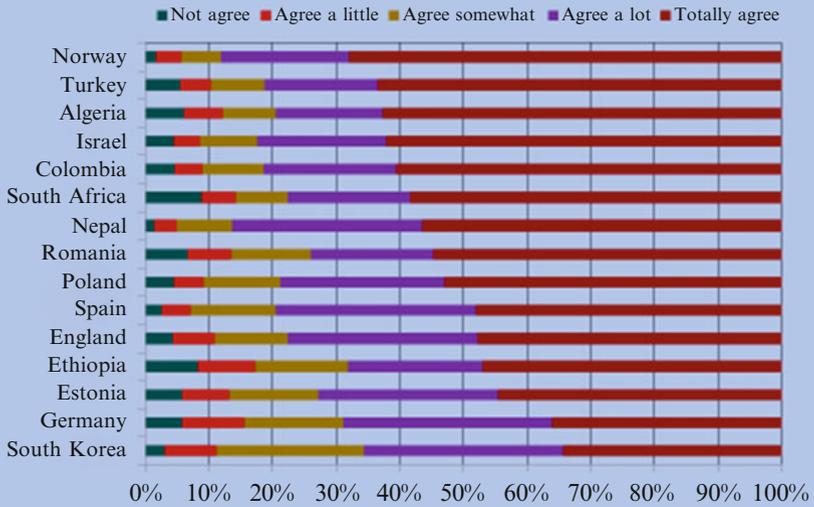
Fig. 2.1 How safe children feel at school
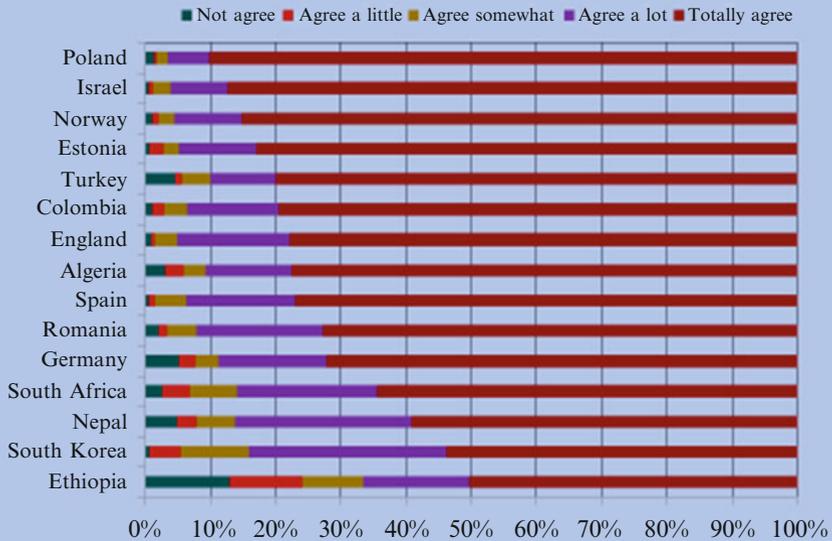
Fig. 2.2 How safe children feel at home

vulnerability with social precarity. The former emphasizes the ontologically determined principal vulnerability that makes every human life precarious; and the latter emphasizes that life-threatening risks are distributed unequally due, for example, to a lack of health care.

Hence, vulnerability results from the corporeality by which humans possess physical and material needs as well as a fundamental exposure to illness, accident, injury, disability, and death. This is why human beings depend in principle on others and, as social and emotional beings, are in many ways so vulnerable to external conditions and structures.

There is a fundamental inequality when we look at the distribution of risks. All over the world children have less power and control over themselves compared to adults; girls and woman less than boys and men. That means their vulnerability is a social and political issue.

How can we do research on this? An inspection of the literature reveals one finding straight away: The way vulnerability in childhood is perceived and studied depends on the individual scientific discipline. It is obvious that medicine, for example, with its clinical approach, has a major research interest in vulnerable children and vulnerable phases of childhood, and the same holds for disciplines at the interface between medicine and social sciences such as public health or psychotherapy research. The question of vulnerability is also of interest to psychology and educational science in which it links up with studies on deviation, on developmentally determined constraints to mobility or on specific weaknesses such as childhood learning disabilities.

Psychological approaches are of limited use when it comes to examining the individual dimension of vulnerability in childhood studies. It might be easier to find a systematic access to childhood vulnerability in ethnographic and praxeological approaches. Although it has hardly been fully utilized up to now, ethnographic methodology occupies a particularly strong potential for studying differences shaped by categories such as gender, class, and/or ethnicity (Fritsche and Tervooren 2012). Knowledge about vulnerability during childhood can also be gained by observing, describing, and analyzing practices (Reckwitz 2003) in insecure contexts.

With respect to the topic here, we would like to specifically emphasize recent childhood studies that, despite their disciplinary roots in sociology, now take a far more interdisciplinary approach and notably integrate questions and approaches from cultural studies. This also interrelates with asking whether and how vulnerability is addressed in child indicators research and in the research on child well-being that Ben-Arieh (2005) has called a 'movement'.

The concept of vulnerability confronts childhood studies with several challenges (Andresen 2014): *First*, it has to be recognized that a vulnerable child can simultaneously be a strong child: Vulnerability does not rule out potentiality. *Second*, it is necessary to clarify whether or not children and adolescents are vulnerable in different ways than adults. *Third*, it is essential to avoid stigmatizing vulnerable children or adolescents by the way we look at them. There is a clear need for empirical research to generate new knowledge on these challenging aspects.
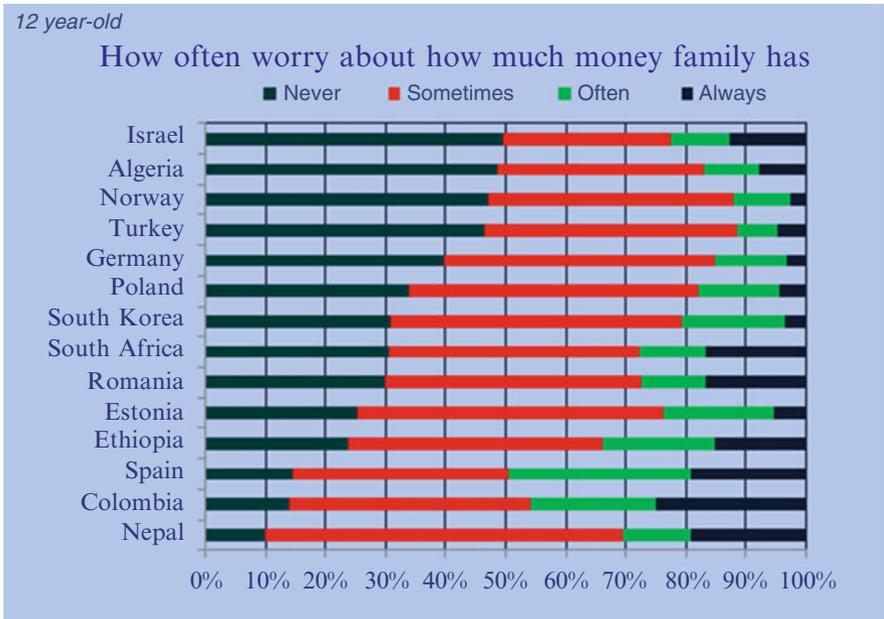
Fig. 2.3 How often children worry about how much money their family has

From the perspective of the sociology of knowledge, vulnerability is one of the marginal topics in recent sociological childhood studies. Additionally, the notions of care and concepts related to dependency have to be kept in mind.

What kind of empirical knowledge is available with respect to the vulnerability of children? Within the survey we are focusing e.g. on children's experiences with deprivation and their lack of access to education, space, leisure. Having money is one important aspect of social determined vulnerability. In Fig. 2.3 we see the differences between countries. Spain is an interesting case because of the relatively high proportion of children compared to other European countries, whose families are often struggling with money. An interpretation considers the enormous impact of the economic crisis in the country. This seems to be important for children as well and not only for jobless young adults. Here, we have an analytical access to the specific vulnerability of children in a specific context and time.

Family Concepts, Perceptions of Children and Challenges

Children and childhood are related to the concept of 'family'. There seems to be no doubt that relationships within the family are important for the well-being of children, as well as for their life satisfaction. During the data collection of "Children's Worlds" subjective appraisals towards the family were assessed. Initially it is about

describing and assessing the family and ultimately about 'exterior' characteristics of the chosen family type, number of persons living in the same household, number of adults in gainful employment, activities in and with the family, and satisfaction with the persons whom the child lives with. In addition, questions of deprivation and deprivation experience give meaningful information about material scope of action within the family and for children.

Yet, what exactly is considered a family? A first answer to that question is: there is no such thing as a standard family. A more appropriate question is what makes up a family and who would consider it a family? So on one side it seems that there is barely another 'institution' so crucially dependent on social, historical, cultural and religiously conditioned notions. On the other side the elementary care of the exceedingly depending family members is central nearly everywhere. Especially the perspective of children on family and their experiences suggest it. Both, the importance of differences between the children's comprehension of care and the similarity of expectations of care turn out to be relevant.

"The significance of historical and social differences showed up during the conceptual and normative creation of the questionnaire. In all involved countries, comprehensions as well as the normative accessibility of the individual subject area, questions, items and answer scales were talked about in group discussions with children aged eight to 12. In various countries it became clear, that the question about a 'second home' and people living there, for instance the father and his new partner, couldn't be asked. Whether for religious reasons, ethical concerns for research not to put children to shame or due to the knowledge of statistical data that this specific type of family does not exist.

In some countries, children were asked to indicate with whom they lived in a second home, if relevant. Countries providing data on second homes included Algeria, Estonia, Spain, Columbia, Turkey, Ethiopia, Germany, England, Israel and Norway" (Reese and Main 2015). However, the expectation of the children to be cared for within the family becomes apparent to be global, whereas the kind of care respectively notion of care differs. Having children cared for by their grandparents or transferring children to a children's home as in cases of parents being migrant laborers, is an accepted type of care.

Another aspect is the issue of the child as a care taker. We are now in the position to analyze differences within countries and between countries. What do we know about the group of 12 year olds and their experiences with taking care for siblings or other family members? Figure 2.4 gives an overview about this:

In this field we need more qualitative research on an international level about the relation between concepts on childhood and family and children's perceptions of the family, childrearing education and the notion of care e.g. Katharina Gerarts (2015) did a qualitative research on children's own perceptions on child rearing. Her interpretation of the group discussion with children shows that children have a highly complex notion of childrearing. But their *childrearing conception* is shaped initially by adult images and discourses. Here, children unquestioningly adopt the idea of a distinction between adults and children and thereby make their contribu-
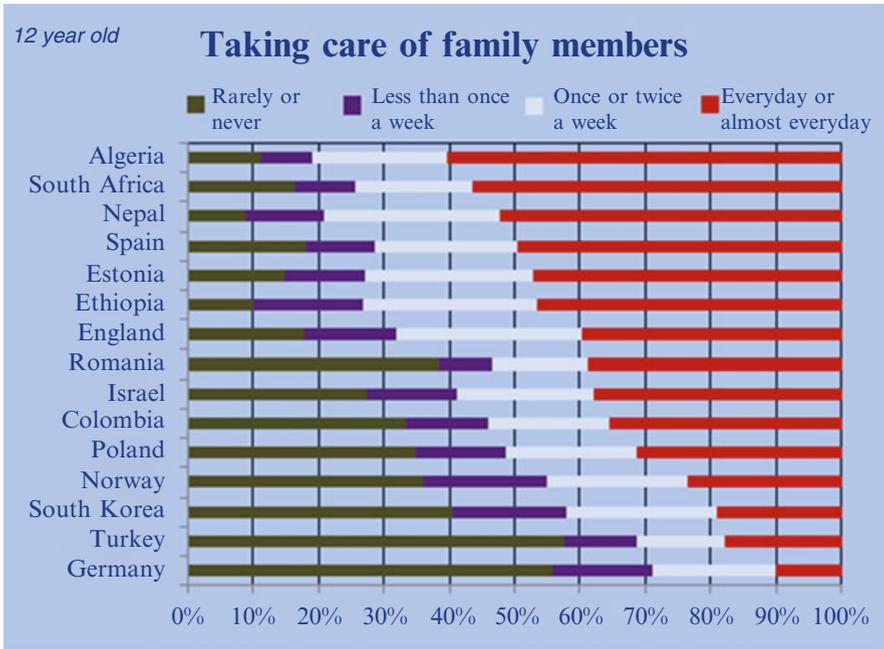
Fig. 2.4 How often children take care of family members

tion to *doing generations* (Kelle 2005). This seems to be an interesting focus for comparative analyses.

Andresen and Wilmes (2015) published an article about the first wave with non-representative samples of the Children Worlds Study "What does 'good childhood' in a comparative perspective mean? An explorative comparison of child well-being in Nepal and Germany". In this explorative analyses, we tried to define a set of dimensions for a 'universal' concept of child well-being and measure them in completely different contexts. We focused on the concept of the Third World Vision Child Study "Children in Germany" (World Vision e.V. 2013) and combined it with an explorative study on child well-being in Nepal (Wilmes 2012) as a part of the pilot study from the "Children's Worlds". In that paper Andresen and Wilmes also focused on family and discussed family as an experience of parental care. As a dimension of child well-being, the World Vision Study on Children in Germany (2013) basically measures parental care in terms of the time parents spend with their children. Items addressing having a good time with their family, how they are treated, satisfaction with their family, and how often they talk to and have fun with them deliver a deeper insight into the situation of Nepalese children. They extend the dimension of parental care to cover the view of a family life in which not only parents but also the whole family or the people children live with play a central role and have a significant influence on their lives. Family life potentially holds immense social capital, including 'strong ties', effects on the children's education outcomes

(Coleman 1988), and resulting influences on child well-being. Coleman has concluded that this social capital basically depends on the "physical presence of adults in the family and on the attention given by adults to the child" (ibid.). Based on these considerations, the construct of family can differ in many ways and has to be understood as a heterogeneous and mutable construct, especially referring to an international context.

Looking at German children, the data show that 11 % of children between six and 11 years assess parental care rather negatively. Although about one-third of the children say that both their parents spend enough time with them, our findings from the children's point of view, demonstrate insufficient parental care in about 14 % of the questioned families (Word Vision 2013). The findings of the World Vision Study show that particularly the quality of relationships and the quality of time spent with their parents matters far more than the actual amount of time.

In the Nepalese context, children report a relative high satisfaction with their family life (Wilmes 2012). Therefore, the article wanted to take a closer look to see what determines a positive rating of family life in general. Though about one fourth report not having a good time with their family, items tapping whether the children are treated fairly by their parents show a slightly different picture, because only about 11 % respond with a negative to neutral answer. Findings on whether they are listened to and taken seriously by their parents show a similar pattern. Accordingly, it can be considered that being listened to and treated fairly effects the positive appraisal of the overall family life more than 'having a good time'.

Figure 2.5 shows the results of children's ratings how parents listen to them. This seems to be an important indicator to define the quality of relationships.

Though in general, the comparison offers a great potential to focus on parenting and ideals and values of upbringing but we need more intensive work on differences on issues like quality of relationships between parents and children or quality of time. Obviously, having quality time together matters a lot for a strong family bonding and not least a positive well-being of children and is independent from cultural differences.

Summary: a Child Centred Perspective

The Children's Worlds Study was based on a 'new' concept of children's well-being. A concept that incorporates the new sociology of childhood, the normative concept of children's rights, the capability approach and the life course perspective (Ben-Arieh et al. 2014). We argued and in many ways have shown (through the children's worlds study) that such an approach is the most appropriate for the study of children's well-being. We have also learned that caution is advised and required in such studies. Too often we have seen researchers using any of the above mentioned concepts in an universal approach without clarifying the diversity of contexts and cultures and their realization worldwide. Thus, a context based on children's well-being approach is needed.
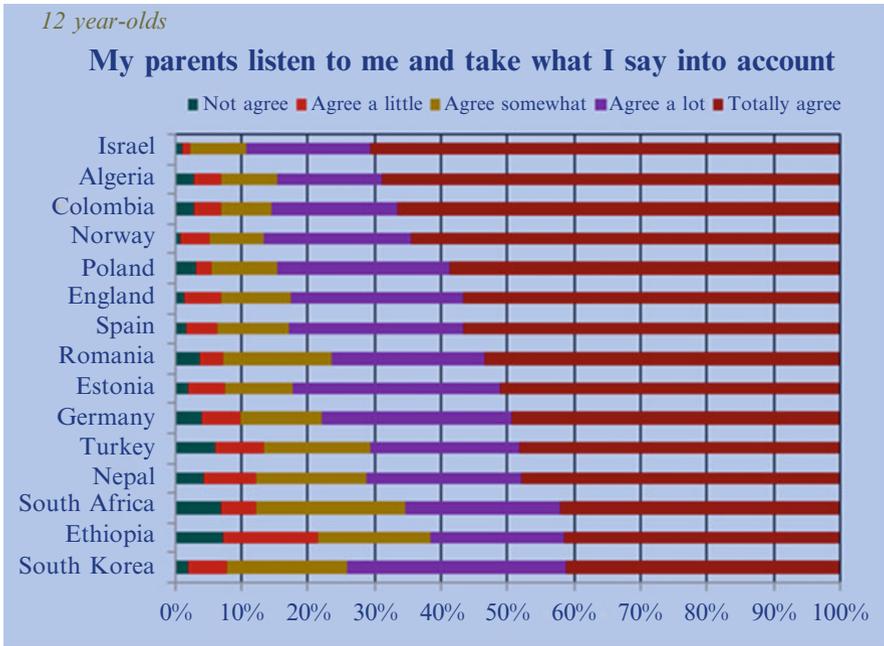
Fig. 2.5 Children's ratings of how they feel their parents listen to them

We would like to close our paper with an uncommon view on children's rights and child well-being from the early 20th century: The Polish pediatrician and educator Janusz Korczak called for recognition of children's rights to live in the present. Two of his articles are extremely valuable for our discourse: "How to love a child" from 1919 (Wie liebt man ein Kind) and "The children's right to respect" 1924 (Das Recht des Kindes auf Achtung). Korczak formulated several rights, some directly like:

– The child has the right to live in the present
– The child has the right of his own death
– The child has the right to respect

Furthermore he also viewed the child as an ambivalent character and he focused on conditions. Therefore he formulated other rights like:

– The child has the right to love
– The child has the right to optimal conditions under which to grow and develop
– The child has the right to make mistakes
– The child has the right to be taken seriously–"Who asks the child for his opinion and consent?"
– The child has the right to have secrets
– The child has the right to do wrong things like stealing, lying

Based on Korczak, we should discuss our understanding of children's well-being as well as our image of the child. It seems to be quite clear that the content, the norms and the pathways of realization are diverse and child centered as well as context and culture are even more. However, as we have shown through the children's world study findings–an international comparison helps and better position us in the effort to understand child well-being and contributes crucial inputs to our efforts to ultimately improve the life of children.

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Chapter 3
Do Muslim Girls Really Need Saving? Boundary-Making and Gender in Swiss Schools

Brigit Allenbach

Democratic societies survive precisely because conflicting parties do not sacrifice their irreconcilable convictions to an imaginary consensus. (Dubiel 1992, p. 761, translation B.A.)

Introduction

My contribution is inspired by an article by the Palestinian-American anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod titled: 'Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?' The author reacted to the American intervention in Afghanistan that was justified by '… purporting to liberate, or save, Afghan women' (Abu-Lughod 2002, p. 783). Abu-Lughod hasn't been the only one who critically commented on the stereotypes of gender relations based on images of the emancipated women in the West versus the oppressed women of the 'rest'. But gender inequality continues to be a central issue in public discourse that sets the 'West' against 'Islam'. One example is the public debate on Muslim integration in Western societies.

Although Muslim migrant workers from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia have been coming to Switzerland since the 1960s, their religious affiliation didn't matter in the public perception. The question of social integration of Muslim populations in Switzerland has been brought up only recently as a matter of political dispute. The hostility towards Muslims and Islam, based on stereotypes and scare stories in the media, was at its height in the run-up to the vote regarding the ban of new minarets in Switzerland. Finally, on 29 November 2009, a slim majority of Swiss voters

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voted in favour of the federal popular initiative.[1] The result of this vote was unexpected and it was commented on all over the world. It can be seen as an example of the 'broad Anti-Muslim coalition' (Modood 2012, p. 144) that has come into existence in Western Europe during the last two decades. In opposition to comments in Swiss and international media, Mayer suggests that the vote didn't signal the progress of rightist conservative and populist ideas alone but it must have taken into account 'a variety of concerns that combined in various ways to produce the outcome' (Mayer 2009, p. 4). Probably, stereotypes on gender roles in Islam were decisive: 'One should not underestimate the share of voters sympathetic to women's rights and women's issues who would usually vote for political groups at the centre or on the left, but who feel that Islam does not give proper status to women…' (Mayer 2009, p. 5). This is also suggested by the voting poster: 'It is significant that the controversial poster used by the proponents of the ban during the campaign did not only show minarets growing like mushrooms on a Swiss flag, but also a *burqa*-clad silhouette' (ibid.).

Questions on women and their status in Islam are likely to be discussed in the media as well as in innumerable lectures in public and in different educational settings. I suggest that gender discourse and practices are at the centre of current boundary-making processes between 'us' and 'them'. I will analyse how young Muslims in Switzerland handle the question of belonging under these circumstances, on the basis of an ethnographic example. This paper aims to understand how children of Muslim immigrants in Switzerland take an active part in the 'politics of belonging' in everyday life. What are young Muslims' own representations of belonging and gender roles? What kind of identification matters to them? And what are their needs and wants? In a nutshell: Do these Muslim girls need saving and, if so, from what or from whom?

This article is based on my research within the Swiss National Research Programme, NRP 58, on 'Religion, the State and Society'.[2] The focus was on religion and belonging in the everyday life of children and young people. A broad variety of methods such as guided interviews, focus groups and participant observation was applied and different research sites such as families' homes, migrants' organisations and schools were included.

With regard to family life, the research was limited to children and youths from south Asia and south-east Europe. Most of our interview partners were between 9 and 18 years old. In this article, I will illustrate young Muslims' (re)negotiation of belonging and gender by analysing two group discussions with four young Muslim

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girls whose parents are Albanians from Macedonia. They are all Swiss citizens and in 2008 they were between 14 and 16 years old.

The following section provides some background information about young Muslims in Switzerland and describes their situation by introducing the notion of 'youth'. In the second section, I will outline the theoretical framework: the 'gender-and-boundary-making approach', analysing the decisive role of *gender* for the formation of in-groups, making it comprehensible why gender equality is currently an important marker for the 'politics of belonging' in the European immigration context. This will be illustrated by the Supreme Court's decisions regarding dispensation from swimming lessons in Swiss schools. Then, I will analyse my fieldwork example. In conclusion, the findings are related to the concept of agency and its relevance for childhood and youth studies.

Young Muslims in Switzerland

In 2012, about 440,000 Muslims were living in Switzerland, corresponding to 5.5 % of the Swiss population. Most of them are migrants, who had taken residence in Switzerland with their families since the late 1970s. They originate mainly from the Balkan countries and Turkey. About one-third of all Muslims living in Switzerland have Swiss citizenship. The proportion of young Muslims (under 25 years) is high and amounts to approximately 40 % (FCM 2010, p. 8).[3]

Evidently, statistics cannot tell us anything about the everyday lives of young Muslims in Switzerland. Elsewhere, this extremely heterogeneous group has been described in-depth (Allenbach and Sökefeld 2010; Allenbach 2015). Young Muslims in Switzerland are diverse not only with regard to their religiosity in terms of their 'lived religion' (McGuire 2008), but relating to all aspects of what Vertovec has called 'super-diversity'. Crucial variables are (the parents') country of origin and language(s), nationality and residence permit status, generation of immigration, motives and biographies of immigration, educational background and career opportunities, and place of domicile, to name but a few (cf. Vertovec 2007).

In a similar way, Bourdieu (1984) suggested that 'youth is nothing but a word'. Nevertheless, Bayat and Herrera (2010, p. 6) propose 'youth' as a meaningful, analytical category. Whereas Bourdieu relates to a context where schooling was the privilege of elites, mass schooling is distinct to the current era and '… produces and prolongs "youthfulness" on a very broad national and global scale' (Bayat and Herrera 2010, p. 6). Despite important differences in young people's lives in terms of gender and cultural background, 'youth' can be thought of as a particular *habitus*, as defined by Bourdieu. 'Youth' as an age category can be distinguished from 'youth' as a historically and culturally specific 'life stage' between childhood and adulthood, '… a social condition in which the individual is neither dependent nor

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[3] For more details, see '*Bericht des Bundesrates zur Situation der Muslime in der Schweiz*', available on: http://www.ejpd.admin.ch/content/dam/data/pressemitteilung/2013/2013-05-08/ber-d.pdf

totally independent' (ibid.). Thereby, the opportunity to undergo 'youthfulness' isn't equal on a global scale. In opposition to middle class youths in the Global North, many rural youngsters in the Global South '… are excluded from the stage of youth by virtue of their lack of participation in, or access to, education, youth leisure activities, media, and markets, key axes around which youth cultures and politics crystallize and modes of youth consciousness form' (ibid., p. 7).

In Switzerland, young Muslims are by majority second- (and third-) generation migrants. Following the definition used in relevant qualitative research, the only common features of the second generation consist in being a son or a daughter of immigrants, either being born in Switzerland or having undertaken the bulk of school education here. The notion of 'second-generation immigrants' is questionable because it draws a boundary between 'us and them'. As D'Amato (2010, p. 178) puts it, the status as a foreigner is passed on to the next generation this way. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the word creation 'secondo', initially launched by the Swiss Iraqi film director Samir in the 'first film on secondos'.[4] In this variant, the boundary-making relates to a political project aiming at unifying people with common claims (ibid., pp. 178–179).

A key result of our research is that the migration background and the question of cultural identities, in fact, are important for Muslim secondos, but they do not want to be reduced to it. Responding to the question about their major desire (or difficulty), youths generally referred to successful graduation from school and apprenticeship. These findings are consistent with Mey's conclusion with regard to the general situation of secondos in Switzerland: 'For the major problem does not lie with the insufficient assimilation of youths. They have long internalised the central importance of education and profession in our society' (Mey 2010, p. 53, translation B.A.).

Many young people interviewed by us emphasised that their parents themselves had somehow managed to get by in their countries of origin. The prospects of vocational training for children in Switzerland were often an important reason for family reunion, especially after the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Other research also demonstrates that the project of social advancement is in the process of migration transferred to the next generation (Juhasz and Mey 2003).

Current studies of second-generation migrants in Switzerland show the heterogeneity of this second generation regarding educational success and social mobility. Youths with a migration background compared to native youths with similar social backgrounds have as much of an increased risk of social decline as a higher chance of advancement (Mey et al. 2005; Fibbi et al. 2011).

The one-sided and negative image of Islam that is explicit in everyday reactions is especially painful for Muslim children and youths, most of whom were born and grew up in Switzerland. In their self-image, they see themselves as normal youths and they are irritated by the fact that Islam is felt by so many in Switzerland as a threat (Allenbach and Sökefeld 2010). Just as in other European countries, we also observe that for Muslim youths in Switzerland, processes of appropriation and

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[4]Cf. http://www.dschointventschr.ch/de/movies/documentaries/babylon-2

revaluation of their experiences of exclusion, set Islam as a youth culture in affinity to 'black is beautiful' (e.g. Göle 2004; Khorchide 2007).

It is estimated that less than one-fifth of the Muslim population in Switzerland is regularly observant (Tunger and Schneuwly Purdie 2014, p. 583). Muslim religious organisations usually consist of members of the same ethnic origin. It is also assumed that there exist roughly 130 Muslim cultural centres and places of prayer in Switzerland, among them about 50 of Albanian communities (FCM 2010). These premises are located mainly in suburban quarters, are unrecognisable as mosques from the outside, but hidden under the umbrella of transformed factory workrooms or storehouses. The presence of Islam in the media is thus in contrast to the actual invisibility in the cityscape (Allenbach and Müller 2016).

The mosque associations are satisfying important social functions going far beyond the religious: people meet with mutual friends from the country of origin and important services are offered, such as consultancy on religious and profane questions, homework support for children, preparation for the driving test, computer courses, and many more (cf. Endres et al. 2013). Often there are youth groups organising their own activities. It is important to realise that these young people, often born in Switzerland and not always maintaining close ties to their countries of origin, have different needs to their parents who had migrated initially.

Politics of Belonging and Gender

My theoretical background rests primarily on the boundary-making approach to ethnicity that '… seeks to overcome the commonsensical equation of ethnicity with closely knit communities, clear-cut cultures, and commonly shared categories of identity' (Wimmer 2013, p. 204). Originally outlined by Fredrik Barth (1969) in his groundbreaking collection 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries', this approach has been very successful in migration studies as well as in the field of nationalism studies (see, for example, Vermeulen and Govers 1994; Brubaker 2004; Wimmer 2013; Dahinden et al. 2011). The role of gender politics for the creation of nations and states has been theorized for example by Yuval-Davis (1997) and Gal and Kligman (2003), analysing the decisive role of *gender* in the formation of in-groups. Laura Nader identifies in an often quoted article '… how images of women in other societies can be prejudicial to women in one's own society […], by analysing the intersecting discourses on Orientalism and Occidentalism respectively' (Nader 1989, p. 323). Images of women in other societies serve to maintain one's own superiority. However, not only does the Western gender discourse use stereotypes of the 'other' women but rather the ascription proceeds as well in the opposite direction (ibid., p. 326).

Discourses about the lack of equality between men and women as an attribute of immigrant religions form an important arena for boundary-making processes between locals and immigrants in western European countries today. This holds true especially with regard to Muslim immigrants (Allenbach and Sökefeld 2010;

see also Dahinden 2014). Likewise, Strasser (2012, p. 22) states that '… gender equality has often become an argument for the restriction of immigration' – i.e. the access of third-country nationals (i.e. non-EU foreigners) to EU countries. Drawing upon my research data regarding gender in immigrants' religious organisations in Switzerland, it can be said that not only the debate on Muslim women's headscarves but also gender segregation in mosques are debated in public as symbols for an asymmetrical gender order (Allenbach and Müller 2016). This way of thinking not only reflects that Muslim women (and men) are condemned wholesale but also the unreflecting idealisation of women's (and men's) positions in the West (Rommelspacher 2009, p. 401).

A second notion is 'the politics-of-belonging approach' that aims at 'thick descriptions' of migration processes. A central objective is to analyse the effects of discourse on immigration and integration. These effects can be institutional as well as discursive (Crowley 1999, p. 23). Importantly, the notion of 'politics of belonging' not only refers to the maintenance and reproduction of boundaries 'by the hegemonic political powers […] but also to their contestation, challenge and resistance by other political agents' (Yuval-Davis 2011, p. 20).

There are many different ways to belong to a particular ethnic or national collectivity. In contrast to the notion of citizenship, belonging clearly refers not only to nation states (Yuval-Davis 2007, cit. in Juhasz 2009, p. 328). We can belong (or not belong) to a family, a sports club, a discipline or a profession, and many others. It's crucial that, for example, religion is only one dimension of belonging, and whether it matters or not depends heavily on the context. For instance, Müller (2014) describes in detail the various configurations of young second-generation men's sense of multiple belonging in Switzerland.

Yuval-Davis distinguishes between three aspects of belonging: first, people's social and economic locations; secondly, people's identification and emotional attachment to various collectivities; and thirdly, the way social locations and emotional attachments are valued by the self and others (Yuval-Davis 2011, p. 21). Corresponding to the feminist standpoint theory, social locations are always intersected and do not fix a person's identification and values. Put simply '… people with similar social locations who might identify themselves as belonging to the same community […] can have very different political and moral values' (ibid., p. 18).

The emotional dimension of belonging can be best understood by listening to the narratives people tell themselves and others about who they are. Narratives of belonging '… are clustered around some hegemonic constructions of boundaries between […] "us" and "them" and are closely related to political processes' (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006, p. 2).

A prime example of the politics of belonging is the persistent questioning of Muslim immigrants' ability to integrate into the Western world in current political and judicial debates. Recently, Tariq Modood made out four trends of responding to the accommodation of Muslim migrants in western European countries:

- Accommodationist (dialogue, negotiation, adaptation)
- Radical secularist

- Christian values
- Muscular liberalism (Modood 2012, pp. 140–141).

The accommodationist response consists of trying to find a space for Muslims in western European countries through dialogue and negotiation. It is related to ideals of equality and human rights, corresponding to a multicultural orientation (ibid.). The other three responses are variations of what Talal Asad called a *narrative of Europe* that is based on the exclusion of Islam (Asad 2003). First, radical secularist discourse, best illustrated by the ban of the Islamic headscarf in France (Modood 2012, p. 140). A second trend is the emphasis on Christian values. One example cited by Modood is Angela Merkel's speech to young members of the Christian Democratic Union in October 2010. She said: 'Multiculturalism has failed'; and 'We feel tied to Christian values. Those who don't accept them don't have a place here' (Presseurop, cit. in ibid., p. 141). A last trend focuses on Muslims' conservative moral values and practices that are 'likely to center on issues of gender and sexuality' (ibid., p. 142). Modood argues that this last trend overlaps with the trend of radical secularism but goes beyond it. The expression 'muscular liberalism', created by British Prime Minister, David Cameron, names very aptly this form of 'liberal perfectionism'. In contrast to the concept of the state's neutrality vis-à-vis different worldviews, it is suggested that it is '… the business of a liberal state to produce liberal individuals and promote a liberal way of life' (ibid., p. 143).

I suppose that in Switzerland, the muscular liberal trend has become more predominant, especially after the vote on the ban of new minarets in November 2009, when unexpectedly a majority of Swiss voters were in favour of it. Likewise, there is a growing tendency to take a tough stance on dispensations from swimming lessons in Swiss schools.

Dispensations from Swimming Lessons in Swiss Schools: The Supreme Court's Decisions

The example of school dispensations from swimming lessons is fascinating because of '… the rather dramatic turnaround in the Swiss public debate' (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2009, p. 245) on this issue. This societal change can be well illustrated by three decisions of the Supreme Court on swimming dispensations between 1993 and 2013:

- In 1993, a 12-year-old Muslim girl from a Turkish family is granted exemption from swimming lessons in a co-educational class by a Supreme Court ruling (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2009; cf. BGE 119 Ia 178).
- In contrast, in 2008, no exemptions were granted for two boys, 9 and 11 years old, from mixed swimming classes (Wyttenbach 2013; cf. BGE 135 I 79).
- In 2013, the court denied a 14-year-old girl the right to dispensation from swimming lessons in school (Swissinfo.ch; cf. BGE 2C_1079/2012).

The decisions of the Supreme Court illustrate the increasing significance of the muscular liberalism response with regard to Muslim families' requests to be exempt from swimming lessons. Let me point out two aspects of this ongoing and very complex debate. Firstly, it is striking that the Federal Court used 'integration' as an argument against granting the exemption requests in 2008 and 2013, since in 1993 the same court determined that the exemption would be to the benefit of the family's integration in Swiss society (Humanrights.ch 2013). The court assumed that in the case of this girl, it is possible for her to learn to swim by taking private swimming lessons at the family's own expense. It is striking that the court refers explicitly to the principle of gender equality and '… did not see it endangered […] because of this exemption. The main reason for granting an exemption was framed in terms of ensuring the child's well-being. The judges stressed that they sought to prevent the girl from experiencing any conflict of conscience should she be torn in her loyalty between her school and her home' (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2009, p. 246).

Secondly, in 2013, the court's decision is clear; swimming lessons are compulsory. Muslim girls, even in the age of puberty, have to swim in school, at least if schools take into account the puberty age factor. Accordingly, the court justifies its 2013 decision as follows: swimming lessons were offered separately for girls and boys; the wearing of a burkini was allowed; and since the girl could swim she would not have bodily contact with her male swimming teacher (Swissinfo.ch 2013).

'To swim or not to swim?' This is how Judith Wyttenbach (2013, p. 101), advocate and professor in the department of public law at Berne University, heads her critical appraisal of the first two cases (1993 and 2008). She underlines that the balancing of legally protected interests in the case of school dispensations is complex because three dimensions have to be considered: firstly, the parents' right to (religiously) educate their children granted by the constitutional right of privacy and religious freedom; secondly, it has to deal with different children's rights – conflicting as the case may be (education, ban on discrimination, religious freedom, and, if existing, minority rights); and thirdly, public interest, to be protected by the state (educational mandate and equal opportunities, integration as well as gender equality in education, and professional training) (ibid., pp. 98–99).

In what follows, I will briefly outline Wyttenbach's comments on the Supreme Court's argumentation with regard to the 2008 decision. The case dealt with the exemption request of parents with Tunisian citizenship, reasoning that their two sons of primary school age should not be exposed to the sight of mostly unclothed girls (ibid., p. 100). Wyttenbach underlines that her reflections should not be understood as a plea for more tolerance towards religious concerns of schoolchildren's parents but only as a stimulus to reflect on consistency in dealing with religious minorities' wishes (ibid., p. 106).

First of all, Wyttenbach points to the right of the child involved in court proceedings to have their views taken into account. The corresponding article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child was not ratified until 1998 in Switzerland, so it is only applicable in the second case (ibid., p. 102). However, the Supreme Court's decision in 2008 provides no information on whether the two boys were being consulted.

A second point of criticism relates to the question of whether the Supreme Court's decision in 2008 implies a modification of the jurisdiction. The media celebrated this ruling as a correction of the former practice. However, Wyttenbach questions this point of view because this case is different from that in 1993. The 2008 sentence did not imply that the dispensation from swimming lessons would not be possible any more. 'Regardless of this sentence municipalities can follow a more open practice of dispensations within the framework of cantonal guidelines and disengaging children from activities in specific cases' (ibid., p. 103; translation B.A.).

Wyttenbach's third point relates to the Supreme Court's statement that issues of integration are increasingly recognized in public. Since 2008, the Swiss Federal Act on Foreign Nationals has ruled on the entry, departure, residence and family reunion of foreigners in Switzerland.

Additionally, it rules on the integration issue and accordingly integration is defined as a matter of public concern (ibid., pp. 95; 104). In the 2008 decision, the integration argument is strongly put forward. However, the Supreme Court could not draw on that argument, if Muslim (or strict Christian) parents with Swiss citizenship took to court, but would have to use the arguments of the educational mandate, equal opportunities and gender equality (ibid., p. 104).

Though the Supreme Court retains that the 'recognition of a right to exempt Muslim children generally from collective swimming lessons' would run contrary to the efforts of integration, Wyttenbach argues that the case actually relates not to a general exemption from swimming lessons for all Muslim children, but to the concern of a strictly religious minority (ibid., p. 105).

In a fourth step, Wyttenbach summarises that the Supreme Court relies mainly on two elements: the importance of the ability to swim, and integration (in the sense of adaption to local values).

In contrast to this, the Supreme Court's decision of 1993 retains that sports lessons are unquestionably an important part of the public educational mandate. But this mandate would not be endangered by an exemption from swimming lessons, as it forms only a small part of physical education (cf. Humanrights.ch 2013).

But, as Wyttenbach underlines, by no means do all children in Switzerland have the opportunity to learn to swim in school with regular attendance of indoor or outdoor public baths. There is not even a mandatory scheme of swimming classes in all cantons: 'Some local school authorities leave the swimming instruction simply to the parents. Is swimming, in the light of this cantonal practice, really an educational pursuit, which has to count as *indispensable* in the *local system of values*?' (Wyttenbach 2013, p. 105; translation B.A.).

Wyttenbach's last objection is that children in strict religious private schools probably get in touch much less with the values of mainstream society with regard to equal opportunities and gender equality (ibid., p. 107).

In conclusion, it can be said that at the centre of this dispute on dispensations from swimming lessons is a value conflict that is about the understanding of gender roles (ibid.: 105): '… to put it provocatively: the issue is to learn under constraint a morality that is to be looked upon by the mainstream society as basis for an easy-going relationship between women and men' (ibid.; translation B.A.). From this

perspective, the Supreme Court's ruling is not about the right of education, consisting of a few swimming lessons, but rather about public interest in the implementation of gender equality (ibid., pp. 105–106).

Example: Swiss Muslim Girls' (Re)Negotiation of Belonging and Gender

It's striking that the voices of children and youth aren't heard, whether in court or in the public debate on dispensations from swimming lessons. Below, I will report on what Swiss Muslim girls tell us about swimming lessons in school. The example illustrates how it is difficult to make themselves understood vis-à-vis their teachers.

My data is based on two group discussions in 2008 and 2009 with four teens whose parents are Albanians from Macedonia. They are all Swiss citizens and in 2008 they were between 14 and 16 years old. In order to contextualise the discourse about swimming, I will first give you some background information on Albanian immigration to Switzerland and introduce the four main actors.

Albanians (mainly from Kosovo and Macedonia) are among the largest groups of immigrants in Switzerland.[5] The Albanian population in Switzerland is very heterogeneous with regard to religion. The vast majority are (at least nominally) Muslims and about 10 % are Roman Catholics (cf. Allenbach 2011). According to the 2000 census, a relatively high proportion is not affiliated religiously or doesn't state any details about it.

Religious education for children was held in former Yugoslavia, as in Switzerland, on weekends and/or in the evenings. Women usually attended the mosque on special occasions only. By contrast, the religious associations of immigrants from southeast Europe to Switzerland organise an increasing number of activities, especially for women and young people. One example is from a small town with an Albanian Muslim community, where I conducted interviews with the above-mentioned teenagers. The imam of this Albanian Muslim community wishes that the mosque should be a meeting place for both young and old. The paradigm of sex segregation implicates that special events are organised for the female members of the community. However, the imam's wife is responsible for the religious education of women. Twice a week, she offers Koran lessons and once a month she gives a lecture after the noon prayer on Sunday. On this occasion, the women meet in the large prayer room. 'After the noon prayer, men have some leisure time and go home to take care of the children and the women come here', commented the imam.

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[5] Because (ethnic) Albanians in Switzerland have different nationalities, exact numbers are not available. In 2013, Switzerland counted 1.88 million foreigners corresponding to 23 % of the total population (FMO 2013). According to the 2000 census results, the number of Albanian-speaking people (including different foreign nationalities and naturalized Swiss citizens) accounts for about 170,000.

The first group discussion with Qendressa, Fatlinda, Valbona, and Vlora[6] took place one Saturday morning in the cafeteria beside the prayer room, following religious instruction. For the second interview, three of the girls and I met in the women's room – a small, elongated side room with intervisibility to the prayer room that was newly implemented after the association had moved into a spacious house on a busy road in the middle of the town.

The girls explained to me the meaning of religion in everyday life for them:

> Qendressa: When I have an exam in school, I pray to God that he helps me to pass the exam. Of course, praying alone does not help. Efforts must be made by oneself anyway. However, it is a support.
>
> Fatlinda: The meaning of religion is everywhere the same: to be a good person. […] the meaning [of religion] is simply that I do good deeds, that I obtain professional qualifications […] a good education is important too, and then to practice Islam, so that I will get into heaven later on.
>
> Valbona: Islam also teaches us worldly wisdoms. For example […] that one should not believe everything other people say. When your heart tells you 'that won't do' [you should listen to the heart].

It's remarkable that two of the girls, Qendressa and Fatlinda, point to the great importance of religion with regard to their educational career. In another interview sequence, Valbona also elaborates on the relationship between religion and school:

> Let me give you a really extreme example: One day when I was praying, my father came and said: You rather pray than study. Yes, that's how he is: He wants me to do well in school and praying is secondary to him. […] [I agree with him] school is important too. But…, I tell him: 'praying only takes ten minutes, ten minutes I'd otherwise waste on something else. That's why I rather pray.' Little by little, he has come to terms with it. Now he is fine with it, but earlier, he rather disapproved of it.

Regarding their career aspirations, their plans are as follows: Qendressa and Fatlinda want to be management assistants, whereas Valbona aspires to becoming a social worker. Qendressa and Fatlinda also share their hobbies, namely shopping and jogging. However, Valbona prefers to go clubbing and to listen to music, her favourite styles being hip hop and rhythm and blues.

It's obvious that the girls' family backgrounds are very heterogeneous, especially with the religious practices being variable. In the interview sequence cited above, Valbona made clear that her father is by no means delighted with her religious lifestyle. But Valbona's religiosity is not equivalent to renouncing the worldly life and the religious feelings do not prevent her from imagining herself as one day having a family and a job. Valbona stated: 'For me, professional life is more important than housekeeping. That does not mean that I would neglect the housekeeping, but I would care more about my work. The housekeeping would come only in second place'.

In the course of the first conversation in 2008, when four girls were present, we got onto the issue of swimming lessons[7]:

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[6] All names are kept anonymous. The following interview sequences have been translated into English.

[7] See also Allenbach and Herzig (2010) for a previous version of this example.

Valbona: We go swimming in class every two weeks on Tuesday, that's girls' gymnastics for me. It's no problem. I also go swimming in the public bath, when it's warm…

Vlora: For me this is not an issue either since we have girls' gym, too, mixed gym as well, with boys. Then I simply wear long sport trousers and plain T-shirts…

Qendressa: Well, I do not swim, I never go swimming, but recently there were problems. Teachers tell us that the Koran doesn't say that we mustn't swim. Of course, we may swim, but we simply have to be separated, [stay] among girls, no boys. For this it would need a special public bath.

Qendressa said that she herself wrote a dispensation, which has until now been accepted by the teachers. The class teacher got her point, but not the gymnastics teacher. The interviewer asked Qendressa what the opinion of her parents was. She said: 'My father thinks too that they should accept the dispensation'. Obviously, she acts independently. It is important to consider the introduction to the topic: the question of the interviewer was, whether the girls had a problem with swimming lessons. In our analysis, it became clear that the girls reacted to the interviewer's wording. Having said that swimming itself was not the problem, but rather gender segregation, another issue could be addressed:

Valbona: I sometimes have problems with my gymnastics teacher, too, for example, when I'm fasting she forces me to swim anyway. And then they also tell us: 'It is written nowhere, that you are not allowed to swim!' […] It's just hard, because we want to go all the way until the evening and if you swim, it is difficult to swim with the mouth closed, so that nothing can come in.

Vlora: […] If one is fasting, it's very difficult because one cannot swim with the mouth closed all the time, and then it's possible that water comes into the mouth. And then it's finished, then the fasting is interrupted, then you can drink anyway, for it is finished, because you have got water into the mouth.

Valbona: [The teacher] says: 'I didn't read anywhere that you may not swim! You are allowed to swim!'

Let me comment briefly on this discussion. Until recently, it wasn't Swiss gym teachers who decided on religious matters by making reference to the Koran. Obviously, swimming and fasting are not really compatible. In the meantime, at least some of the Swiss cantons allow dispensations from swimming or gym lessons during Ramadan.[8] Another aspect is power. The positions of foreign, Muslim and lower-class girls have little weight. Based on this example, we can say that these girls view the problem from an unexpected angle: they do not complain about troubles with patriarchal family structures and religious traditions, but about the lack of understanding by their gym teacher (as a representative of Swiss society) towards their religious lifestyle. They probably feel strong and competent in these religious matters, whereas their agency in the context of education and the job market seems to be much more restricted.

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[8] Cf. for example the guidelines of the canton of Zürich (VSA 2010): 'If students are fasting for religious reasons and their physical performance is therefore limited, they can stay away from physical education during this time; they are to be kept busy with alternative educational activities. For that purpose a request of the parents has to be filed with the school in due time, verbally or in writing' (translation B.A.).

The issue here is not to take a stand for or to oppose exemptions from swimming lessons on religious grounds. Rather, my point is to represent the views of Muslim youths themselves. The example reveals Muslim girls not in the role of victims but as active members of society who are negotiating with their teachers, who write a letter of exemption, and who keep silent during swimming lessons. Obviously, they are obtaining their religious knowledge from the imam of the local Albanian community. He confirmed to the interviewer, that even if it is unintended to swallow water during swimming meant to break one's fast and that, in this case, the fasting had to be made up later. However, he underlines his conviction that men and women are equals in the Islamic view. He made clear that physical education for women enjoys a high priority in Islam: 'The Prophet requires us to swim in the summer and to learn to ride, such as horses and camels. […] This applies to all, both men and women'. Thus, it is out of the question to exclude Muslim youth from sports, but solutions must be found to the problem of sex segregation – if this is a problem at all. I want to emphasise the point that the ethnographic approach gives insights into the heterogeneity of one Albanian Muslim community in Switzerland. The four teens are individuals with very different backgrounds and prospects. By its very nature, group discussions make group processes visible. In this case, I suggest the four girls aim at demonstrating unity vis-à-vis the interviewer. Although in everyday life they all deal with the Islamic preference of gender segregation in different ways, in the course of the interview they point to their combined efforts to fast during Ramadan and their bad experiences with gym teachers.

Conclusion

The aim was to demonstrate that muscular liberalism becomes more important in response to Muslim requests on religious grounds in Switzerland. Muscular liberalism emphasises the boundary between 'us' and 'them' by relying primarily on gender notions. The example points out that the religious lifestyle of Albanian Muslim girls is not equivalent to insufficient assimilation and problems of integration. Their visions of the future show little difference in comparison with those of their Swiss peers with other cultural and religious backgrounds. They would like to learn a profession and to raise a family. Also, the family model they prefer is not the outdated male breadwinner pattern but rather the up-to-date alternative, characterised by sharing paid and unpaid work. Certainly, whether they will realise their current plans or not remains to be seen. But the problem of reconciliation of work and family life is a general issue in Switzerland and gender equality is, in this regard, far from a reality. In conclusion, I would like to emphasise four points:

Firstly, for these Swiss Muslim teens, belonging to Islam is part of their daily life and, if they have trouble relating to this belonging, they are trying to make the best of it. The preference for gender segregation may be considered as a marker of Muslim identity politics. In Switzerland, however, most people take the separation between the sexes as a symbol for the oppression of women and as proof of Islam's

lack of modernity. The image of backwardness imposed on Muslim girls and women from outside makes their aspirations to professional qualifications and to a career invisible as well as their commonalities to peers (e.g. hobbies, plans for the future, etc.). I suggest that a greater emphasis on the multiple belonging of young Muslims in Switzerland counters the tendency of a hegemonic and dichotomist view in terms of 'them' and 'us'.

Secondly, corresponding to the findings of other studies, it can be said that migrants' children in Switzerland are confronted with strong discourses of misery. Over and over again, the public debate focuses on their shortcomings. However, the ethnographic study on how migrants' children actively take part in negotiating their wants and their needs subverts any conception of Muslim girls and women as victims. The question 'do Muslim daughters really need saving?' can therefore be understood in a new way. Muslim claims are not always imposed on women by their fathers or husbands. Obviously, not to swim is not the same thing as being a woman not yet emancipated.

Thirdly, I suggest to promote children and youth studies with a strong focus on agency as a means to give voice to children and youth in general and particularly to migrants' children. The concept of agency

> … is used to express the degree of free will that is exercised by the individual in their social action. We express our agency according to the degree of constraint we experience from the structure. Some people have less agency than others because of structural factors like poverty, and some circumstances create less agency for all, like an oppressive political state. (Walsh 1998, p. 33)

It could be protested that the categories 'children' and 'agency' are not really compatible because children – defined as persons not yet grown up – are inherently characterised by lacking power. But, even if children are denied the right to vote and are economically dependent on their family, for children as citizens participation rights are especially relevant, meaning '… the right of participation in decision-making in social, economic, cultural and political life' (Gould, cit. in Lister 2008, p. 10).

School could play an important role in giving a voice to Muslim youth. Moreover, it must be noted that this very heterogeneous group is not fixated on assimilation nor on difference (cf. Roost Vischer 2010). Thus, the issue is not the question of special treatment of Muslim youths as a group but on their participation as individuals in schools.

Fourthly, the ethnographic example represents a good example of Strasser's notion of 'repressive autonomy' (Strasser 2014), with pressure in free and easy dealings with the opposite sex understood. However, Wyttenbach (2006, p. 25) advocates not playing off equality postulates against demands of integration; it does not necessarily help the child's welfare, if the gender equality argument is urged against strict Muslim's concerns, since from their point of view, religious freedom is questioned in this way. In order to evaluate the child's welfare, detailed insights into single cases are necessary, exceeding media coverage. By contrast, broad-brush generalisations promote neither gender equality nor integration (ibid., p. 22).

Lastly, the widespread representation of immigrant populations as homogeneous groups covers the dynamics and also the conflicts of interest within immigrant communities and families. To fully recognise this would definitely contribute to the understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims (cf. Barth 1994). Along the same lines, Ahmad (2013) calls for gendering the Muslim question by listening to Muslim women's organisations. She holds that media and social policy have systematically failed Muslim women '… through either repeating tired and unhelpful stereotypes, or failing to listen and respond to the social welfare needs identified by Muslim women's grassroots organizations' (Ahmad 2013, p. 13). Since no one is empowered to speak on behalf of all Muslims in Switzerland, the broad participation of the Muslim population in the debate on integration is needed. That is especially true of second generation Muslims grown up in Switzerland.

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Chapter 4
Children's Conceptions of Otherness: Constructions of the 'Moral Self' and Implications for Experiences of Migration

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Introduction

Cultural pluralism is a common experience characterizing most societies; however how different societies engage with and manage such pluralism is quite diverse. Different responses can occur at the level of the state and policy but also at the level of everyday experiences. While the two are interrelated in complex ways, it is the latter sphere, of interactions that occur at the level of everyday practices that is the focus of this chapter. In particular I wish to investigate one dimension of what we could consider the identity work children undertake in terms of understanding difference. In particular I want to discuss whether discourses and practices relevant to negotiating and understanding difference are evident in children's discussions of being a good person.

I want to start from the premise that difference can be used to both assert identity as a means to claim group membership and reinforce such membership, or it can be used to frame that which is other to or different from us. Both those within and outside a social group may use difference in this way. Children from migrant backgrounds can assert their difference as a means to claim and reinforce belonging to a specific group based on cultural, ethnic or national identifications and in so doing claim difference from other cultural, ethnic or national identifications. We can also see the possibility that children who are not from a migrant background can engage in similar acts of identity work, by asserting a claim to a 'true national identity' such as what they consider to be a genuine 'Australian' identity. But we also see these

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processes of identity work in attempts by children to make sense of the behaviours of others, when they encounter life practices that are different from their own. We can argue then that the assertion of difference constitutes a relevant tool not only for exclusion but also for claiming recognition.

I would like to examine this process of claiming recognition or of asserting difference from the vantage of children from non-migrant backgrounds. This seems unusual for a publication on childhood and migration and raises the question as to why examining the identity work of children who are not of a migration background is relevant for a discussion of migration? I hope to show that one reason is that experiences of migration are mediated by the conditions under which those who migrate are perceived, understood and received by those within the 'host' country. And as well as the policy context, such as policies regarding the treatment of those who seek asylum, the purpose of migration (such as an emphasis on skilled or humanitarian forms of migration), views on native language use and retention and so forth; these conditions are also mediated through the everyday experiences of acceptance, or intolerance, as they are practiced in interpersonal relations, including those between children. Therefore how children who are not migrants experience and make sense of the difference of others is also central to understanding not only the identity work of children who have migrated, but also of understanding the possible set of social conditions which constitute the lifeworlds of children who have migrated.

Why Interrogate 'Being a Good Person'? Normative Trends in Cosmopolitan Societies

Scholarship in the area of migration studies has critiqued the idea that children from migrant backgrounds occupy a particular place of being suspended between cultures and therefore of a social position of 'liminality' or marginality (Appadurai 1996; Butcher 2009; Colombo et al. 2009; Noble et al. 1999). Such critiques argue that these concepts may not adequately capture the experiences of children from migrant backgrounds. However these arguments also suggest that negotiating conditions of cultural pluralism, for example experiencing and reflexively understanding dissonance between the inner world of the child's self-understanding and the outer world of representations of difference, are also what characterizes the experiences of most individuals in modern societies, not only those individuals from migrant backgrounds.

Modern societies are therefore characterized by complex social and cultural affiliations and cleavages, where individuals are exposed to different cultural experiences both in abstract form (i.e. politics and global communication) and in interpersonal relations. For example Ulrich Beck (2006) describes cosmopolitanism as a concrete social reality in which social, political and economic factors have increasingly challenged the relevance of nation-state identifications, in which the

trans-nationalisation of law, politics and exposure to cultural diversity characterizes modernity. Therefore the ability to adapt, to be flexible in one's identifications, to have a sense of the 'global', of being adaptable to context rules, have been argued to be values and skills required by all citizens, regardless of background, including children. As Beck (2006) argues, the construction of a self-image capable of managing the exigencies of cosmopolitanism, is less premised on settling on a fixed set of values but rather is premised by an ability to mediate different values.

Why is this important in this context? One of the implications that can be drawn from this research is that a self-image characterized by self-respect may not only be based upon feeling accepted by others, but also an ability to accept difference. While the ability to move between differentiated social contexts and to manage a tension between sameness and difference is especially important for children from migrant backgrounds, an ability to manage difference is a critical skill for all citizens. While we are certainly not all 'cosmopolitans', processes of cosmopolitanisation increasingly characterize social experiences. While children from migrant backgrounds provide special cases of this situation, it is also likely to be a common experience in any society characterized by multiculturalism, either in the form of everyday encounters or through globalised exchanges of information.

So, to what extent can we discern these practices – of mediating difference, of an openness to dialogue, of a reflexive attitude regarding one's own values and those of others, as evident in children's discussions of being a good person? That is do we have evidence of children displaying those values and skills that are assumed as necessary to being a member of a cosmopolitan society?

Methodology: Researching Children's Understandings of Well-Being

In engaging with these questions, the results presented here draws upon research on children's understandings of well-being, what constitutes well-being and how these definitions relate to children's everyday experiences. The study is unusual in that it is one of the few studies that examine how children define and understand well-being generally. In involving children in the research, the research adopted an explicit epistemological position that places children centrally as 'knowers' and which recognizes their knowledge and experience as significant. The research was conducted over three stages, and each stage involved either individual or group interviews, determined by participant preference.

In the first stage, we sought to explore children's ideas about what well-being means to them; how well-being is experienced in the course of their everyday practices; and what factors contribute to a sense of well-being. The interviews specifically examined whether well-being was a term that meant something to the participants; how well-being was experienced in different life domains (whether associated with particular people, activities, times or events, places and material

objects); asked participants to recount a time in their life when they considered things were going well; and what participants would do to change a 'not well-being time' into a 'well-being time'. These questions served as thematic guides only and most interviews deviated from the schedule, following child-led directions in the interview. Furthermore the interviews were facilitated through the use of task-oriented activities, such as drawing, collage making and the use of photo aides in discussion. Children were invited to use these materials whenever they wished to throughout the interview, but the use of these activities was determined by the participant's interest and were often not used at all.

The second stage explored in greater detail the main themes discussed by the participants in their first interview. Each transcript was analyzed to identify key themes specific to each participant. These themes then formed the basis of the second interview. Each participant was asked whether these themes made sense to them and to elaborate on those themes that did, but also whether they would add themes or change the emphasis of the themes. In this way, the participants' interpretations of our initial analysis were built into the ongoing development of our analytical framework, extending, verifying or modifying the analysis that had been undertaken.

In the third stage, the children completed a project of their own design that explored a well-being theme or themes of interest to them. Combinations of photography, collage, drawing and journal keeping were commonly used for these projects. We then sought children's interpretations of their own work and how it related to well-being. This continued to give prominence to children's own interpretations. In some cases, this added new dimensions to what had previously been said; in other cases, it provided a deeper understanding of what had formerly been discussed; and in others, it confirmed earlier understandings. In this way, children's own perspectives on what were the important themes continued to guide the analysis.

Participants were not obliged to take part in all three stages of the research. For most participants two interviews were sufficient to explore elements of well-being important to them. For many participants, the stage 2 interview also took on elements of the stage 3 phase, with the interview extending into a workshop where children would develop 'well-being' posters or collage exploring themes of significance to them. Of the 123 children who initially took part, 92 contributed to stage 2 and 53 to the final stage.[1] The children, when initially recruited to the project, were aged between 8 and 15.

Children from both rural and urban locations in New South Wales, Australia, participated in the research.[2] Participants were recruited through schools. Within each school a class group was selected in consultation with the School Principal, and children were invited to participate in the study. Twelve schools were selected from across the state representing a mix of areas characterized by levels of high, medium and low socio-economic disadvantage. The intention was not to develop a

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[1] In total, 178 interviews were conducted, totalling approximately 150 hours of transcript.

[2] Study sites included six suburbs across the capital, Sydney, one rural centre, and two other major metropolitan centres in New South Wales.

statistically generalizable sample, but a sample that would capture diversity of experience. The sample size, which was large and diverse for a qualitative study, allowed the research to be open to different stories, experiences and understandings of what well-being means for children. Approximately 40 % of the children were from a migrant background (however of these the majority were born in Australia of parents who had migrated) and approximately 40 % of participants came from areas with high levels of socio-economic disadvantage, 40 % from areas considered as having medium levels of socio-economic disadvantage and 20 % from areas with low levels of socio-economic disadvantage. The sample also contained a marginally greater proportion of females (60 %).

One of the benefits of this type of method is that it allows us to look at identity formation and engagement with difference as part of concrete social interactions. No specific questions were asked regarding what it means to be a 'good person' or how one perceives children from ethnic, cultural or backgrounds different from their own. Rather the themes discussed below arose because children prioritized them, either as an explicit theme that they wished to discuss or as concrete experiences, both in the context of what they considered important to a sense of well-being. In this case those social situations that are emphasized are important to constructing what it is to be a 'good person'. So therefore the question that arises is whether in discussing what it is to be a 'good person' and therefore in constructing their identities as a moral or 'good person', do we find evidence of engagement with difference from children from non-migrant backgrounds. To what extent do children actively discuss difference, acceptance and tolerance as part of constructing their identities as being a 'good person'?

Identification and Categorization: Understanding Processes of Identity Recognition

In attempting to understand the mechanisms through which the process of recognizing difference occurs, the work of Richard Jenkins is particularly useful (Jenkins 2000). Jenkins argues that there are two ways of evoking similarity and difference in interaction: in relation to the classifiers themselves (an internal process) and in relation to others (how we think of those other than us). How we identify ourselves, how others identify us, and the interplay between the two create the potential to identify our similarity and difference to others. Jenkins therefore conceptually separates two related processes, that of *identification* which is the process by which we understand ourselves; and *categorization*, which is the process by which we understand and label those who are different to us.

Internal self-definition (identification) and external definition by others (categorization) are always related. Jenkins argues that at both the individual and group level, defining 'us' requires that others are contrasted to 'us', whether positively or negatively. Processes through which we externally categorize others cannot but be both premised upon and affect our own self-understanding, which in turn may

provide a defense against external categorization, or taking on external definitions as internal self-understandings, thus reinforcing internalized definitions. Categorizations are therefore not necessarily 'taken on' as individual or group identifications. Categorizations lose their power or evoke resistance when they are used to apportion forms of misrecognition.[3] This includes categorizations that fail to take into account group identifications that are highly differentiated (such as by class, gender and sexuality) or diverse. For example what is it to be categorized as being Australian? Therefore a categorized group may internalize that categorization as a sign of recognition or as a form of disrespect. Jenkins sees this as essentially as a neutral process.[4] We all identify and categorize and are subject to categorization. Moreover processes of categorization are a tool to help navigate the complexity of social life. Knowing who we are and who others are, is a condition for social action, which otherwise would not be possible without categorizations of others. Therefore what people think of us is no less important than what we think of ourselves. We identify ourselves. We also identify others and are identified by them.

While a neutral process, the interaction between identification and categorization also creates possibilities for both openness/inclusion and fundamentalism/exclusion. A reflexive openness to the other has implications for one's own self-identity; as being a person who is willing to interrogate their own self-understandings and is therefore willing to engage in constructive dialogue with others. Another possibility is to be closed off from such a reflexive attitude and fundamentalize one's self-identity. These possibilities are interrogated by Maria Markus in her work on cultural pluralism and hybridization (Markus 2002). Markus refers to the characteristics

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[3] It is here we can usefully employ the work of Axel Honneth (1995, 2010). In brief, Honneth argues that a positive relation to self, including a sense of self-respect, self-trust and capacity to embark upon and successfully pursue life plans, is made possible only through patterns of social recognition. Recognition comprises love, rights and solidarity. Love, associated with friendship and parental care, is highly particular because it concerns itself with the emotional needs of individuals and cannot be extended to general categories of people; rights comprises recognition of the equal legal and moral accountability of individuals and is expressed in rights to autonomy; solidarity is the evaluation of particular traits against standards which are the basis of group membership. Each of these forms of recognition is coupled with a relation to self, and it's denial associated with a corresponding form of disrespect. Love is associated with self-confidence resulting from the experience of love and concern, it's denial is associated with abuse; rights provides a sense of being a bearer of equal rights and also a person capable of equal moral accountability, its denial is associated with not being worthy of claiming rights; and solidarity provides a sense of self-esteem through recognition by others of ones capacities and achievements, the denial of which is associated with a disparagement of ways of life. In the context of cultural identity, a denial of recognition of cultural practices may have repercussions for a healthy and intact sense of self. This can occur through a 'politics of forced assimilation'. As well as having objective outcomes (such as an inability for cultural reproduction), these types of disrespect also interfere with how a person understands him or herself in relation to the world and in particular a decreasing ability to see one's self as being part of a particular social and cultural world.

[4] Jenkins makes the point that there are certain strategically placed others whose work of categorization has special importance-friends, educators, public officials etc. However he also argues that different young people experience life differently because resources and penalties are differentially allocated on the basis of shared categorizations of different social groups.

needed to engage in deliberations with others, and in so doing create a political culture that makes it possible for a plurality of cultural expressions to be part of dialogue. This includes the willingness of participants to be internally reflexive and open to external questioning. This is associated with an understanding that culture and identity are open, selectively appropriated and interpreted. It requires that one be prepared to grant strangers and others the same rights as one's self and insist that one does not universalize one's own identity (Markus 2002, pp. 398–399; see also Habermas 1992; Hall 1993).

So if we are to take seriously the proposition that categorization and identification are reliant upon each other, then external dimensions of identification, in this case how children see themselves as moral agents, are vitally important in theorizations of social identity, for both migrant and non-migrant children. In interrogating whether these qualities are evident in children's discussions of being a 'good person', three themes emerge. These are firstly, the normality of difference and the importance of the personal as moral. Secondly, we find quite strong discourses and practices of justice as they relate to the defense of those who are considered different. However if we interrogate these findings further we also see that even though children defend those who they view as different to themselves, they also categorize other children as strange where other children exhibit different life practices from themselves. We can think of the first two themes as related dimensions that sit in a problematic relationship with the third theme. I want to discuss each in turn and then discuss what this might mean for the categorization of children from migrant backgrounds.

The Normality of Difference

When children discuss what it is to be a good person, rarely did the children involved in this study consciously *prioritize* engagement with cultural difference in their discussions. These differences appear to be important but nonetheless taken-for-granted. For example where this young person was prompted regarding the importance of religious identification, her response downplayed cultural practices, but nonetheless suggests the importance of openness to other experiences:

Interviewer: Um, we just drove past Ali's brother's school and her school and I just noticed that they are both Catholic schools. Is that an important part of your life?

Participant (Female, 12 years): Not really. It is just that we are Catholic and so our parents would probably prefer us to go to a Catholic School.

I: Some kids tell us that religion is really important. What is your view about those sorts of things?

P: Oh I think it is important, but it is not like you need to like do things in your culture. But you need to also do stuff that you haven't done before. And try and focus on a few other things to do.

I: Mmm, is that hard to do if you belong to one religion?

P: Oh, no not really, it doesn't make a difference.

What instead characterize the discussion of being a good person are personal merits and traits, which children see in themselves and others. These include characteristics like not being judgmental of others based on their physical features, trying to get to know people rather than rejecting them out of hand, being fair and treating others with fairness, being amenable to others ideas and being helpful and cooperative. We see these types of values being displayed in everyday contexts, including in social interaction with other children, and at home with family, including and especially with parents:

Participant (Female, 12 years): Not judge people by their cover.
Interviewer: Oh okay so what does that mean?
P: Yeah, like, not judging them before you know them. If they've come from a poor family or something and so people just turn against them or they are disabled. Like just get to know them before you judge them.

Interviewer: Um, can you tell me a bit more about what, say with your friends? What would you do for them that shows that you care for them?
Participant (Female, 12 years): Well like say on a hot day or something if you knew them and you knew that they weren't allergic to anything like and you knew that like your parents and their parents were good friends or whatever, so you would buy them an ice block or if they get hurt you would take them to sick bay.

Interviewer: I'm just wondering about the other part that you said about your friends?
Participant (Male, 9 years): Um, like playing with them fairly, not being rude to them.
I: What does that mean to play fairly?
P: Like giving ideas to them and not being like 'don't do this and don't do that'. Not being bossy? And not doing rude things?

Participant (Male, 8 years)**:** The other things are that make the family happy is if you do something good.
Interviewer: Can you just tell me a little bit more about what you mean by doing something good?
P: Well you could do something good by cleaning the dishes. Washing the carpet, cleaning the floors and that would make some people happy. Oh and you have to clean stuff so like your room, you have to clean your desk every like week so when your friends come upstairs to play, well you're like they will have a clean room. …
I: Mmm, right. So does that make you feel good cleaning up your room and stuff?
P: I meant by that it is because you help people you feel good and you make them feel good. You can make them feel good. I would really like to change everyone to start helping each other. So that when someone falls down no one helps them like and I feel really sorry. No one helps them. No one cares.

In some of these examples recognition of personal difference in others is important to children's sense of being a 'good person'. This includes not being prejudicial despite class or cultural background differences. For example, in the following transcript, this participant distinguishes between difference as 'showing off', that is of overt displays of being 'cool', from difference which is seen as more innate to identity, of 'who they are', such as in this case, a person's nationality:

Interviewer: So you don't like showing off. Like you don't like people who are showing off and being different?
Participant (Female, 15 years): Yeah if they were being different, just normally, like that would be okay but if they are like showing off just to be cool that is sort of you don't need to. So if they are trying to get attention. But if they really genuinely are from America and they are just, it is part of who they are, that is okay.

Bart van Leeuwen (2007) describes this distinction between personal and social characteristics as being associated with individual identity and social identity respectively. Drawing upon the work of Kwame Anthony Appiah, van Leeuwen argues that personal identity is based on displaying individual characteristics like generosity, charm, being playful or being intelligent. As evidenced in the previous quotes these are one basis upon which children judge themselves and others as being 'good people'. This can be both valorizing, in that someone has qualities that you admire, or used as the basis for exclusion, because one finds the other as lacking in those personal characteristics that are valued, as both the 8 year old male, who wants to change those people who don't come to the assistance of others, and the 15 year old female, who dislikes people who overtly show off to gain attention, indicate. However van Leeuwen also argues that the valorization of personal characteristics is not the basis for social group identification. He argues that even though many people might share these personal characteristics, such as being funny or playful, we can only speak of a social group where a process of identification takes place like that which is described by Jenkins, where people self-identify and identify others as belonging to a particular social group. The 15 year-old female's statement "it is part of who they are", in referencing a person's nationality, is an expression of this recognition of social identity as being the basis for social group membership. However this is less apparent in our data. Rather, being a good person seems to be a personal matter.

Justice and Defense of the Different

So far we have argued that, from the perspectives of children involved in this study, that others are valued because of displays of personal merit and abilities. These merits are enacted as virtues when they are undertaken to assist others, like being helpful, cooperative or treating others fairly in interaction. Within children's discussions we also find what we could describe as quite fervent appeals to justice. Many children discussed defending those who are harassed or excluded from social interactions on the basis of personal characteristics. Everyone, regardless of ethnic or cultural background, physical appearance or class membership, should have the same opportunity to participate in social interaction. For instance in the following examples, which were quite typical of many children's discussions, children come to the defense of other children who are excluded on the basis of physical characteristics:

> Participant (Female, 9 years): And um, there is a boy, his name is Trent and um he has like problems with his eyes and everything and nobody lets him play. And he asked me and Grace one day and we let him, even though we don't know him but he was lonely so we let him play.
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> Participant (Female, 12 years): So then I would have invited Shannon because she got upset because some people were really nasty to her today. Really nasty. They said that she was too fat. And I mean she is saying she can't go on top of this pyramid … with three on the bottom, two then one. … So I went off to see Shannon to see if she was alright. So we went to the Library. Because I don't think it is right calling other people names.

In engaging with those who are excluded because of personal characteristics, children are practicing what it is to be a good person. While not specific to cultural difference, we could tentatively argue that in so doing children are displaying many of the qualities that we previously referred to as being necessary for being a citizen in societies characterised by cultural pluralism (of course this needs to be explored further) – characteristics that include a sense of inclusivity and fairness, of wanting others heard, emphasizing the importance of dialogue, comparison and reflexive engagement with difference, whether that be cultural difference or otherwise (Hall 1990, 1993; Bhabha 1994). Yet, children do not prioritize cultural or ethnic categorizations of being of first order importance. However, these differences are important at a second level, and that is in the creation of differences observed in the everyday activities of childhood, which pose some children as strange and others as not. Hence, as well as defending those who are personally different to themselves, children also assess other 'modes of life practices' that are different to their own as being somehow strange.

The Strangeness of Other Life Practices

A large amount of scholarship has emphasized the everyday practices of multiculturalism, where asserting one's ethnic or cultural identity is a routine practice and dealing with difference is a commonplace and necessary skill (Baumann 1999; Wise and Velayutham 2009; Vasta 2010). Yet, I want to argue that children puzzle over everyday practices that are different to their own because such practices may bring into focus how their own practices are not universal.

Here we must first refer to the idea of the 'taken-for-granted', which is central to research on everyday multiculturalism. The taken-for-granted refers to a layer of culture consisting of everyday practices, routines and ways of seeing the world that become generalized and through which personal identities are formed in an unreflective way (Berger and Luckmann 1967). However these everyday life practices are linked to another level of culture, what we might consider cultural group identifications that consist of a system of beliefs, norms and traditions that provide evaluative standards for different modes of life (Markus 2002; Honneth 2012). This second layer of culture, grounded in everyday life practices, represents the social reality that is shared in the community as 'thinking as usual' patterns of life.

Children develop a sense of self much of which, according to Berger and Luckmann (1967) is largely expressed and embodied in un-reflexive habit. This in itself relies on a process of categorization, initially from parents, and over time is reproduced through patterns experienced as part of intimate life, especially within the family. Daily practices, routines and ways of seeing the world become taken for granted and generalized. Children's expressions of the taken for granted therefore refer to a layer of culture consisting of everyday practices and relations within which personal identities are formed and which links with others are established in an unreflective way.

Being confronted by others with different habits may destabilize this un-reflexive habit and way of seeing the world. For those who migrate, the process of migration often results in this pre-reflexive layer losing it's taken for granted character because one is confronted with taken-for-granted practices within the 'host' society which may be quite different to one's own (Markus 2002). However the presence of those who have migrated may similarly disrupt the taken-for-granted practices and beliefs of those who have not migrated. Differentiations (i.e. categorization) are made on the basis of whether people dress or participate in activities that are similar or different to one's self. Those children that don't do the same sorts of activities as you do (that is, as having the same childhood as you), may therefore be seen as different:

> Interviewer: If I went to a school and I want to be cool what would I need to do?
> Participant (Female, 15 years): Well probably like do everything everybody else does even if you don't usually do it and you sort of think it is a bit weird or whatever but everybody else is doing it so you do it as well.
> I: Okay and what sort of things don't people like about other people?
> P: They say like we are different because on Mufti Days at school like, like say, everybody else was wearing jeans and they were wearing like plain black pants or something and you would think plain black pants and a top and everybody else is wearing cool tops.
> I: Okay, so if someone did that what would kids be thinking?
> P: Obviously that they are different.

Cultural identifications and practices may be particularly important here, as children from migrant backgrounds may feel acutely aware of their difference because they may not engage in life practices considered usual by other children:

> Interviewer: So tell me about lunchtime?
> Participant (Female, 9 years): Joshua's mum comes at lunchtime and brings him a hot lunch. That's weird. Whose mum comes to school at lunchtime to give him like 'a dinner'! Not lunch. He also has a whole box of tiny teddies every day at recess. A whole box!
> I: Where does Joshua come from?
> P: I don't know. I think he is Filipino. He is a bit fat.

This can also be more subtly insinuated. The assumption that these participants, both 15-year-old females make is that having a bike and being able to ride it are normal childhood practices:

> Participant 1 (Female, 15 years): Like if you got asked to go for a bike ride with your friends and others um, so others said I can't go because I don't have a bike and then they would feel left out.
> Interviewer: Mmm, so do most kids have bikes?
> Participant 2 (Female, 15 years): I think so. Yeah.
> P1: Yeah.
> P2: And you would feel rejected from everyone.
> I: Mmm, so it just happens to some people. Can you get back into the group if you are like that?
> P1: Maybe like by sitting near them or something and trying to try out for some of the things that they do. And then maybe they would see you doing that and say hey you look like you are actually kind of, you are actually a nice person and say that you can play.

These discussions, which were quite typical, do not necessarily indicate a conscious xenophobia or racist attitudes, but could be interpreted as indicating puzzlement about why 'someone is not like me' – being able to swim, being able to ride a bike, being able to go to a friend's party, wearing the right kind of clothes. The establishment of difference may therefore not necessarily be a product of focussing specifically on cultural or ethnic difference, but arise from observing everyday practices that are different and attempting to understand them. These observations potentially differentiate between groups through processes of social categorization. And this seems particularly relevant to differentiating between children from migrant and non-migrant backgrounds.

As mentioned previously personal traits can be differentiated from traits that are the basis for social group membership. However a tension between these two levels may result in labeling the other as strange. This is because 'culture as everyday practices' is intimately linked with 'culture as group identification' (Markus 2002). Where migrant and non-migrant children display lifestyle practices that the other cannot identify with, this in turn can create a sense of seeing the other as strange. Furthermore categorizations which occur through face to face interactions, such as at school, in play and in social events that are part of routine public interaction may have special significance because they may be one of the first times where the taken-for-granted is confronted. This is partly because peer relationships are an especially 'efficient context' for social acceptance or rejection (Jenkins 2000, p. 16).

Colombo and colleagues (2009) argue that the demand for inclusion is about the opportunity to develop capabilities that can be differentiated and used variably. This is characterized by access to decision-making processes, scarce goods and times for recreation and fulfillment – in other words the recognition of certain types of cultural and lifestyle practices. They argue that for children from migrant backgrounds, this type of inclusion means that difference can be used as a strategic asset, one that can be used to evoke curiosity. Or an assertion of difference can also be an expression of preferences that deserve to be included in social interaction. Both of these aspects of the recognition of one's cultural practices as differentiation and inclusion are reflected in this participant's discussion of his involvement in Serbian dancing:

> Participant (Male, 8 years)**:** We had a celebration. It was called the Belgrade night and we had to dance, Serbian dancing. We also had an honouring festival at the Serbian Club. Dancers from all over Australia came from Perth, Northern Territory, Darwin and there was the best dancers. … Yeah, and we have national dancing every Friday.
> Interviewer: And you like it because it is Serbian?
> P**:** Yes. And our culture. It is not like someone else's culture. Like it is a feeling, like you are doing like your own. To show that you have a Serbian background.

For migrant children to openly display their difference can be seen as a request for recognition of their difference, and the denial of such recognition can be read as a form of denial of one's status of being worthy of respect. However migrant children might not have the opportunity to exhibit the sorts of behaviours or 'strategic assets' that might provide a basis for recognition of difference. For non-migrant children understanding the other presupposes a certainty about their own life practices as the normative and dominant view of what a 'typical' childhood is. From this place of certainty they may attempt to understand other practices or see them as

dissonant. This is not necessarily a basis for negative understanding, although it could be, but rather an expression that certain social practices and individuals are unusual, and a generalization of one's own social practices as commonplace. Hence, while we know that migrant children create a set of practices where they cross differences and emphasize different aspects of their identity according to strategic need, the extent to which non-migrant children have to consciously engage with their own difference from others is less obvious.[5]

Conclusions and Considerations

Let us return to the idea of the interaction between individuation and categorization as one way in which we can make sense of these findings. Children identify as moral agents. This is part of their work of identification which includes valuing certain personal traits such as kindness, being dutiful, being fair and which also extends to acts of justice in everyday situations. Yet the work of identification also occurs at another level and this is in the process of using taken-for-granted life practices of childhood as the basis for group categorization. This may be unrecognized by the group members, constituted in this case by children from non-migrant backgrounds, yet a process of categorization occurs when children are confronted with life practices that are not their own, and this potentially includes some of those of migrant children. This may result in seeing the other as strange or different and could be a precursor for more definite group categorizations.

From what we can discern from children's responses we do not find evidence of a fetishization of difference or of a fundamentalized worldview that attempts to protect certain values from loss, damage or alteration. This hard version of difference is described by Markus (2002) as a particular type of hybridization, characterized by a closing off in response to new conditions (for both migrant and non-migrant groups). However of greater relevance here is that Markus also argues that the presence of strangers is unsettling because it often makes visible practices that previously were unnoticed or not reflected upon. By seeing the other as strange, this may have the effect of delegating other practices, including culturally specific practices, to the private sphere. For non-migrant children who perhaps feel more secure in their sense of identity, this can affirm their practices and cut-off opportunities for exposure and engagement with other practices. For migrant children who might feel less secure, this might mean a sense of uncertainty as to their identity or alternatively lead to a more strident assertion of their ethnic identity in the face of feeling that this aspect of their identity is under threat (van Leeuwen 2007, pp. 191–193).

Hence difference can be seen as a constraint, as a label justifying exclusion and discrimination. But assertion of difference can also be used as a resource that enables

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[5] In different ways both Taylor (1992) and Honneth (1995) argue that recognition of one's specificity, in this case, of one's life practices, is essential for a feeling of self-respect and being able to be an equal partner in interaction, both at an individual (i.e. psychological) and group level (i.e. recognition of one's status as being part of a legitimate group).

identifications and alliances to be created depending on the demands of a particular situation (Colombo 2010). Perhaps sitting somewhere between these two possibilities is the idea of understanding difference as something that is inscrutable or strange, which is not necessarily negatively evaluated but which nonetheless confronting. This idea of seeing the other as strange works perhaps at a level prior to that of conscious excluding or including a person. But it provides several possibilities for non-migrant children in understanding the other. These views could concretize as stereotyped judgments, close-minded prejudices and exclusion. Or it could manifest as a self-questioning that challenges assumed truths and common sense practices about one's own lifestyle and a questioning of dominant images of prejudice.

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Chapter 5
Acquiring Agency: Children's Perspective Within the Context of Migration in Germany

Karin Kämpfe and Manuela Westphal

Introduction

In the course of perceiving children as social actors with their own rights and as experts of their environment, their perspective is increasingly taken into account in quantitative and qualitative research (cp. Bühler-Niederberger 2011). In addition to differentiations according to age and gender, childhood patterns are increasingly analysed also under the key word of unequal childhood within the context of social inequality (i.a. Bock 2010; Andresen and Fegter 2009; Betz 2008).[1]

In this context, childhood is increasingly being analysed under the aspect of well-being and measured and compared by means of indicators (Ben-Arieh 2008). Also in this process, the perspective of children more and more assumes an important part.[2] When asked about their ideas of what constitutes well-being, children attribute a high importance to the feeling of agency besides other aspects (Fattore

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[1] Special thanks to Beate Kutz, University of Osnabrück, and Saumya Pant, Bremen, for their support with translation and editing.

[2] Studies about the subjective well-being of children indicate in general a high level of well-being amongst children (Betz 2009a). A comparison of 29 rich countries shows that the values on the subjective feeling of children's well-being are high, with an average of more than 85 %, although partly with considerable variance (UNICEF Office of Research 2013). About 95 % of the children interviewed in the Netherlands but only about 75 % of the children in Romania state a high satisfaction with life. With about 85 %, Germany ranks within the lower third of the *Life Satisfaction League Table*. In this regard, it must be taken in consideration that persons generally adapt to given situations and even tend to express their feeling of well-being when they actually suffer from unjust treatment. Children, in particular, tend to accept social inequalities as given conditions (cp. Betz 2009a; Albus et al. 2009). Furthermore, immigrant families tend to assess life conditions in relation to their life in their country of origin.

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et al. 2009).[3] Agency in the context of childhood is produced in the scope of action opened up but also limited by generational orders as well as by social and structural conditions (see Bühler-Niederberger 2013). Furthermore, agency is characterised by "cultural understandings of the nature of individual agency" (Hitlin and Long 2009, p. 140): "Any culture has one, if not more, culturally-shaped sets of expectations for the amount of agency any individual might exert on their own lives at different points on life trajectories". Patterns of orientations do not only differ in cultural, but also intersectional aspects what may lead to the phenomenon that childhood within the context of migration is being confronted with unequal agency concepts and norms.

Yet, only little is known about the perspective of children with a migration background with regards to their own life, their agency beliefs or what in their opinion a good life would be all about. So far, analysis has been made primarily in view of integration and education.[4] In view of the present discourses on integration and education and comparing the social and structural conditions of children with a migration background to those of autochthonic children, it appears that children with a migration background are challenged with social and structural disadvantages. The fact that education and formal qualifications are an essential precondition for social participation, recognition, material welfare and well-being is indisputable just as well as that the phenomenon of social inequality is being systematically reproduced and that persons with a migration background are more like to be affected by this is undenied. The concept of the term education and participation – in the context of migration – has to be extended by the aspect language, so strongly proclaimed as 'key for integration' in Germany.[5] The promotion of language competence in German is one of the central themes in debates on integration in Germany: "Within the discourse on integration, 'good childhood' is implicitly and explicitly defined as 'integration', with language competence in general and the competence of German language in particular being assumed as preconditions for 'integration'" (Maeße 2011, p. 25). In which manner language competence and the promotion of language contribute to the feeling of well-being of children with a migration background is still uncertain.[6]

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[3] On basis of a multi-level survey, Fattore et al. (2009) developed a model of children's well-being. Together with a positive sense of self and security, agency, consequently, forms part of overarching dimensions of well-being. These are extended by further six subjects. In addition they stress the importance of children's significant relationships and emotional life as underlying mediums "through which children understood experiences of well-being" (ibid, p. 61).

[4] On situations of life of children with a migration background, see DJI-Children longitudinal study (Alt 2006), Children Migration Report of the German Youth Institute (Cinar et al. 2013), 3rd World-Vision- Children Study (Andresen et al. 2013). So far, agency in childhood has been primarily analysed from the background of their later educational career (e.g. Westphal and Kämpfe 2013).

[5] Diefenbach (2010), for instance, represents a more critical perspective in view of lacking empirical proof.

[6] This question is subject of the international dissertation project "Childhood in the Context of Migration and Institutional Promotion" by Karin Kämpfe. The main purpose is finding out how

In this contribution we will look into the question in which way collective patterns of orientation point to children's acquisition of agency. Therefore, orientation patterns of two groups interviewed in Germany will be presented in an exemplary manner. It becomes evident that there are differences in the groups as far as action-guiding orientation patterns and agency belief is concerned despite supposed similar social conditions (migration background, living environment, diagnosed need for German language skills etc.). Lastly, the contribution will analyse the consequences implied for the promotion of language experienced by these children.

Two 'Real Groups' of Children: Group *Kupfer* and Group *Schneeball*

The children interviewed were between 9 and 11 years of age and participated in additional tutorials to improve their German language skills. The teacher decides upon those children who need these tutorials as support for language skills. Thereafter, parents and children are informed about the necessary participation in these tutorials.

The group discussion followed the motto 'Children's conference: Language and the Good Life'. The stimulus consisted of asking the children of how they would imagine a good and pleasant life to be. Second part of the survey included questions about the received tutorials for language and the aspect of language in general. The two group discussions presented in this article were carried out in schools with a high proportion of children with a migration background. The groups' composition corresponded to the real composition of pupils in the tutorials.[7]

Within the group *Kupfer*[8], five girls and three boys participated in the discussion. The tutorials were taught by the class teacher herself. All children stated to have been born in Germany whilst their families had mostly emigrated from Kazakhstan or Russia with a background of 'resettlement'. The family of one of the boys was from China. Another boy without a migration background took part in the tutorials due to the diagnosed special need for German language skills. Most of the mothers were employed, for instance as cleaners or in a food enterprise. Another mother ran a business together with the father. The other fathers worked as low-skilled workers or skilled worker; or were unemployed or on sick leave.

The group *Schneeball* was a group that consisted of girls only. The only boy who participated together with the girls in the tutorials for language was not able to take

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children with a migration background address their idea of a good life as well as their experiences of institutional arrangements (here: tutorials for language). Within the frame of this project, group discussions were carried out with children with a migration background in Germany, France and the Netherlands.

[7] The data is analysed via documentary method developed by Ralf Bohnsack (2010) with an objective to explore collective patterns of orientations, offering clues to the tacit knowledge of the children.

[8] The names (*Kupfer* = copper, *Schneeball* = snowball) are related to the groups, however ensure at the same time their anonymity and confidentiality.

part in the discussion. The mothers were predominantly housewives or worked as cleaners. One mother ran a coffee bar together with the father. The other fathers worked as low-skilled or skilled workers (construction, car mechanic, heating installation). All girls were born in Germany whilst their families had immigrated from Turkey, Morocco or Serbia. The tutorials for language in which the children participated were organised by an external education institute.

At the time of the interviews the children of both groups were on their way to graduate to secondary school, i.e. they had received their recommendation of transition to different types of secondary school (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, *Gymnasium*). In both groups, all three forms of recommendation of transition were represented.

Acquiring Agency by Adaptation: Group Kupfer

The children of the *Kupfer* group believe that for achieving agency freedom it would be best to adapt to respective valid concepts of norms and to conform to rules. Correspondingly, adaptability, i.e. the capability to play in a flexible manner according to the 'rules of the game' which hold true in different contexts and settings, is being described as a vital basis for a good life. This pattern of orientation is regarded as a promising one for instance when it comes to living together in family and society, or success at school and professional participation. The perception of self-efficacy that appears demonstrates simultaneously that as early as during childhood self-responsibility is considered to be of utmost importance for the achievement of agency freedom.

Already in the first proposition, after having read out the introductory questions, well-being is documented analogue to the insights of Fattore et al. (2009) as interplay of a*gency*, *positive sense of* s*elf* and s*ecurity*. The following passages will illustrate this:

> I1:   Super! Great! Okay, let's get started then. And, well, just imagine you would like to explain to us adults, or if you think of how to explain to adults what is important for children. Well, what does that mean to you, a good life? What do you need for it? What makes you feel good? And what makes you happy?
>
> GEf: Well, for me, it makes me feel good when my mother and my dad encourage me when I have got a problem or for example do not want to do the Maths test. They encourage me then and say for instance: "You will make it! You will succeed! You only need to practise well."

The example of overcoming the fear of coping with a mathematics test demonstrates how well-being is produced amongst others by parents who are able to encourage and reassure their child by appealing to his/her capabilities ("you will make it") and to his/her self-efficacy ("only need to practise well") and thus influence the self-image of the child in a positive manner. Encouraged by the parents, the personal agency is being assessed positively. Parents, in this context, are perceived

as competent actors. Generational orders become evident. Consequently, a differentiation is made in the following sequence. First of all, the basic condition for a good life is having parents at all. The relation to one's own parents is of a particular quality. In the argumentation, subjects are turned from one extreme to the other, that of the family to the metaphor of the orphanage, family as a symbol for love and care and the orphanage as symbol for custody and loneliness ("Over there, some people just look after them").[9] That family should not be taken as a matter of course is elaborated in the following:

> GAf: Some-, sometimes there are a lot of arguments in the family, but you should not say swearwords to your own mother, such as "I hate you" or other bad words which youngsters often use.
>
> GEf: That might soon lead to, that the – If mother-, if youngsters say these things, they [the parents] would soon throw them out of the house. (4)

After talking about their imagination about one's own beautiful family in a former sequence this belief is now being differentiated when the aspect of conflicts is made topic of discussion. In addition, certain rules are presented for children to deal with quarrels in their family, e.g. not to use swearwords directed at their mother (like "I hate you"). Such bad and even worse words are ascribed to adolescents. These reflections are brought to a conclusion by pointing out that the indicated non-compliant behaviour towards their parents can lead to exclusion from the family. This is considered as the hardest punishment as it withdraws the basis for good life – the embedding in the family. Here it is suggested that separation from the family might also be caused by one's own misconduct. Thus, the metaphor of the orphanage achieves a new dimension.

At this stage, generational orders are reflected again: This form of (verbal) transgression, which is rather typical for adolescents, implies the consequence of being sanctioned by the parents. Being punished is not questioned here and appears rather as an adequate reaction. By distancing themselves from such forms of adolescent behaviour, they express a conformity pressure, last but not least due to the threatening consequences. The shared frame of orientation points to a family atmosphere that is characterised by love, care and security, and in addition offers orientation and sets limits. A negative horizon is the loss or the (self-induced) separation from the family. Within the family, self-responsibility and self-efficacy are acquired while on the other hand children learn that behaviour compliant to rules opens up agency freedom. However, non-compliant behaviour will lead to negative consequences, in the worst case to being excluded from the family.

The pattern of conformity and adaptation also becomes evident in the next sequence that follows a scene in which mutual inner-familial solidarity is described as a normality pattern. The reciprocity in the family requires that children contribute with their own share according to their respective phase of life, starting from helping in the household to caring for their parents at an old age. The following sequence

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[9] Although the term orphanage is less common today, it still frequently appears in stories, films etc. With regards to the fact that children are given into institutional care outside the family, there are no indications that hint to their own experience or experience from the social environment.

shows very clearly that inner-familial agency freedom and limitations are not only determined by generational order but also closely linked to social conditions.

> GAf: And if one – if your – And if your parents have to live on Hartz IV,[10] then you will
>   have to stick together and not simply say; "So what? But I do want this." You will
>   have to understand that the parents are not able-That, for example they do not have
>   enough money for this toy. For example, a girl has seen such a wonderful toy horse
>   and she wants to have it. But that is too much money for the parents and they say,
>   then they tell the girl, No, we do not have so much money, we have to go shopping
>   and get groceries for 60 or 70 Euros so that we have for 3 weeks and we cannot
>   buy more because we, um, we get so little money of Hartz IV. But the girl does not
>   understand that and then, well, somehow (.) this will lead somehow to
>   arguments.
> I1:   Yes. Mhm.
> LEm: […]
> ROf: Actually in most cases, children are to be blamed for the arguments as they just do
>   not want to stick to the rules and show consideration. And then everything just gets
>   worse. And actually that's it. Life still can be improved if you do not make too
>   many mistakes, try not to make too many mistakes. And once, you made a mis-
>   take, it does not matter. Try to correct the mistake, and then you will have learnt
>   something from it. But if you did not learn anything from it, how do you wish to
>   improve so that you will have a good life, not only with regards to your parents,
>   but also to the school, children. […]

Galina (GAf) prioritises basic needs over special wishes of individual members of the family by means of the example of Hartz IV. Familial solidarity also means to defer one's own wishes for the sake of the well-being of the family. The story of the girl who wishes to have a toy-horse demonstrates clearly the pressure which is implied to sticking to the rules. In times of financial pressure, needs of the children not only need to be deferred for the sake of peace in the family, but also should not be communicated in the first place. The child is expected to be reasonable, to show consideration, and to avoid provoking arguments. In this case, the notion of Hartz IV sums up children's unsatisfied needs and their suffering implied.

Following up the story of *Galina* and another previous story, *Rosalie* (ROf) comes up with the insight that it is mostly the children who are to blame for argu-ments in the family "because they just do not want to stick to the rules". Thus, she validates the orientation pattern of conformity and adaptation. Non-compliant behaviour causes quarrels. Children consider the rules set up by their parents as fair and just for the family. This reveals their confidence in adults who know what they are doing even if children do not always succeed to recognize this in daily life.[11] Mistakes are regarded as human but should be used for improvement. What counts is the way of dealing with one's own mistakes, i.e. in this case to understand the importance of assuming responsibility and try for improvement. The 'right path' towards good life is connected in all spheres of life to self-improvement, endeavour and self-disciplining.

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[10] In colloquial language, Hartz IV is the expression used for basic security benefits granted to persons who are fit for employment and entitled to benefits.

[11] Adults, however, are not perceived as competent actors in an absolute manner.

The orientation towards concepts of normality, consequent conformity and adaptation also reoccur in other settings, for instance with regards to life style in general as well as education and gainful employment.[12] This is expressed in phrases such as: "You have to do your A-levels", "you just have to be normal just as other people and live in the same way as they do", or: "And if you are actually invited to an interview and would like to get the job, you should not be wearing such a baggy T-shirt or baggy pants, but try to look smart and sophisticated so that they will accept you". According to these concepts, also social acceptance and participation are largely based on the ability of adaptation. The third quotation refers to compliance with rules of the labour market, in particular appearance and presentation, aspects that decide upon admission and participation. Once again it becomes evident that there is a strong conformity pressure implied, although this is not perceived as stress but as an opportunity: Being conscious of the rules enables to adapt to them and thus meeting the expectations.

Starting off from this point of view, it is demonstrated that a lack of adaptability or lack of disposition for adaptation may lead to social exclusion and lacking recognition.

ROf: Some people starve, hm, starve also due to the money, because they don't want to work and are just too lazy and live on the street, although they might also, if they had not been so lazy and practised enough at school or learnt enough, they, too, would now be able to live a better life. Well, in my opinion, one has to set up goals for it.

I1:   Mhm.

GEf: Sometimes, also the situation is like, hm, for example punks or, hm, (.) goths, they are not able to work because nobody will take them on because they appear to be dangerous, but sometimes these goths or punks are quite nice, but they are still not being accepted.

I1:   Mhm.

GAf: Some goths and punks just do not want to work. They always want to run around in the streets and do what they want.

Whilst poverty had already been described before as a negative horizon which had to be avoided, poverty due to voluntarily chosen unemployment is met with even stronger incomprehension and rejection. The social norm of working in gainful employment proves to have been internalised. In addition, the (individual) responsibility for a good life and participation in the labour market is partly ascribed to the early life period of childhood ("had practised well before"). The foundation for compliance with the rules of the labour market is acquired already during childhood in form of diligence, discipline and determination. Again, the perceived self-efficacy becomes evident here.

Gesa (GEf) takes up the critical comments about those who supposedly refuse to work and confirms that a certain form of self-presentation is important for access to

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[12] In addition to a monetary aspect, a good job is characterised by the fact that the activity was freely chosen, and is associated with pleasure which also increases achievement and productivity. The selection of job itself takes place within the scope of possibilities that is limited by the concepts of normality. In this manner, the desired job of a sales woman in the textile business for instance (*Galina*) reflects the concept of a normal feminine biography.

the labour market. She criticises however, that members of certain groups (e.g. goths, punks) are stigmatised and discriminated even if they are willing to work. Whilst on one hand she confirms that adaptability is an important strategy of action for participating in the labour market, on the other hand she criticises that this principle excludes those (groups of) persons who voluntarily or involuntarily deviate from the pattern of normality irrespective of their achievements, personality or motivation. Consequently, G*esa*'*s* statement for the first time in the discussion challenges and sheds a negative light on the established view of conformity and adaptation.

Although in her description of the behaviour of "some goths and punks" *Galina* refrains from generalisation, she also recognises that working in gainful employment is a social norm and duty. In accordance, the individual person is required to comply with the existing norms in order to be able to participate in the labour market. Within the context of work, self-determination is partly regulated and limited ("They always want […] to do what they want").[13] In the end, it is again attributed to the (group of) persons themselves if they are excluded from the labour market as it is assumed that they would be able to change their situation themselves. Nevertheless, first correlations with mechanisms of (institutional) discrimination appear that show that participation and recognition are determined by more than personal commitment and adaptability.

Acquiring Agency from the Background of Lack of Self-Responsibility: Group Schneeball

Whilst the group *Kupfer* stresses the importance of self-responsibility, i.e. in this case rule-conform and adaptive behaviour already during childhood, the group *Schneeball* regards the period of childhood as a moratorium which goes in line with 'enjoying the privilege of fools' and lacking self-responsibility. Well-being in childhood is granted amongst other factors if the frame conditions leave sufficient scope for individual preferences, games, fun and enjoyment. An important point of reference is given by the peer group; thereby testing out also limits and questioning norms and generational orders. This orientation pattern is perceived as being specific for the period of childhood and goes along with the idea that the following phases of life are characterised by growing self-responsibility and conformity pressure (pressure to perform, religious duties etc.). Agency consequently is acquired from the background of liberties granted at a young age, being well aware of the fact that radical changes are approaching with the transition to pre-adolescence. Parents (and teachers) play an important part as far as they shall ensure a given balance between liberties granted and care for later phases of life and a good future.

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[13] In such a manner it is denied that the (supposedly) self-determined life of the goths and punks is a good life since it is reasoned that they would have been able to lead a "better" life.

This pattern will also be illustrated by means of some sequences. After the introductory questions have been read out, the children enumerate in form of key words those things which are important to them.

DAf:	May I start?
I:	Yes, ok, get started.
DAf:	Hm, for me chocolate is important. [starts laughing]
LMf:	[is laughing] We can see that. [points to DAf]
HAf:	For me, my entire family is important and -
LMf:	Can we make a round?
HAf	[zu LMF]: LMf, don't interrupt me, please.
I:	You may simply, one after the other.
LMf:	I see.
HAf:	For me my family is important and my friends. That's it. And of course, chocolate [starts laughing].
LMf	[points to HAf]: Do not forget, chocolate [is laughing].
HAf:	∟ and future
IAf:	Hm, for me my future, my family, my friends, chocolate [laughter], sweets are important hm -
HAf:	∟ Yes of course (.) Pizza [laughing]
ENf	[zu HAf]: Hello? You may interrupt her – do you? [seems angry]
IAf:	Oh pizza, doner kebab and let's say food. Food and hm my future.

The first answer "chocolate" is quite a confusing one, as it is unclear how to deal with this proposition. Possibly the interviewer and the setting are not being taken seriously. It may also be that in the beginning non-committal answers are given or that chocolate is a semi luxury food that is particular attractive due to its 'rarity', being perhaps limited by the parents, or that the attraction lies in the fact that children can buy chocolate on their own. As chocolate and other sweets and culinary delights are being named also by other girls at one go together with other important things, the first interpretation may be dropped and we may assume that relish forms an important part of childhood for this group. Further first enumerations are "family", "friends" and "future". In the following it proves that family and friends are quoted most often, and are strongly evaluated and differentiated. The individual acts of speech, which permanently show reference to previous matters, are accompanied by sharp remarks, interruptions and rebukes.

A further enumeration shows how the aspects, previously mentioned and new ones are put into an idiosyncratic order and are validated in a cooperative manner.

FEf:	Okay. For me it is important to have fun. Then, eh, sweets, computer, the Koran, my prophets and so forth, hm, then, then. Then (.), animals, in any case cats and baby dogs.
Several:	∟ O::::h.
LMf:	So, puppies
HAf:	Oh puppies [theatrical gesture]
IAf:	Dogs and cats are my life.
FEf:	And I had two birds, budgies- and then, jewellery is very important for me.
MAf:	∟ I also had two birds.
HAf:	Hello, you did not even mention your family.
FEf:	Oh and my family.
IAf:	Family should come first!
FEf:	And my friends of course.

Within the group *Schneeball* the view that agency in childhood should imply the freedom of living up to one's individual preferences, i.e. games, fun and enjoyment is unanimously strongly supported. In view of the omission of the aspect "family", a prioritisation of significant aspects in the context of childhood is made from the outside: "Family should come first". Consequently, all other aspects are subordinate. This, too, is met by unanimous approval of the group. Within the enumeration, the aspect religion ("the Koran, my prophets") is also made subject of the discussion and taken up several times by other members of the group (see below).

The special significance of friendship is stressed several times by offensive declarations of friendship. In exemplary manner it is stated that friends will help you when you feel bad. *Hatice* (HAf), *Iana* (IAf) and *Lima* (LMf) demonstrate their friendship and unity in verbal and non-verbal forms. They talk about love and jokingly about getting engaged. Best friends are put in the same line as family members. The open declaration and demonstration of belonging together shows recognition and the importance of belonging or non-belonging to one group. Friendship-related affiliation and recognition have a positive effect on the self and feelings of security. Agency is promoted and experienced by means of shared interests and preferences in friendships.

I:	But what do you like? What, what is important then?
HAf:	Well, hm: They are just like sisters, So, so sister, you know?
I:	⌊Mhm. Mhm. [Yes, nods]
HAf:	So. and hm sisters, you love them, so, so. And I, me too. And, no idea, we have so much fun, sometimes we are a bit stirred up.
I:	⌊[nods several times]
IAf:	⌊Off-the-wall. [*Ballaballa*, is grinning]
HAf:	Off-the-wall. [*Ballaballa*]
LMf:	We are all the same, we are all the same in our heads.
HAf:	⌊I and her [embraces the head of IAf and hugs her]
[…]	
HAf:	And in any case, in any case hm:: (.) I really enjoy it. And soon I will go to another school and not see her [IAf] and my other friends any longer. We will no longer be the same. That is already for sure.

The up-coming transition to secondary school will lead to the separation of friends and the participants fear that the close friendships are being seriously threatened. Friendship is closely linked to the school context, and school is an important location of encounter. The up-coming transition is anticipated with insecurity and sadness, but also with passiveness. The status passage in the transition from primary school to higher school types also implies that friendships will have to be re-arranged.

The greatest of ease of childhood also becomes evident elsewhere in contrast to the expected seriousness and responsibility of later stages of life and is documented in an exemplary manner in a sequence in which a girl who is obviously having a difficult time in the group is stressing the significance and challenge of regular praying.

MAf:	And yes, I am praying now and I hope that I will carry on like this and that it won't stop.
	[The girls speak all at once and reproach MAf]

IAf:	Yes, and headscarf on and then off again [reproachfully]
LMf:	But you always put on the headscarf and then take it off again!
MAf:	Yes but, I am praying now and headscarf I put on in the sixth or seventh.
IAf	[reproachfully to MAf]: Oh it is time for prayers, and then again it isn't or what?
HAf	[to I]: Just have a look, she [points to MAf] always, always put headscarf -
MAf:	Heh? I did not pray during the fourth form.
HAf	[to I]: She said it is time to wear a headscarf and then she did headscarf. A day later she took it off again and then she put it on again, then again off and then she put it on again.
MAf:	Nope. I wore it for five days and then took it off.
[…]	
ENf:	Hello! Everything is being recorded.
HAf [to MAf]:	This is all haram, yes.
MAf:	No.
DAf:	Uff, hello ( )
HAf:	Of course! You may not put headscarf on and take it off.
DAf:	∟ Yes you may.
HAf:	You have to do that for the rest of your life. If you go to the mosque.
MAf:	My aunt told me that I was still too small for it.

Maya (MAf) states that for her regular praying is a very important issue. In her own doubts about her endurance possible failure is already being anticipated. It is not possible to reconstruct unambiguously what causes her fear of failure. The regular action of praying puts her self-discipline and self-responsibility to the test. The strong reactions of other participants reveal that not so long ago *Maya* 'failed' wearing the headscarf. Apart from lack of endurance, weakness of character, inability to stick to principles and inconsistency she is also being accused of sin.

However, it remains unclear in which way the girls position themselves with regards to wearing a headscarf although the girls evidently profess their Muslim belief and consequently are confronted with religious norms. *Maya* who admits her failure puts this down to lack of maturity under the protection of her aunt and intends now to start up with religious practices step by step by regular praying. However, focus is put on her failure and not on her courage of being one of the first in her peer to put on the headscarf.[14] In addition to the reproaches mentioned before, the strong and highly emotional reactions reveal above all that *Maya's* attempt of adaptation to religious norms and her respective failure remind the girls of the fact that they soon will be confronted with similar challenges themselves. With her action, *Maya* personifies the transition to a new phase of life and thus the end of childhood.

On the whole it becomes evident that there is a strong orientation towards the 'here and now' and towards precise agency freedoms granted due to a lack of self-responsibility in the context of generational orders and social conditions.

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[14] The quarrel is ended by *Enisa* (ENf). She explains to the group that wearing a headscarf becomes necessary with menstruation and not before when it "would not matter". It is interesting to note that during the entire course of the argument only the occasion of the scarf is discussed but not its purpose. Furthermore, statements like "you should" or "you have to" point to a rather passive attitude.

Nevertheless, also the members of the *Schneeball* group associate child well-being with well-*becoming*, i.e. the prospect of a good future.

> HAf: […] This is – well – very important for childhood that you – , the most important thing is that you should just have fun, family is also important for childhood and a good future is also important for me […].

Although the aspects "fun", "family" and "a good future" are placed side by side in an additive manner, they are closely interconnected. Correspondingly, childhood can only be positive if the conditions permit a balance between the possibilities of being a child and provisions for the future. Neither the one nor the other side should be predominant at the expense of the other. It is the responsibility of the parents to provide such conditions: "Well, it is actually up to the parents to ensure a good childhood". Non-violent, tolerant and loving ways of education are regarded as basic requirements just as well as agreements within the family that are understandable, reliable and just. These include rewards that grants agency by taking the children's wishes into account:

> ENf: Well, it is actually up to the parents to ensure a good childhood. They should watch out for what the kids are doing. For example, now, hm, they should ask questions such as: Do you have a boyfriend? Do you smoke grass? Because some of them, some of them [the parents] you may trust and so, and then you should tell them that.
>
> FEf: And and-
>
> ENf: Then you may -, if you tell it-, most of them get anyway -, parents are often so strict. You should not be like that. You should be slack when dealing with your children.
>
> […]
>
> LMf: It is very important for childhood, that parents do not beat up their children, that they do not hm, insult them only because of their bad marks. Well, in my case these things do not happen [simulated relieved expression] Uff (.) and you should not do such bad things to children, like, not to pay attention to them or give them nothing because they are not good at school. They should always, hm, give, they should, hm, the parents should just give to their children what they want to have.
>
> ENf: ⌊Give them love [puts her hand on her chest]
>
> LMf: My mum said that it doesn't matter what you need, I shall buy it for you, irrespective of what it costs, only be nice, be good at school, and yes, that's how I am. A:::h! (screams out and tosses her hair].

The parental educational behaviour experienced by the child determines the agency during childhood and further on. A good parental education, one assumes, is the best way of preparing the child for the future and provides a confident outlook on life. Negative educational behaviour, however produces and reproduces negative forms of development, i.e. "a bad childhood" and "bad children", deviance at adolescence or even bad education of one's own children:

> ENf: Your childhood is important so that even when you are grown up (.) even when hm yes when you are grown up, then you have -, well, for example, if you had a good childhood when you were a child, and then you have your own children, you have learned how to-, well, you could make sure that your children also have a good childhood or so. Just like before, hm, yes, for example, yes, a good childhood is actu-,

> actually always important. Because, for instance, there are very bad kids now, and so, if they are grown up, they might drink alcohol, smoke pot, smoke.
>
> LMf: Smoke grass
>
> ENf: Somehow drink alcohol, beer and such things. Yes, then they had, when they were small, a bad childhood and if you now have a good childhood -.
>
> […]
>
> LMf: Oh, oh, but not always. A man who had a good childhood, who was really rich when he was a child, he always got what he wanted, but then he kidnapped a child. That does not mean -

Lima's final remark shows that a good childhood may not be regarded as a guarantee for a good development.[15] In this case, a good childhood is defined merely by prosperity and consequently by the social conditions. From her perspective, prosperity stands for seemingly unlimited agency freedom.

It is the parents who are considered to be highly responsible for granting their children a good childhood and thus also for a good future life. Contrary to the *Kupfer* group, the children of the *Schneeball* group see themselves in this context less as actors, but as objects that depend on the competences of their parents. This orientation reflects once again the lack of self-responsibility during childhood which – one may suppose – goes along with rather insecure experiences and perceptions of self-efficacy.

Although agency is acquired against the background of lacking self-responsibility, in some of the cases the data shows that a certain degree of adaptation and rule conformity might well be expected and demanded from the children. To which extent however, remains to be agreed upon.

> FEf: And hmm (.) well, n+ot only the parents have to be nice, the children have to be nice, too, because hm
>
> HAf: ⌊Hm, no!
>
> Several: ⌊Yes!
>
> LMf: If a child is wicked, why should the mother be like that?
>
> FEf: Yes, yes. If a child is naughty, why should the parents do something good to them?
>
> I: Mhm [yes]
>
> ??: Yes, exactly.
>
> LMf: They are not machines. So, yes, okay, you are mean, so.

Gradually the children learn in different settings to take over responsibility for their action and to be prepared for assuming growing self-responsibility. The forthcoming transition to higher schools, new sorting out of friendships as well as increasing expectations of religious action are perceived as signs for transition to adolescence. In this transition, the agency of childhood is combined with changes and growing demands and the hope that parents have prepared them well for their future.

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[15] In the same way, a "bad" childhood does not necessarily lead to deviant behaviour in the future.

Promotion of Language Competence Against the Background of Different Patterns of Orientation

Collective patterns of orientation also have an impact on how pedagogical practices of action, here in particular tutorials for language, are being assessed. Although the format as such was generally appreciated, the members of both groups initially felt uneasy about it. The necessity of extra tutorials for language as diagnosed by the teacher proved to be a powerful process of ascription with considerable influence on well-being in relation to the *self* (feeling of inferiority), *security* (feeling of insecurity) and *agency* (feeling of limited agency): For a start, in view of the envisaged social advancement, the official diagnosis of being in need of extra tutorials for the German language appears to be a sinister prognosis. Furthermore, fears of being stigmatised and being teased become apparent. The danger of stigmatisation caused by singling out the children with needs for support is documented in both groups.[16]

GAf: Some think that it is bad thing to have to attend DaZ[17] because they are afraid that other people might tease them. "You are worse than me! You have to attend DaZ! But DaZ actually isn't that bad. DaZ is just that you -, for example our teacher said to us: "Please attend DaZ, you have got some difficulties with the German language. And so we can resolve these things."

ROf: It's one more lesson and you can improve yourself. Actually it's an advantage and the others can't do that and we might improve ourselves, doing more. And that's just the thing, that you don't have to just stand there and be concerned and so on: ((raises both her hands in front of her face)) "How shall I do that? How shall I do that?" waiting all day long for your parents who for example can't do this either. For example: They might speak Russian only and are not able to understand this."[18]

The children of the group *Kupfer* react to teasing by working even harder and performing better. Tutorials as support for language skills are de-emotionalised and legitimised by the children. The class teacher in her role of representing a competent and professional authority is taken as a warranty. In response to the negative form of interpretation of having more work to do, tutorials for language are even interpreted as an advantage. There is "one more lesson" for improving oneself and in order to balance out an unfavourable situation.[19]

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[16] Being afraid of stigmatisation implies fear that one might doubt their cognitive abilities. When children are born abroad the need of language support is 'legitimised' by the obvious fact of growing up in a foreign speaking surrounding. The need of language support by children born in Germany however asks for further clarifications.

[17] DaZ=Deutsch als Zweitsprache/German as a Second Language: here name of the tutorial.

[18] Although *Rosalie* classifies the tutorials for language as advantageous, it becomes evident in the following that she also suffered from being teased in this respect: "Well, first I always hated it because one of them with whom I always went to school he always said: "Haha, haha you have Da::-a:::Z!". And I hated it. He always insulted me in one way or the other."

[19] In view of the goal previously formulated, i.e. not to show any need of extra tutorials for language anymore and not to have to participate in the DaZ lessons any longer, the expression of being in an advantageous position when compared to the Not-DaZ children may be also interpreted as a result of pressure for legitimisation and required adaptation to the given circumstances.

ANf: Well, we go to – we went to the DaZ so that we are able to speak the language well and whenever we have problems, we will do it all together. Some of them [DaZ-children] are able to do that well and then we'll learn from them and later we will be able to do it better than the others [not-DaZ-children]. Just like hm, when we are at DaZ on Tuesdays, then we do, we did phrases for example, which the others have not seen already. Then, hm, how do you say that? We were much better at it and the others were not able to manage it the same way.

By repeatedly differentiating between "we" and "the others", a clear distinction is made between the DaZ- and Not-DaZ-children. In this respect, the DaZ group is being described as a sort of community of fate whose constitutive feature consists of language deficiencies and separation implied. Whilst the members of this group try to cope in community with their situation and to overcome their position of inferiority (in comparison to their classmates), tutorials for language are even seen as an opportunity to turn their position into an advantageous one. As a precise example for a turn of position they refer to anticipated dealing with teaching subjects during tutorials and the advantages implied for regular classes. Analogous to the orientation pattern of adaptation and conformity as explained before, such teaching of subjects in line to regular teaching is appreciated as being particularly helpful for self-optimisation. The benefit gained not only refers to the subject of German language, but also to other subjects: "And I like that we practise reading and so that the other major subjects, that we can understand that".

In the group *Kupfer*, the initial feeling of discomfort is turned into a feeling of well-being in view of experiencing self-efficacy. The participation in tutorials for language grants the children security which their parents are unable to offer due to lack of time or insufficient language competence.

Also, the members of the group *Schneeball* express their feelings of stigmatisation when it comes to talking about the necessary participation in tutorials for language. This goes in line with the first sentence spoken in front of the camera: "We are the children from the tutorials for language who are all daft". Unlike the group *Kupfer*, the processes of ascription and stigmatisation appear to have been internalised. Nevertheless, also here the format is generally assessed as a positive one: "Tutorials for the German language are cool" or also; "Extra tutorials for language are very important for me, because I learn something there […] so that I can learn the German language and hm it is very important in order to get good marks in German. And hm, I already use the term 'medical specialist'". Here, too, the direct additional benefit for school achievements and general language competences is emphasised. By referring to the technical term "medical specialist" it becomes apparent that certain forms of expression are connected with different ascriptions and that an elaborated manner of speech opens up prospective recognition. It is interesting to note that despite awareness of the importance of language and the interest not to show any more need for extra tutorials as support for language skills, there are no signs of active attempt towards self-improvement, but rather a passive acceptance of the situation. This, too, points towards a lacking perceived self-efficacy. At the same time, teaching methods similar to those at regular classes are rather rejected. The extra effort which, compared to other pupils, they unavoidably have to

make should rather be spent in a playful manner. An urgent appeal supports the fundamental collective pattern of orientation: "Okay, about tutorials for language, I would like to say: to play more, to play more, to play more". The way in which tutorials for language contribute to an increase in well-being remains uncertain.

Conclusion

By means of case examples from group discussions with children with a migration background, different action-guiding orientation patterns were identified making it evident that children's agency is framed by different concepts of self-responsibility. Members of one of the groups (*Kupfer*) associate agency with adaptation, conformity and self-optimisation, i.e. consequently with a high degree of self-responsibility. On basis of their strong self-efficacy beliefs, they are also quite confident about their well-*becoming*. In their opinion, childhood is less defined as a special phase of life that gives room for particular expectations. The other group, (*Schneeball*), however, associates children's agency mainly with preferences of their own, i.e. games, fun and enjoyment, and for them being a child implies to be still free from responsibility for their own action. Responsibility for their own future is regarded rather as a common issue of the entire family and childhood is strongly favoured as an exclusive and significant phase of life.

According to different policies of integration and immigration, different aspects of cultural and social structural settings can be identified within the groups of children. Whereas the majority of children in the group *Kupfer* have a background of ethnic German emigrant families, the group *Schneeball* mainly consists of children whose families came to Germany during the recruitment of migrant workers from Turkey. The results of the study show, however, that the heterogeneous concepts of children within the context of migration may not exclusively be explained by cultural or group specific approaches and the social origin of the parents. What becomes evident instead are complex interweaving of aspects and dynamics, specific and unspecific for migration which still need to be analysed in their extension and depth. Specific features of migration may not only be found in the experience of multi-linguistic environments and diagnosed language deficiencies but also in relation to familial strategies of acculturation and the experience of stigmatisation. Simultaneously, relations within the family, with friends, teachers or institutional conditions show aspects and dynamics, non-specific to migration that may have a significant influence on the concepts of children.

Finally, it could be demonstrated that the collective patterns of orientation affect the way in which children feel about institutional promotion, although not in a drastic manner. Considering that education and integration policies attribute strong significance to educational processes as early as in early and medium childhood, it remains open how children's heterogeneous patterns of orientation may be 'compatible' with both, school contexts as well as non-formal education such as tutorials for language (cp. Betz 2009b). This also requires a critical analysis of the question in which man-

ner and to which extent orientations and actions that do not correspond to mono-cultural and mono-lingual institutional norm expectations are discredited as non-compliant already during early childhood and which consequences are implied for the well-being of the children (cp. Hitlin and Long 2009; Alt and Lange 2011).

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Part II
Education, Social Differentiations and (In-)Equality

Chapter 6
'It's Hard to Blend in': Everyday Experiences of Schooling Achievement, Migration and Neoliberal Education Policy

Jennifer Skattebol

Equity of Educational Outcomes for Migrant Children in Australia

> Moving schools is easy for me. But when I get there it's hard to blend in

This quote from a young girl who had moved many times across a number of countries captures the central issues addressed in this paper – the pressures on young migrants to 'blend in' socially and educationally and how these pressures are exacerbated by a policy environment that homogenises diversity among migrant students. This chapter discusses the Australian education sector and how it does and could support young migrants. Australian policy reforms have embraced audit technologies which 'blend' the resourcing needs of advantaged migrant students with those of their more disadvantaged peers. These audit technologies do little to illuminate issues of equity for disadvantaged migrant students. Indeed the erasure of difference inherent in these technologies shores up a politic of monoculturalism mired in the Australian education system and nation state.

As a wealthy country, a 'lucky' country, a 'receiver' country of migrants, redistributive justice for migrant young people through education is within Australia's means. Educationally, Australia performs well in OECD comparisons but has a significant and enduring equality gap (Thomson et al. 2011). Some of the most educationally disadvantaged students are migrants, but research, policy and practice is sporadic, inconsistent and fragmentary. Katz and Redmond (2010) found that compared to most other OECD countries, Australia has relatively limited administrative data that allows comparisons between immigrant families and the general population, few

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recent studies track the educational, health, or employment trajectories of children from various groups. None of the flagship studies on child well-being provides specific information about children in immigrant families. There are no national studies on the involvement of these children with the child welfare, juvenile justice, or out-of-home care systems, and it is not known if they are overrepresented or underrepresented. We do know that most transnational and in country movement is underpinned by economic factors and families often hold vivid hopes that they can gain economic security for their children (Hawthorne 2005). There are two main groups of migrants to Australia, those on skills visas who are relatively or highly advantaged and those on humanitarian visas (10 % of the total). Katz and Redmond's (2010) analysis of census and Longitudinal Study of Australian Children data indicate these hopes may be elusive for families in the latter group. Their children faced poor educational outcomes, exposure to racism, the trauma of separation from their networks, challenges to adjusting to the Australian culture, identity issues and less access to services and social support.

The Australian education system has different policy architecture to other rich countries where equity is achieved alongside educational performance. In a review of the educational outcomes of migrant students across countries, Cobb-Clarke et al. (2012) found that policy and institutional arrangements at a country level have a significant effect on student outcomes and also that the conditions for good outcomes require tailoring to the migrant student's characteristics and circumstances. The policy successes of some countries allow us to imagine our policy architecture 'otherwise' but there is a need for more specific knowledge about young migrants and how system components combine to reproduce or mitigate disadvantage at a local level.

Recent education reforms aim to increase the educational outcomes of Australian students and enhance equity (COAG 2012). They have centred on the creation of 'a multitude of new control and steering mechanisms' (Carney 2009, p. 65) including literacy and numeracy testing – the NAPLaN test, classifications which allows comparisons of local school performance in these tests – the ICSEA measure, and the public communication of these results – the MySchool website (ACARA 2009). These mechanisms consolidate certain key architectural features of the education system-marketization, audit based governance and devolved state system accountabilities in terms of both funding and program structures. They concomitantly marginalise or eradicate others such as specialist English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching (Creagh 2014). These mechanisms steer educational practice towards standardised curriculum and pedagogy and away from localised approaches to locally determined student needs.

These national education reforms particularly compromise the capacity of young migrants to thrive in the Australian education system. Susan Creagh (2014) has carefully illustrated how current audit systems fail to adequately recognise the learning needs of many migrant children in Australia and fail to direct resources to them. The administrative category (Language Background Other than English LBOTE) – defined that the child or their parent/s speak a language other than English at home (ACARA 2009) – is used to understand the educational outcomes

of migrant students and to target funding accordingly. The category aggregates the outcomes for migrant children whose parents have entered on skills visas (typically advantaged) with those on humanitarian visas (typically disadvantaged). It effectively hides the 'problem' of educational achievement of disadvantaged migrant students identified by Katz and Redmond (2010) because the overall outcomes show migrant students doing fairly well. Furthermore the testing regime itself is having the effect of narrowing curriculum as teachers are under pressure to teach to the tests not to student's existing knowledge (CSOR 2013; Thompson et al. 2011). This compounds disadvantage for students who require specialist pedagogies grounded in *what they know* rather than *what they should know* based on standardised tests (DEECD 2008).

The effects of comparison regimes can be interrogated with concept of policyscapes which refers to a global assemblage of policy practices. This intellectual tool supports understandings of the ways global comparison regimes interact with multiple layers of local policy and shape schooling practices. The notion of scapes is borrowed from Appadurai (1996, p. 36) to refer to the power of 'global messages composed of chain of ideas, terms, and images'. Policyscapes are both imaginative and material worlds where global policy constructs policy subjects, policy problems and policy action. The framing or conceptualisation of a problem in public policy determines the solutions that will be formulated and implemented (Bacchi 2009). Audit or accounting technologies that support government to 'know' the population determine 'the object domains upon which government is required to operate' (Rose 1999, p. 197). Policy responses are then sutured onto the problems associated with the category.

Theoretically, the notion of a 'policyscapes' encourages methods that map the reach of global policy into localised spaces, interrogate the accounting mechanisms that deem populations knowable and shape ideas about the 'social good'. The concept recognises that policy is incremental, historically layered and subject to interpretation at all levels. Tracing situated policy practices can highlight the reach of global policy apparatus and resistances to it. In education, comparison regimes tend to present 'pedagogy as a value-neutral transmission system rather than an expression of culture or locality' (Carney 2009, p. 66) but situated accounts offer a more nuanced view. Vertical case studies can take into account the globalised local through connecting the flows of knowledge and power through macro, meso and micro contexts. They examine the effects of international and bilateral development organisations such as the OECD, national and regional departments of education, schools and communities on the everyday lives of teachers and students (Bartlett and Vavrus 2014).

This chapter draws on these conceptual resources to map the policy context for young migrants in Australia and explore some of the lived experiences of disadvantaged child migrants. I begin with an overview of Australia's educational policy, the migration context and an account of how migrant students with few educational and economic resources are 'constructed and known' within it. I use qualitative data to show how policy constructions of migrant students miss the mark of the lived experiences of migrant students. I then draw two examples of disadvantaged young

migrants to illustrate how resourcing at a local level had shaped their experiences quite differently. These examples capture the effects of macro level policy but also gesture towards some 'minor solutions' which can be enacted in local institutions. The findings call for recognition of the intersectionalities that nuance the lives of young people who belong to the category of 'migrant', redistributive policies that can address these complexities, and research that can capture these particularities.

The Context of Schooling for Children in Australia with Migration Experience

Contemporary Australian education and immigration policy are explicitly framed in a human capital paradigm. Here, the task for citizens is to be economically productive and engage in consumption that supports the competitiveness of the national economy. In the education system, value is accorded to those who achieve well in standardised tests and thus contribute to the national talent pool which then attracts other valued global material and human capital. Specific purpose resources are directed at young people who are disadvantaged in the hope these investments will produce returns as they gain credentials and participate in the economy as workers and consumers. It will be argued this paradigm also permeates immigration policy where the focus is on selecting migrants who will contribute to the economic competitiveness of the nation.

The Australian education system stands out in its embrace of neoliberal agendas. There is a large non-government sector which receives significant public subsidisation, and enlarges the choices of 'parents with a reasonably high level of disposable income' (Nous Group 2011, p. 5). Public funding for private schools was originally intended to support disadvantaged students to have greater flexibility and diversity in schooling but only a small percentage of disadvantaged students are subsidised by funding received by private schools (Kenway 2013). In effect, distribution of public educational funds to the private schooling sector thus advantages the advantaged. Further, the marketization of education has enflamed competition between public schools. Dezoning of school catchment areas enables them to 'specialise', attract or 'discriminate in favour' of high achieving students. Some offer specialist sports programs, others arts programs, some are strong in languages, and some focus on students with additional needs. Top up fees in advantaged schools keeps curriculum and teachers well resourced. This system presumes families have the system knowledge and material resources to 'select' the most suitable education. This results in residualised schools where disadvantaged families without these resources are concentrated. In this marketised landscape, the equity effort in Australian schools relies on specific purpose payments. However it has been well demonstrated elsewhere that the overall amounts of funding directed through equity programs are very small and that 'equity cannot be achieved without considering how core or formula funding is structured' because of the inequities those structures produce (Teese and Lamb 2008, p. 19).

More generally, this policy landscape creates a lens where students are seen in terms of the value they bring to the school. As Dymphna Devine (2013) points out, the increasing focus on outcomes from standardised tests creates an imperative for schools to assess the value of incoming students in terms of their capacity to deliver strong outcomes and overlook their other strengths.

Migration Policy

Education policy for Australia's considerable number of migrant students mirrors key elements in migration policy. In 2001, approximately 33 % of Australia's children (0–17) were first generation migrants – >25 % of these were in families from the United Kingdom. Another 17 % were from other parts of Europe, while 10 % were from New Zealand, and 3 % were from other countries in Oceania. The other 45 % were from other countries (Katz and Redmond 2010).

Historically, Australia has relied on migrants for population growth and has had various policy approaches. From Federation in 1901 until 1975, immigration policy aimed to assimilate migrants into an essentially British culture, language and lifestyle (between 1947 and 1975 known as the White Australia policy). By 1975, various cultural groups insisted on maintaining their cultural practices and public policy turned to multiculturalism as a governance strategy (Hage 2003). In this period considerable resources were directed to migrant groups and to better understanding second language acquisition, settlement processes and community development.

Contemporary Australian immigration policy has moved away from support for cultural maintenance and development to emphasise the human capital of the nation and historical antecedents of 'selecting for success'. Broadly speaking, we have moved from an explicit focus on European migrants into 'the Asian century'. However, mandatory English language testing is a central plank of eligibility guidelines. This accompanies rigorous qualifications screening, incentives for international tertiary students to migrate, and abolition of income support in the first 2 years post arrival (Hawthorne 2005). Alongside those who enter on the basis of their skills, 10 % enter on humanitarian places (as the result of Australia's commitment to the United Nations' Convention relating to the Status of Refugees). Incoming migrants on skills visas are typically well resourced, while refugees are almost always materially under-resourced and/or lack cultural capital valued within human capital paradigms.

The dearth of evidence about how Australia's migrant children raised in the introduction is telling of a national ambivalence towards new migrants and refugees in particular. Ghassan Hage, an Australian sociologist and public intellectual, suggests the Australian psyche is one of 'paranoid nationalism' borne from the comparative newness of this settler country and a long track record of inhumane policies aimed at governing Indigenous custodians of the land (2003). His thesis is that the settler and migrant populations carry insecurities about belonging to the land and that these insecurities are directed affectively towards refugees as an 'other' who is not Australian. Certainly there have been a number of outstanding

examples of the volatility of public opinion about asylum seekers. Particularly stark was the *Children Overboard* scandal in 2001 where the then Prime Minister claimed asylum seekers had threw their children from their boat into the Australian sea in order to jump immigration queues. It was later revealed their boat was sinking and people were trying to get their children to safety. The media sensation around the incident created a platform for wedge politics and fuelled on-going anxieties that Australia was becoming a prime refugee destination (Herd 2006).

Education Approaches to Migrant Students

Education policy aimed at migrant children has historically reflected ambivalence about migrants and shifts in immigration policy. In the assimilationist period of the White Australia Policy, parents were encouraged to speak to their children in English and thus support their development as English speakers (with language loss as a consequence). Pedagogies for ESL learners tended to be behaviourist and involved rote learning. The shift to multiculturalism policy heralded a strong educational focus on first language maintenance, curriculum tailored to student knowledge and need, and communicative competence and specialist ESL pedagogies (Kalantzis et al. 1990). However these specialized knowledges have been eroded since 1991 when reforms to literacy learning saw a focus on English literacy basics push specialist ESL pedagogies and research to the sidelines (Hannan 2013; Creagh 2014). This sidelining has been described as part of a 'monolingual mindset' (Creagh 2014, p. 53) where language loss among migrant groups is accepted.

ESL research and pedagogies from the 1970s to the 1990s aimed to recognise and respond to the diversity of student experiences. They recognised the enormous variation in the skill sets and migration journeys of people coming in to Australia even among the economically disadvantaged. Varied trajectories can include parents moving to seek work and send remittances; children being sent to accrue educational and economic resources, families moving incrementally aiming to reunite in a host country. Some families are 'stateless' for generations. These variations have effects of the generational orders within families and the extent to which children can exercise agency within the family. These diverse mobilities challenge assumptions about children's place within the family, the levels of agency children may have, the responsibilities they hold and the vulnerabilities they experience (Huijsmans 2013). They require policy and practical recognition of the intersectionalities between gender, race, socio-economic status and other categories of difference that shape the power and resources young people have to support their engagement with society (Konstantoni et al. 2014).

The most recent raft of Australian education reforms does little to recognize such complexities. They target for literacy and numeracy outcomes and tie additional funding to schools where students with additional support needs are identified. These are typically schools with considerable numbers of students from low socio-economic backgrounds, with disabilities and students from Aboriginal and

Torres Strait Islander backgrounds. An administrative category *Language Backgrounds Other than English* (LBOTE) – identifies and targets students with migrant experiences. The funding mechanisms that trigger additional funding rely on aggregated results (based on the categories mentioned above) from a standardised test administered in English – the NAPLaN test. It is the way results are aggregated that is problematic for disadvantaged migrant students – because their results are aggregated with the outcomes of advantaged migrant students who may have significantly different economic circumstances, educational and English experiences. The NAPLaN test is thus not a diagnostic tool at a population level which can direct funding to groups of disadvantaged ESL learners effectively. In this sense the NAPLaN test is a powerful heuristic device that constructs and investigates the scope of the policy problem.

Further, the presumption of English proficiency in the test means the skills and knowledge of many migrant children in their first languages are missed. Individual test results are also available to teachers as diagnostic tools at the classroom level. Many teachers tend to assume that the knowledge demonstrated in the tests is the knowledge students have. Furthermore, many teachers teach primarily to the tests to raise school averages and thus limit curriculum to this narrow frame. The technologies that govern the Australian education system thus conceptualise migrant children in awkward, inadequate and illegible ways (Lingard 2011) and limit the efficacy of equity practices at both the macro policy level and the classroom level. The disadvantages of not being adequately counted and categorised in 'needs' audits are compounded by education policy that layer equity packages over the 'schooling choice' architecture which advantage those already holding certain forms of educational capital.

However within this broad brush picture of Australian policy it is important to recognise that there are significant variations in local policy and local historical antecedents. Different levels of policy and the legacies of past policy interact to shape the everyday experiences of students in schools. School level policies *can* include approaches to pedagogy involving personalized learning, cross-age/cross ability tutoring, transition support and community building (Hayes et al. 2006). As the findings that follow show, there are remnants of past policy operating in some schools who find these frameworks better support them to meet the needs of their students. To explore the effect of these policies and their variations, I now turn to qualitative data which explores some of the experiences of migrant children with high resource needs. This data is drawn from several research projects with disadvantaged Australian young people with migration experiences.

Methods

The following discussion draws on two distinct but related projects. The first, *Making a Difference* (Skattebol et al. 2012b), explored young people's experiences of economic adversity and the second explored young people's understandings of

the concept of wellbeing (Skattebol et al. 2012a). Both projects included significant numbers of young migrants and used child-centered methods appropriate for young people with limited literacy and experiences of marginalisation. *Making a Difference* aimed to understand young people's experiences of economic adversity. The study involved 96 young people – 32 of whom were migrants. The subgroups in this sample were Pacifica (n=18), Afghani (n=6), South East Asian (n=5) African (n=2) and European (n=1). These young people were recruited from families identified as disadvantaged through various mechanisms of the welfare service system. Researchers sought descriptive accounts of young people's activities, likes and dislikes, economic constraints, opportunities across domains of schooling, peers, family, neighbourhood and aspirations through semi-structured interviews.

The second project, '*The Australian Child Wellbeing project*' aimed to capture data on the subjective wellbeing of Australia's children. The research design involved a qualitative groupwork and interviews which then informed a national survey. Qualitative researchers sought perspectives about the good life of 100 young Australians (aged 8–14) and oversampled disadvantaged groups specifically so the survey was responsive to young people in disadvantaged contexts. Twenty were from disadvantaged migrant groups. Fieldwork tools included an iPad application where children could script an exchange between cartoon characters and a cartoonist who drew children's contributions to a brainstorm so language and ideas could be co-constructed and remembered.

The cases used in the discussion have been selected because they illuminate themes emerging form the data. They permit exploration of the resource flows and stoppages experienced by young migrant people in these studies.

Child Migration Experiences

The goal of attaining schooling credentials was held dear by the majority of young migrants, but was challenging for those who were disadvantaged. Some of their disadvantages are well recognised in policy while others seem invisible. It is well recognised that young migrants need to learn English and have settlement needs. However, policy falls short of recognising learning differences between ESL speakers and native speakers and that migrant students likely hold extensive content knowledge that they cannot yet express or build on in English. There is also little recognition that there are often significant time demands on young people while social networks are built. Networks are well recognised to be important in the settlement process for adult migrants but less so for young people (Huijsmans 2013). Furthermore, as noted in the policy section, the schooling landscape presumes families have system knowledge and can evaluate which school is best for their children and have the resources to access this school.

Converting Knowledge and Skills

The knowledge and skills accumulated by children (and adults) are mediated and shaped by everyday contexts. Many of our research participants expressed frustration at finding themselves unable to mobilise knowledge they had gained in life in their new context. This is well described by Rani (12, Afghanistan) who was frustrated by the lack of autonomy she experienced in Australia and in the schooling system.

Rani: Because in our country I used to walk by myself because there's no strangers.
Interviewer: Okay, so it's very different when you came here, like you didn't feel as safe?
Rani: You can't go anywhere by yourself.

Rani's comments illustrate some of the complexities of knowledge and autonomy for migrant children. Knowing how to be safe is a foundational knowledge for many young people and precedes academic learning. As she indicates safety is connected to knowing about community and being known in it. Her previous knowledge of how to be safe required time and support to actualise in a new context. She needed to spend considerable time getting to know people and places. Like studies on child migration (Devine 2009; Pinson and Arnot 2007; Bash and Zezlina-Phillips 2006), our participants expressed feelings of precariousness and being an outsider in their new schools and neighbourhoods. They were actively protective of their families, and dealing with new knowledge that in Australia public attention could turn very quickly to racist stereotypes and deficit views.

In the context of these feelings of precariousness, converting their existing knowledge into the abstractions that form the basis of academic knowledge valued in standardised tests was difficult (even for those whose English had reached a reasonable standard). Many expressed preferences for hands-on learning that to some degree bypassed language competency. Resettlement requires young people to build contextual knowledge that enables them to activate their existing knowledge. Contemporary emphasis on standardised literacy and numeracy tests does not support teachers to investigate and capitalise on the funds of knowledge that migrant students bring to their classrooms.

Obligation and Responsibility

Many of our respondents had multiple demands on their time. Obligations to provide care, to interpret and to attend cultural events extended well beyond the initial settlement period. They felt this was not recognised by teachers who consistently overestimated the time students could devote to extracurricula work. Young people felt that their teachers interpreted absences as a lack of commitment to school. Teachers do not always fully appreciate the competencies young people in adverse circumstances and set low expectations about these student's possible achievements. They do not recognise how aspirations are expressed or the responsibilities that draw young people's energies away from realising them (Fine et al. 2004).

Finally, the assumption of the primacy of individual achievement that underpins the education system renders invisible family practices focussed on collective wellbeing (sometimes across space). In our studies, a number of young people have come to Australia to live with extended family to accrue valued educational credentials (often from Pacific Islands via New Zealand where visa requirements are waived). Families make large investments in these children but host families are often very under-resourced by Australian standards. There is no official pathway for these transfers and so unlike official refugees these children are unrecognised at a system level.

Localised Resource Contexts: Policy Misrecognition and Policy Recognition

While there are shared themes in the challenges faced by young migrants there are also substantial differences in the way they are supported to navigate these challenges. I now turn to two emblematic lifestories of economically disadvantaged young migrants. One struggled to succeed in the schooling system, while the other found ways to maximise her benefits from school differentiation. These two young people experienced different levels of recognition in policy, both in the categories used for targeted funding and in the way policy converged locally. This draws our attention to the influence of local policy and practice legacies in the way global or national policy plays out.

From the outset it is important to recognise these young people undoubtedly started with different cultural and educational capital and with different individual characteristics and dispositions. However, the purpose of these cases is to explore the resources they had access to in the Australian education system and the mechanisms that underpinned their radically different access to resources not causal factors determining their outcomes.

Both of these young people were from cultures where their obligations to family typically exceeded Australian mainstream norms. Older children were expected to provide care for younger children, grandparents or parents. They were expected to contribute financially to the extended family unit. They were socio-centric and collectively-identified in terms of obligation and the way they conceptualised their own wellbeing. Here the similarity between these 'cases' stops. They had settled in very different areas of Australia and the resources available were determined by the strength of the local focus on resource needs of migrant students.

Case 1 Darren (Pacifica, age 16) was a polite quiet boy living with his aunt's family in public housing on the periphery of a large Australian city. His parents had expended considerable effort so he would accrue Australian educational credentials and would be able to offer support to the family in the Islands in the future. His host parents had emigrated from the Pacific Islands 10 years earlier and belonged to a tight-knit faith-based community comprised of people from their country of origin.

No one was in paid work, the adults in the family had not been well integrated when they arrived. They hosted Darren because the arrangement benefitted them by increasing the number of children in their household over a threshold and made them eligible for additional government transfers. While the parents were system 'savvy' in this regard, they did not understand the education system. They sent their children to the local and highly residualised high school. Darren entered Australia through New Zealand and was not recognisable as an ESL learner and thus not eligible for targeted supports and programs.

The school itself gained additional funding through the disadvantaged schools program, but was not able to turn around poor outcomes. It had started to specialise in programs for students with intellectual disabilities to attract enough students to be eligible for special program funding. This specialisation further shored up its local reputation as a school for 'no hopers' and only those with the least capacity to position themselves in the schooling market continued to attend. The school appeared to be diagnosing many of its students with low literacy as IM or IS and many Pacifica students were placed in these streams. There were no ESL teachers in the school. Furthermore the curriculum for students in the 'mainstream' was very narrow. There were few electives offering rich task learning, and those that did, attracted top up fees. None of the young people in Darren's household even asked to participate in activities that required additional payments. As one said '*it is hard for my parents*'. Instead they saved lunch money of $2 per week (when they had it) for excursions, school expenses or other activities. Darren told us that while he would have liked to do some of electives (such as woodwork or elective sport), he selected the least expensive subjects – ones that were paper based and involved no hands on learning. Darren found learning in the classroom boring and reported teachers put out worksheets of rote learning out for students to complete. He noted '*It was just the way they taught it. It just doesn't make anyone interested in it*'. Curriculum did not connect with his lifeworld.

In spite of this, he was compliant with school, attended regularly and behaved in accordance with the rules. Smyth and McInerney (2013, p. 12) offer a framework to categorise students in terms of their commitment to school, consisting of 'remedials' (who leave at the first opportunity), 'ordinary kids' (who muddle along without much ambition) and 'swots' (who do as much academic work as they can). In this continuum, Darren was an 'ordinary kid'. He was not aiming to get out of school as soon as he could, nor was he striving for achieve high marks. It is important to understand his seemingly 'lukewarm' approach to schooling in relation to the attitude of other boys in his peer group. They explicitly denigrated school not only claiming school was a waste of time but also claiming that being engaged in learning made them vulnerable as boys. There was intense territorialism between boys in the area and 'toughness' equalled safety. A friend of Darren's claimed

> Because for the boys, when you are in school, it comes down to gang stuff. Like, you have to compete with other schools, like you have got to be the top school, – the toughest school- and the boys just want to rip the school instead of learning in school. If you avoid it then you would just be nervous, you would be a girl, you just can't avoid that.

In Darren's schooling context, being tough was necessary for street safety and was associated with uncompliant behaviour at school. In this sense, Darren's views that it was important he stay at school made him close to being a 'swot'. Unfortunately, he was not learning a great deal or doing well in tests so staying at school was not enabling him to gain credentials that would distinguish him in the labor market. While all the children in the family had strong social networks through blood ties and their local church, like many migrant groups these networks were closed and they were precariously placed in the broader social landscape (Crozier and Davies 2008). Darren was expected to participate fully in these networks *and* do well at school.

Managing the values and expectations of his parents and host family alongside the peer and institutional expectations was tricky. Darren stated:

> You might have a hard time with your parents or you don't really understand what your parents mean and they don't understand who you are… your parents don't know who you are or they don't understand you. They think of the history and they tell you 'when I was young I used to do this'. You're like 'okay, that was like 50 years ago, this is new and everything'.

The kind of generational conflict, Darren described is typical in families of migrants (Punch 2009) yet the school provided no understanding or support for students dealing with conflict. Schools are institutions where young migrants are enculturated into the receiver society. Yet Darren was offered few if any opportunities to convert his knowledge from his home country and migration journey or to build his knowledge about how to navigate from the schooling system towards work. There were no opportunities in host family life to see how the journey is made. The Australian schooling system did not appear to be delivering resources to him or his family that would enable Darren as easy route to decent and stable work. Given the ingenuity of his family in managing the immigration process and their understandings of welfare thresholds, it is reasonable to assume that if they had been offered insights into the schooling system and transitions to work they may well have positioned themselves more powerfully. Unfortunately, this migrant support was not available in their local area.

Case 2 Dianna (Sudanese, age 16) was also politely spoken but inclined to excitement when talking about her plans for the future. Her two parents and younger sister entered Australia on a humanitarian program. They settled in a 'parachute' area – a name used to describe areas where people on humanitarian visas are concentrated. In contrast to Darren, Diana was able to access resources in the Australian system and was able to convert knowledge she had accrued along her journey into capital she could use in the Australian system.

Dianna was enrolled in a small faith-based school through her father's connections in one of their refugee camps. The family relied on welfare payments but received a bursary for school fees from the school (as funding to private schools was originally intended). Her father left shortly after resettlement and her mother was placed in an adult migrant education program to gain credentials for aged care

work. Dianna's school specialised in education for refugees and accessed ESL funding for students with diverse migration experiences. The curriculum was based in rich learning tasks that helped ground academic learning in concretely. There was also a strong emphasis on faith based knowledge in which Dianna and her sister were competent.

Dianna's mother was also involved in the Australian education so, unlike Darren, Dianna was able to seek her mother's support to help bridge school content with the things she already knew, she said:

> Your parents might help you. Your parents might figure out a better way to answer a question than the techniques used in school and now they find other techniques.

Dianna's mother received direct information about labour markets where there were skills shortages and the credentials needed which enabled the family to effectively navigate the system.

Dianna was a swot and worked hard at her English and academic content. She participated in extracurricular activities frequently and became adept at finding free opportunities. The school worked with local community organisations to ensure students had opportunities to develop additive networks as part of their social cohesion policy. As her knowledge of the local area developed, Dianna began to feel her small school did not offer the breadth of experience she needed. She convinced her mother to move her to a bigger public school, describing it thus:

> It's a pretty nice school. It's easy to socialise. Like I just came this year. I really like most of the Year 12's. There's like 200 Year 12 [students]. That's how easy it is, social with everyone, Indian, Ethiopian, Irish and Sudanese… but also you have to work really hard.

Convincing her mother of the benefits of such a move had not been easy. Her mother was concerned about maintaining cultural and religious values and networks. Diana took up a more significant role in the church choir to allay her mother's fears. She then focussed on expanding her social networks while maintaining family cohesion. Their family shared a clear and concrete plan that involved coordinated efforts of family members to educate themselves, their younger siblings and to support some other family members to be brought out from the Sudan.

Diverse Local Enactments of Policy

Both of these young people were embedded in dense relational transnational family fields. Located between cultures and with few economic resources, there was pressure on them to successfully integrate into Australian society through academic success and to maintain of traditional values tied to their ethnic heritage (language, customs, religion, respectful demeanour). Policy at the national and local level converged to effectively deliver resources to Dianna but not to Darren. The contrast in these cases suggest that while all schools are subject to pressures from global policy regimes, schools approach the needs of young migrants according to local imperatives and the different policy legacies that shape their localities. This can result in significantly different practices and interpretations of overarching policy.

Darren was failed by testing regimes which did not recognise he was learning in a second language and did not adequately support this learning. He was significantly under – resourced in terms of language learning, academic and vocational learning as well as understanding transition processes and how to position himself effectively within them. The school itself service a significant number of Pacifica students but there was little local infrastructure to support with other aspects of settlement and the community itself had little representation in local politics. Dianna in contrast was recognised with ESL needs and received educational supports that met her language needs and changed with her needs. She was able to actively navigate to a position where she could accrue highly valued educational and employment capital including a sense of how the education field itself worked.

These differences reflect the uneven legacy of effective pedagogies and policies to inform practice. There are many schools where there are long histories of project based learning and programs which explicitly walk students through complex understandings of language and of academic content. Co-constructing knowledge and using funds of knowledge allows migrant and indigenous students to convert their cultural capital in educational settings (Zipin et al 2012). These approaches build in recognition of the complexities of student's lifeworlds, their socio-cultural orientations and familial obligations.

This is specialist teaching and the focus on testing is a disincentive for teachers to specialise in such practices. Devolved management in education departments makes it difficult to resource professional networks which in the past have generated the specialist knowledge needed for students with complex migration experiences. Systematic cohesive research agendas aimed at addressing educational inequalities once contained in federal programs like the long standing Disadvantaged Schools Program, are now fragmented and hollowed out by devolved systems based in audit and incentivised governance systems (Lingard 1998). Furthermore, while local policies and policy heritages continue to make a significant difference to migrant students, there need to be more systematic responses. Where there is migrant density, local governments and schools often provide bridging experiences that support young people to develop a feel for the game in Australia and develop social cohesion. However, not only are disadvantaged migrants settled in many different communities, labour markets in 'parachute' areas are often saturated and people move on, to schools and local areas where there is less local government effort and fewer resources. These are more difficult policy fields to navigate and communities can be difficult to form.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered an account of the educational landscapes of migrant students in Australia. It has argued that the policyscape in Australian education is strongly influenced by global comparison regimes and technologies. In the Australian context, these technologies are ineffective in identifying educational needs of

disadvantaged migrant students because they aggregate the educational outcomes of advantaged migrants with those of disadvantaged migrants. We need to distinguish between children with migration experience with a better instrumental category than LBOTE – it is too blunt to capture the resources needs of these children and even an even blunter guide for pedagogy. In Australia, public policy that is able to identify the different needs of these groups and delivering effective redistribution policies and interventions has yet to respond effectively to the challenges of converting 'the messy realities of people's personal attributes and behaviours into the objective, tractable language of numbers' (Jasanoff 2004, in Lingard 2011, p. 361). Standardised testing that fits with global comparisons has become a central driver of curriculum and pedagogy and narrows curriculum and pedagogies in schools. This has particularly dire consequences for migrant students who struggle to convert their educational knowledge into assets and require richer tasks to facilitate this process as well as instruction developed for second language learners. Further, the foundational policy architecture in Australia which promotes school choice is a covert tracking system which requires a significant amount of system capital to navigate. Migrant students and their families need support to develop these navigation skills.

However, this broad policy context is striated with historical legacies of effective ESL practices that can direct teachers and schools towards effective practices. The situated accounts presented here show how policy shaped by global policy flows and transfers is also shaped by local and historical forces. This means that migrant students can have radically different experiences of the policy context. Lupton (2010) argues that we need to

'use space in more social, historical, relative, contingent, and dynamic ways to examine the educational experiences of economically disadvantaged young people. Such accounts, would: demonstrate that both the meaning of poverty and the meaning of education are constructed in space, and that relations between places, as well as the characteristics of particular places, are instrumental in creating educational successes for some groups of young people and educational failure for others. (121)

Finally, the cases presented here illustrates the folly of pedagogies that seek to compartmentalise young people as 'students' separate from their place in the familial and social networks that sustain and constitute their sense of belonging. 'Being valued' is often derived from the long-term benefits to the family through successful integration (and the potential of academic success) in a context where the children were often required to maintain traditional values tied to their ethnic heritage (language, customs, religion, respectful demeanour). Educational practices recognise and respond to the relational fields where migrant young people are embedded. This requires an understanding of the intersectionalities that nuance the lives of young people who belong to the category of 'migrant'. Pressures to blend in to Australia's monolingual mindset dovetail in the lives of young migrants with being blended in by accounting technologies. However, there are strong legacies and new forms of critical practice emerging that seek to open up alternative educational imaginaries that challenge the current neo-liberal homogenous orientation of educational practice.

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Chapter 7
Ethnic Difference and Inequality.
An Ethnographic Study of Early Childhood Educational Organizations.

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Introduction

In an ethnographic longitudinal study designed to be conducted over 12 years,[1] we investigate, using multi-level microanalyses, the practices of differentiation engaged in day-to-day by professionals in educational organizations.[2] By this means the mechanisms and processes of the origins of ethnically coded inequality can be reconstructed. At present the study follows 52 children with and without migration

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backgrounds (Ger.: Migrationshintergrund)[3] through their school careers from day care center and primary to secondary levels. We inquire into *how* ethnically coded distinctions consolidate over time into forms of inequality in the consecutive pedagogic contexts of each child's individual educational path. Drawing upon Max Weber's definition, the concept of ethnicity at the basis of our work encompasses distinctions based on nationality, religion, culture, and language (cf. Weber 1956).

The preliminary results presented in this paper[4] are derived from the first 4-month field phase of this research project. They focus upon a selected section of the investigation, in which the constructional logic and practical implementation of the language screening procedure Delfin4 (***D** iagnostik*, ***El** ternarbeit*, ***F** örderung der Sprachkompetenz **I** n **N** ordrhein-Westfalen bei **4**-Jährigen*: diagnostics, work with parents, and promotion of language skills in North Rhine-Westphalia among 4-year-olds) have been ethnographically reconstructed through the analysis of documents and artifacts as well as audio-supported participatory observation.

In choosing to analyze the Delfin4 screening, the study focuses upon a testing procedure and its implementation in early childhood that – as a systematic diagnostic instrument for ascertaining the language level of and promoting the German majority language – aims programmatically at reducing educational inequality. Whether this aim is in fact attainable will have to be seen in future evaluation and effectiveness studies. But this is not our epistemological interest here. Rather we are investigating the Delfin4 procedure – from the perspective of a theory of difference and inequality – with respect to the significance it ascribes to the category of difference, in this case of ethnicity. Our initial analyses suggest that, by operating *in part* along the lines of ethnically coded practices of differentiation, this procedure and its implementation within the local community possesses a latent potential for producing inequality.

In the following we first undertake to situate our research theoretically and methodologically by illuminating both project specific aspects as well as those specific to Delfin4 (2). We then present the first results of a documentary and artifact analysis (ante situ) (3.1) as well as a practice analysis – which focuses on practices of negotiation among professionals, who speak about and evaluate the results of the test in situ and/or post situ[5] (3.2). The analysis results will be discussed with respect to their potential relevance for inequality, consolidated into two apparently paradoxical patterns (3).

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[3] For a criticism of the concept (in German: Migrationshintergrund), see Machold and Mecheril 2011.

[4] We would like to thank the reviewers for their helpful comments.

[5] We speak here of in situ and/or *post situ* because although the debriefings took place after the testing of the children, the documents were prepared in practice *in* these situations by the professionals.

Ethnographic Research into Inequality: Methodological Chances and Challenges

Based on the recent practice theory along the lines of Reckwitz (2003), the everyday pedagogical routine in educational organizations is engendered by rule-governed, typified, and routinely recurring pedagogical practices (cf. Kolbe et al. 2008, p. 131). Our research question concerning the origins of inequality in and by means of educational organizations[6] can be treated systematically by means of the theory of social practices (cf. Reckwitz 2003, p. 289). Under the praxeological assumption that organizations produce their members, practices of *differentiation* by professionals, which evaluate children in terms of normalized and standardized specifications (cf. Kelle and Tervooren 2008), possess a special relevance for the origins of inequality – in the sense that they generate differing memberships linked to conditions, which, in turn, open up differing options for participation. Against this background the Delfin4 procedure promises to be a significant subject for analyses of the potential inequality of practices of differentiation performed by or meant to be performed by professionals in pedagogical-organizational contexts. The category of difference of ethnicity is central to our study in general; for this reason we concentrate above all on the following question: to what degree do practices of differentiation turn out to be coded as ethnic. Fundamentally, ethnographic approaches are particularly well suited for the micro-analytical investigation of practices in their situational implementation. But when applied to the analysis of practices of differentiation in educational organizations from the viewpoint of their possible relevance in terms of inequality, however, they become stretched to their methodological limits; for inequality can be described as phenomenon on the macro-structural level. Interactionist and ethno-methodological theoretical perspectives, which are generally drawn upon for investigating micro-processes of difference production in concrete everyday situations, have for this reason meanwhile been frequently criticized for their paucity in terms of theories of inequality (cf. Villa 2011; Diehm et al. 2013). To the degree that they first and foremost focus their investigations upon situational practices or interactions, they are not necessarily indicative of inequality. These methodological limitations can be fruitfully paired with micro-analytical in situ observations by means of a longitudinal ethnographic study design, which uses a plurality of methods to approach everyday pedagogical practice: the 'black box' of the origins of educational inequality (this is the assumption operating here). The systematic incorporations of artifacts – as established in *Laboratory Studies* (cf. Amann and Knorr-Cetina 1988), *Studies of Work* (cf. Bergmann 2006), and *Institutional Ethnography* (cf. Smith 2005), and grounded practice-theoretically by both Reckwitz (2003) as well as Kolbe et al. (2008), seems fruitful. Because of their textual form, artifacts such as the documents of the Delfine procedure possess a meta-situational potential: as a produced object they give practices and bodies of

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[6] Emmerich and Hormel (cf. 2013, p. 16) expressly emphasize that educational inequality can arise only in and through educational institutions.

knowledge material form (cf. Kolbe et al. 2008, p. 132). By means of the formalized testing of childhood language skills in German, the Delfin4 results sheets, imparted by a conversion table based on the logic of a traffic light,[7] record results by awarding points and legitimize, where applicable, the (mandatory) participation in language intervention measures. Seen in this way, they function meta-situationally and intervene normatively already at this early point in a child's school career. The Delfin4 documents function here not only as *documents* that record the test results, but also as *instruments* that structure the implementation of the test and thus the professional practices of differentiation (cf. Kelle 2012 p. 74). We thus analyze the Delfin4 method as a social "practice of differentiation" (Kelle 2009, p. 100, authors' translation) and ask what value artifacts have in processes of differentiating among children in organizations, what role the Delfin4 procedure plays in the re-production of ideas of language norms, and what role in this the difference category of ethnicity is given.

Preceding our audio-supported analysis of the artifact-based practice of implementation of the Delfin4-procedure (level 1) in situ we present an analysis of the blank documents used *ante situ*[8] in order to be able to reconstruct the logic of their construction and their potential to pre-structure the testing reality.

Results of an Ethnographic Research Study into Inequality: Two Paradoxical Practices of Differentiation

The Delfin4-procedure, anchored in the education act (§ 36) in NRW since 2007, comprehensively includes all 4-year-olds (cf. Fried et al. 2009). It is conceived as a two-part process; responsibility for its implementation lies with the State educational authority: in level 1 as a group test for three to four children in day care centers and kindergartens in collaboration with a representative of the school and a child care worker; in level 2, a few weeks later, as an individual test administered by a teacher in the school. Level 2 is to be taken by those students who could not be clearly classified in level 1 (as either in need of/not in need of intervention), that is to say, who were categorized as yellow, who did not participate in level 1 for a variety of reasons, or who do not go to preschool.

The Delfin4 procedure aims at diagnosing the age-appropriate language development of 4-year-olds already 2 years before the start of school and as being

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[7] The children are categorized according to the points achieved: red = need for language intervention, yellow = repeat test, and green = no need for language intervention (cf. Calculation Key, DTW).

[8] Among the artifacts and documents analyzed in this paper we refer to: General Instructions (Allgemeine Hinweise, AH); Protocol Notebook level 1 (Protokollheft Stufe 1, PH); Results Sheets level 1 (Ergebnisbogen Stufe 1, EB); Instructions for Conducting the Test (Durchführungsanleitung Stufe 1, DA); Conversion Tables: Age Norms for Younger Children (under Four) (Umrechnungstabellen: Altersnormen für jüngere Kinder [unter vier Jahren], UTu4); and Age Norms for Older Children (over Four) (Altersnormen für ältere Kinder (ab vier Jahren), UTü4); Calculation Key (Berechnungsschlüssel, DTW).

able to equalize risks in language development by means of intervention. It represents the implementation in practice of an educational policy resolution of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (Kultusministerkonferenz, KMK) of 2002, which saw the promotion of early childhood language competence as an effective means of reducing educational disadvantage, especially among the children with migration backgrounds (cf. Lüdtke and Kallmeyer 2007, p. 245). Since that time mandatory determinations of language level have been carried out in every German state. A variety of procedures are in use, which do not always encompass all children, but often only bi- or multilingual children (cf. Lisker 2010). The early intervention implemented in 2007 in NRW with the Delfin4 method for children as young as four and their families was at the time unique in the German Federal Republic.

The analysis of the blank documents (ante situ) as well as their handling by the professionals following the testing procedure (in situ and/or post situ) brought to light two succinct, ethnically coded practices of differentiation, which we have identified as paradoxical and simultaneously relevant with regard to their potential for re-producing inequality. On account of their exemplary features, in one case, drawing upon Gomolla and Radtke (2009), we refer to them as the *equal treatment of non-equals*[9] (3.1) and in the other case as the *unequal treatment of equals* (3.2).

The Equal Treatment of Non-equals

The Delfin4 procedure aligns itself within the tradition of the monolingual German educational system, which had already been subjected to criticism in the 1970s from the perspective of inequality, in relation to the differentiation category of social class, and in the 1980s in light of increasing multilingualism as a result of immigration. It is designed to cover only German language skills and allows for no determination of the "native-language skills of children with non-German native languages" (AH, p. 1, authors' translation). As mentioned above, according to Max Weber, language represents a distinguishing characteristic of ethnic difference; testing it, just like the non-consideration of first languages in a test meant to determine language ability, emphasizes ethnic differences.

While the "general guidelines" for the procedure conceptually differentiate between "children with German and non-German native languages," identical performance requirements are postulated for all children, because "children with non-German native languages also (need) sufficient knowledge of German so that when they begin school they have the same educational chances as children who are native German speakers" (AH, p. 1, authors' translation).

Although in this passage the information about language intervention mentions children's differing initial language conditions, this is not taken into account in the

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[9] In this, Gomolla and Radtke identify a mechanism of organizational discrimination: In the case of our research it would be too early to speak of *mechanisms* (cf. Therborn 2006).

evaluation of their language level. The central factor of differentiation in the test's construction is the age of the children. The awarding of points for the same performance differs only based on whether they are under 4 years or already four on the day the test is taken.

The monolingual construction of the procedure can also be seen in the Instructions for Conducting the Test (Durchführungsanleitung: DA). Under the heading "Behavior while Conducting the Text" (DA, pp. 12–13, authors' translation) can be read, "If the child switches to a language other than German, the tester should request in a friendly manner that the child repeat the answer in German. If the child is not able to do so, the test should continue" (p. 13, authors' translation). And further, "If the child answers in a language other than German, these statements are not to be included in the assessment (even if the tester is familiar with the language the child is speaking)" (p. 13, authors' translation). This procedure presumably has its justification in the testing and assessment mechanism, but it nevertheless makes clear just how much the screening masks the reality of a multi-lingual immigrant society and the specific conditions of language acquisition associated with it.

With respect to its aspiration of ensuring an early assessment of German skills and language skills intervention if necessary, the test procedure in and of itself is conceived logically and consistently when it does not take the bi- and multilingual experiences of the tested children into consideration. But whether it is pedagogically appropriate, with respect to those children labeled "red," to categorized this as deficient, so to speak ("children with non-German first language, who have insufficient German skills, AH, p. 1, authors' translation) – is to our minds doubtful (in the case of children without migrant backgrounds deficiency is construed as not age-appropriate, cf. AH, p. 1, authors' translation). The conceptually anchored treatment of all children as equal is based on a systematic, similarly conceptually anchored lack of consideration of the linguistic differences in their previous experiences and, as an Equal Treatment of Non-equals, in our opinion contains the potential to generate inequality.

The Unequal Treatment of Equals

In keeping with the directives of the procedure to be used without distinction on all children, in the concrete conducting of the testing ethnically coded practices of differentiation by professionals were not observable or only scarcely so – whereas they clearly came to light afterwards in the discussions of test results.

As a representative of the education department, the teacher undertakes a transfer during these discussions: she bears the responsibility of transferring the test results of the four children – recorded in the Delfin4 protocol notebook – by means of an age-based conversion chart onto individual results sheets and to translate those into a unambiguously classified result (supplemental language training, no supplemental language training, level 2). In this, the category of ethnicity – which had *not* been taken into consideration in the construction of the Delfin4 procedure – acquires a

significant relevance: the professionals problematize an intervention practice subsequent to the Delfin4 procedure, which *differs* based upon ethnically coded distinctions for the group of children diagnosed with the need for supplemental language training. We interpret this as the Unequal Treatment of Equals, which has its starting point in the contradictory, artifact-produced compulsion to classify the children ethnically, to which the professionals are subjected in situ in these discussions and which they argue with in idiosyncratic ways.

> The teacher records – by means of conversion charts and a pocket calculator – the numerical values of the protocol notebook into the individual results sheets. Childcare worker and teacher meanwhile discuss the four children just tested. (…) The teacher asks, "Doesn't Salin have an migration background?" The childcare worker nods, the teacher asks further, "Probably Turkish?" The childcare worker flips through the day care center records and says, "Turkish or Kurdish," then specifies, "Kurdish." The teacher, laughing, "I don't truly even know whether we're supposed to differentiate. But he is bilingual." The childcare worker explains, "Yes, they're two different languages." The teacher nods, "Yes, but we have to enter the country." The childcare worker responds, "And if he came from Holland, is he less bilingual than someone who comes from Turkey?" The teacher laughs, "No, no, no. That's just as bilingual." The childcare worker, "That's what I mean." The teacher, "But Kurdish, I don't have a country for it. That's the problem. But, hmm, but that's okay. Bilingual, right?" "Uh huh," agrees the childcare worker and asks, "Is this sometimes assessed differently?" The teacher shakes her head and reckons, "Nah." (…)
>   The teacher: "Of course, uh, they, um, have to have an migration background to get the language course. Otherwise they only get reading mentors. German children don't get any language course. The children get a reading mentor." She softly adds, "That's just great." (…)[10]

The interpretation of this passage will be condensed into three aspects: introduction, treatment, and consequences of ethnicity in the Delfin4 procedure.

The Introduction of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is introduced into the situational testing reality of the Delfin4 procedure by means of several artifacts. The differing logics of their construction address various aspects of the multi-leveled and unclearly differentiated difference category of ethnicity, which – as the difference between Turkish and Kurdish makes clear – are not necessarily the same.

First, the teacher must determine the child's migration background ("We have to enter the country."). To do so, she draws upon an artifact that is not present in situ, and which nonetheless pre-shapes the documentary reality: the input screen of the computer program installed on the school computers, in which the teacher transfers the test results to the department of education. The constructional logic of this input screen categorizes various immigrant backgrounds exclusively under the category of national statehood ("But Kurdish, I don't have a country for it."). Only validated and legitimized segments of social reality seem to be admissible here. A non-existent

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[10] The transcript has been translated by the authors.

Kurdish nation-state does not appear in this categorical logic, coded as it is by national state. These kinds of ethnic-based classifications not only reflect the society's relations of power and order – often in contrast to the self-positioning of the person classified – but they also make clear the meaning that the artifacts themselves possess for the production of social facts, because in the ongoing documentation process they strengthen their value as a fact (cf. Latour and Woolgar 1979, p. 151).

The internal records of the childcare center, which are made use of after the testing is done and are thus not artifacts specific to the Delfin4 procedure, also provide a classification of the children differentiated by migration background. The classification practices laid down here apparently do not necessarily reproduce national-state categories, otherwise the childcare worker would not have been able to enter the categorization Kurdish. In situ of this discussion two different practices of documenting one and the same phenomenon are in conflict.

The constructional logic of a different artifact, this one specific to the Delfin4-procedure, is brought to bear in the mandatory determination of the child's bilingualism ("But he is bilingual."): It is to be documented on the results sheet as the family's language. Whereas the entry screen of the computer program requires the differentiation of migration background in terms of the precise national state, under the heading of "family language" the results sheet distinguishes solely between "German," "non-German," and "bilingual with German," without needing to further specify the child's "non-German" family language, which leads *ab absurdum* to a differentiation between Turkish and Kurdish. Here the interest is limited only to whether or not German is spoken at home and whether or not there is a second language. Other family languages are thus marked as irrelevant.

The artifacts used re-produce fundamental lacks of clarity and ambiguities conceptually inherent to the difference category of ethnicity. The more each artifact-induced classification aspires to being internally unambiguous, the larger the ambiguities created by their situational collaboration. In the discussions following the testing, the professionals are to conduct a sorting of the children along the lines of ethnic distinctions, which ultimately itself disambiguates and establishes the pre-existing classifications. Not least because of their differing constructional logics and their partial incompatibility the artifacts also generate "practical problems" (Kelle 2010, p. 219, authors' translation), which must be worked out and negotiated in the situation by the professionals, throwing them back upon themselves and increasing the complexity of the procedure.

The Treatment of Ethnicity

The artifacts to be dealt with pre-shape the event and place the professionals under pressure to negotiate and make decisions that they have to solve within the situation. The child-care worker problematizes both the classification logic of the process in itself as well as the significance of the classification along ethnic differentiation in the

Delfin4 procedure. She addresses the teacher as competent to provide information and obliged to legitimate it ("Is this sometimes assessed differently? But is it now the case that (…)").

The practice of ascertaining the migration background – undifferentiated and reduced to national state status – in the entry screen, which does not distinguish between Kurdish and Turkish, is problematized by the childcare worker, after the teacher raises the question of bilingualism, by pointing out the difference between the two languages. The childcare worker denotes the fact that the children must be classified according to their parents' countries of origins (in the entry screen) and *simultaneously* according to their bilingualism (in the results sheet) as a documentary practice in need of justification, by touching upon the two ethnically coded classification criteria in question in terms of commonly held values and their attendant prestige ("And if he came from Holland, is he less bilingual than someone who comes from Turkey?"). Although the teacher agrees with these objections, she nonetheless legitimates the procedure by means of the artifact-structured demands of the documentary practice at the computer.

The negotiations of the professionals, and above all the pressure to legitimize, to which the teacher is subjected, make clear just how precarious and charged is the task the procedure confronts them with (cf. Kelle 2010, p. 247). It is their responsibility to mediate in the face of inconsistent classification demands and complex migration realities that defy the classification guidelines of the Delfin4 procedure. The prefixed classifications (mono- or bilingualism and family's nationality) are undertaken by the professionals – here with recourse to internal childcare center documents – and not, for example, by the children's parents. The classification practice is not without consequences for later intervention for children with diagnosed language intervention needs.

The Consequences of Ethnicity

The childcare worker questions the sense and purpose of the required classification of the children not only with regard to the practice of documentation, which records at the same time the familial language and the migration background, but also with respect to the fundamental assessment of bilingualism ("Is this sometimes assessed differently?"), which could be interpreted as an implicit criticism of the differentiation procedure. In keeping with the procedure's testing and assessment rules, the teacher verifies that multilingualism is not taken into consideration. We have defined this as the Equal Treatment of Non-equals.

Whereas on the level of testing practice the category of ethnicity has no consequences, the ethnicity-based categorization of migration background is not without consequences for the practice of later language intervention: The teacher singles out divergent consequences for the children diagnosed with language intervention needs: ("Of course, uh, they, um, have to have an migration background to get the language course. German children don't get any language course").

Although children with migration backgrounds, for whom German is often not the first language, are assessed in a manner insensitive to difference using the same criteria as children with German as their first language, the special intervention measures resulting from the testing differs for these two groups of children. In the case of identical test results (red = need for language intervention), if the right as well as the legal obligation to participate in a language course is managed differently in accordance with ethnic differentiation, this can be interpreted as the Unequal Treatment of Equals. The difference category of ethnicity – masked in the logic of the testing itself – takes on relevance in the aftermath as it were, and thus does carry consequences. The children with migration backgrounds – although, like children without migration backgrounds they may be labeled "red" and in this they are the same – are construed as a group in need of special intervention and are treated differently than the "red"-flagged children without migration backgrounds, who are not given targeted language intervention by a qualified educator, but rather through volunteer reading mentors. But this differentiation of educational practice for children with diagnosed language intervention needs along the lines of ethnic difference is prescribed neither in the instrument of the Delfin4 itself nor by the state government. The responsibility for designing the language intervention is held by the supporters of the organizations, although in the case discussed here this is regulated above the level of the supporting organization, for the entire community.[11] If the aspiration of the statewide implemented testing procedure – of ostensibly objectively diagnosing the language intervention needs of *all* children – seems to have been realized, then the subsequent (intervention) reality, in this case the responsibility of the community – falls short of this universal aspiration of treating all children with language intervention needs the same. Possibly an educational-theoretic differentiation is operative here, one that distinguishes between language *intervention* for children *with* immigrant backgrounds as a fundamentally necessary compensatory measure and language *education* for children *without* immigrant backgrounds (cf. Diehm and Panagiotopoulou 2011, p. 16).

Summary

The artifact analysis and the analysis of the practical implementation of the Delfin4 procedure show that the two identified patterns of the Equal Treatment of Non-equals and the Unequal Treatment of Equal – in our eyes paradoxical and of possible relevance in terms of inequality – emerge in various places through the course of testing and the resulting decisions about language intervention. The procedure requires professional *determinations*, which make *distinctions* already at a very early point within a child's school career (G. Bateson). All children are given a

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[11] For each child with a diagnosed language intervention need, the state of NRW provides the supporters with 345 Euros of financing through the responsible Child Services Agency) § 21, para. 2 KiBiz).

label: "in need of intervention" and hence deficient or "not in need of intervention." Only in the further course of the subsequent interventions, where applicable, do ethnically coded differentiations come to play. The Delfin4 procedure thus stands at the starting point of a differing treatment of those children whose first language is not German – this is stated in the differentiating handling of testing and intervention. The long-term consequences of this cannot and should not be debated here, nor should the quality and usefulness of the language intervention measures that are used (targeted interventions or reading mentors). Rather, the ethnographic observation of the procedure should show that what is being practiced here constitutes an early categorization of children.

The Delfin4 procedure can be contextualized within an ethnic (here, linguistically coded) majority social order of the immigrant society of the Federal Republic of Germany. Even in contradiction to recent official statements, bi- and multilingualism are still assessed as *risk* factors, in the sense of presumptions of *deficiencies*, cultivated methodologically for decades. Historically, the enforcement of the standard German language as the norm was constituent in the establishment of school in the national state. Its dominant "monolingual habitus" (Gogolin 1994, authors' translation) also characterized the day care centers and formed the measuring stick for the Delfin4 procedure. Children or groups of children who do not conform to the language expectations of the school organization at the time of their enrollment in school seem to be fraught with risk. Early intervention was thus called for preventatively (cf. Diehm 2012). That which appears plausible on the level of educational policy program under the motto of "equality of opportunity" means that – as in the case of the Delfin4 procedure – on the functional level young children must be tested in order to identify them as potential risk children and to be able to bring them into a system of organized language intervention. With this, a practice of organized risk elimination is implemented, which, as a practice of differentiation, categorizes the language skills of 4-year-olds along the lines of specific norm values. This is accompanied at the same time by a categorizing appraisal of their families.

At the present state of our ethnographic research we have investigated the possibly unintentional side effects and potential inequalities of a screening process along with an intervention practice that is distinguished by inconsistencies and diffuse guidelines and in terms of educational policy aspires to reduce educational inequality. The longitudinal design of our study will give us further opportunity to study its *long-term* relevance for the school careers of the children we accompany.

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Chapter 8
Educational Inequality in Migrant Children in China: From Visible Exclusion to Invisible Discrimination

Yafang Wang and Diqing Jiang

Introduction

Migrant workers have formed an indispensable constituent of urban population in China and been playing a crucial role in Chinese economic prosperity. In spite of incremental improvements for migrant worker's living conditions during the massive migration of last three decades, they have always been marginalised in China's urban society. Such situation is largely attributed to the dual rural-urban structure instituted by the household registration system (Hukou system) which still has been deeply influential in both institutional and daily life spheres. The Hukou system in China not only restricts the access of migrant workers to social welfare, but also casts negative impacts on the wellbeing of their children who are either left behind at home with relatives or even alone or brought by parents with them to cities. To a large extent, it can be argued that the ongoing process of migration in China, at the same time, is also a process of children of migrant workers suffering from unequal childhoods compared to their urban peers. In such divided childhoods, the educational inequality of migrant children who join their parents in the migration has emerged as a crucial issue in political, academic as well as practical fields in China. In this chapter, based on a brief introduction of the migration background and China's household system, the educational inequality of migrant children will be systematically explored. To put it concretely, the incremental development of the educational situations of migrant children in urban areas will be reviewed and

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analysed from a historical perspective, based on which a general development trend as well as the ongoing problems regarding educational inequality in migrant children will be discussed.

Migration, Migrant Workers and Migrant Children in China

In mid-1980s, shortly after the commencement of China's open gate and economic reform policy, the stunningly rapid economic growth generated tremendous demands for cheap labour in urban labor-intensive manufacturing and service sector. Against this background, millions of peasants left their rural hometowns and flooded into urban areas, especially the eastern coastal regions and metropolises, looking for jobs and better living opportunities. Since then, China has witnessed "what is often described as one of the greatest human migrations of all time" (CLB 2015) and a burgeoning migration society accompanied by Chinese industrialization and urbanization.

In contrast with the migrations in advanced countries in Western Europe and North America, the migration in China is primarily internal rural-to-urban migration, the transfer of surplus labors from rural areas to urban cities. Therefore, migrant population in China actually mainly refers to the rural-to-urban or rural-urban migrant workers, or as also used in some literatures, the rural migrant workers/ laborers (*Nong Min Gong*).[1] According to Chan (2013), the 'rural migrant laborers' only refer to the working population with rural household registration who however has no local household registration in the migration destination and thus no access to local residency rights. Such precise conceptualization of migrants is particular important for gathering exact statistics of specific (targeted) migrant population in China.

In this chapter, following the common usage in the international context, the term of 'migrant workers' is used instead of other terms. Migrant workers refer to the largest floating population defined by Chan (ibid.) as 'rural migrant laborers';

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[1] It needs to be clarified that migration is a rather imprecise term in Chinese context. Because of this, migrants in China can refer to different groups of people. Chan (2013) makes a clear explanation of this problem and categorizes migration as well as migrants in Chinese context firstly into two groups: migrants with 'local' residency rights (or Hukou migrants) which are only a small and very select group normally rich and highly educated, and migrants without 'local' residency rights (or non-Hukou migrants). As Chan clarifies, in China, officially only Hukou migration holds the meaning of migration (*qian yi*) and therefore those Hukou migrants are officially considered as migrants, while the non-Hukou migrants are regarded as 'floating population' who only temporarily move to a destination where they, however are legally not entitled to stay permanently due to lack of local household registration. Chan (ibid.) further tries to narrow down the definition of 'floating population' from the broadest and not so concrete meaning to the narrowest and most precise meaning, including the floating population with a short 'temporary residency permit' (*Zan Zhu Zheng*), the floating population with a long 'temporary residency permit', and the generally known 'rural migrant labor' as the largest constituent of the floating population.
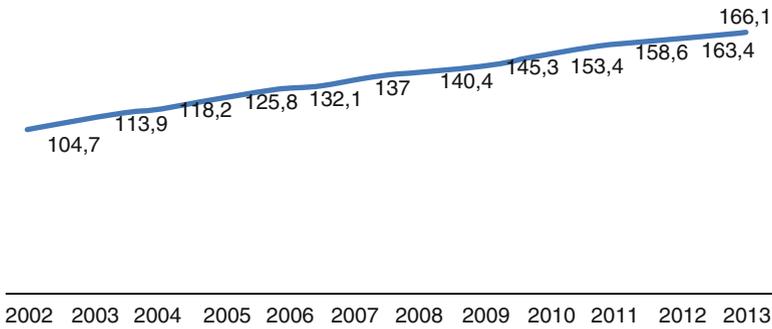
Fig. 8.1 Development of migrant workers population (in millions) 2002–2013 (Source: The data are from National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China. Figure is made by the author based on the data)

Table 8.1 Average wage development of migrant workers (2008–2013) (Source: National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China)

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Wage (Yuan)/month	1,340	1,417	1,690	2,049	2,290	2,609

and migrant children therefore refer to the children of rural migrant workers who are brought by their parents to and live together with them in the host cities.[2]

Since 1980s, the population of migrant workers has grown substantially. It is estimated that the number of rural migrant workers reached 26 million and 166.1 million in 1988 and 2013 respectively (Chan 2013; NBS 2013a). The following Fig. 8.1 partly but clearly displays such a continuing striking growth.

Though the rapid expansion of migrant workers fueled economic growth, they have been suffering various marginalisations in their urban life from the outset of migration. Above all, the migrant workers have been highly marginalised in respect of their working conditions and wages. Unlike urban residents, most migrant workers are concentrated in low service and heavy construction industries (Knight, Song and Jia 1999), doing the '3-D' (dirty, difficult and dangerous) jobs (Chan and Zhang 1999). Indeed, they mainly occupy jobs that local residents distain (Roberts 2000; Wong et al. 2007). The low-status occupation and the generally much lower educational background determine the income level of rural workers. As the following Table 8.1 indicates, though there has been a stable increase between 2008 and 2013,

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[2] The children of migrant workers include two groups: the children left behind by parents who live together with relatives like grandparents (*Liu Shou Er Tong*) and those who travel together with parents to urban areas (*Liu Dong Er Tong*). Both groups have encountered marginalized childhoods and experienced lots of hardships like in healthcare and education. But due to different living environments, the problems both groups have experienced are different. In this chapter, the focus is only on the migrant children who accompany their parents into cities.

Table 8.2 Age distribution of the migrant children (2010) (Source: Research Report on Rural Left-behind Children and Migrant Children in China (ACWF 2013))

Age group	0–5	6–11	12–14	15–17
Population (million)	9.81	9.99	4.73	11.28
Percentage	27.4%	27.89%	12.32%	31.51%

in the latest 2013, the average income of migrant workers only reached 2,609 Yuan, still far below the national average level (CLB 2015).[3]

The very precarious income level of migrant workers means that their capabilities, or more concretely, their choices for a life that they have reason to value (Sen 2000) is seriously restricted. In addition to the marginalized income situation, migrant workers are generally excluded from urban social security, medical benefits, and housing subsidies. Particularly, their children are often disadvantaged in the urban educational system; in addition, the discrimination by urban residents is still in evidence (Wong et al. 2007).

Despite various hardships, more and more rural workers decide to bring their children to the cities with hope for a brighter future for their kids. NBS (2008–2013) shows a rapid increase of the population migrating with whole families including their children born either in rural origins or in urban areas. The All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) survey estimated 35.81 million migrant children (0–17 years old) in 2010 living in urban areas inferred from the Sixth National Population Census, which is about a 41.37% growth over 2005 (ACWF 2013). An increasing trend is still expected due to the ongoing urbanisation and migration process (Table 8.2).

The above table of age distribution of migrant children implies basic educational needs of each age group in urban areas. However, as revealed by ACWF (2013), the migrant children of each age group are faced with specific educational problems respectively. The pre-school age group (0–5) has difficulties in entering kindergartens. Many younger school-age (6–11) migrant children enter school still rather later than normal. As for the older school-age (12–14) group, there are still obstacles for them to complete the 9-year compulsory education. Moreover, for those (15–17) who have finished the compulsory education and want to proceed with learning for national university enrollment exam, few host cities provide them public higher schooling.

To explore why both migrant workers and their migrant children are marginalised in social, especially educational situations, it is imperative to understand China's household registration (*Hukou*) system.

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[3] According to the 2013 Average Salary of Various Occupations in China provided by NBS (2013b), the national yearly wage is 45,676 Yuan, around 3,806 Yuan per month.

Hukou System, the Dual Stratified Social Structure, and Divided Welfare System

After China community party took the power in 1949, in order to realize industrialization, China government opted for a heavy-industry-oriented development strategy which required an unequal exchange between agricultural and industrial sectors. Strong mechanisms were therefore required by the government to constrain or even to block free flows between cities and countryside. As a result, the Hukou legislation by the National People's Congress was formally passed in 1958 as a crucial mechanism to regulate population mobility (Chan and Zhang 1999; Chan 2010). Hukou in China stands for a household registration status which is decided by relevant local government. Each person has a Hukou status classified as 'rural' or 'urban' in a specific administrative unit based on their place of residence; and a conversion from rural to urban status was tightly controlled if not utterly impossible. In addition, such an arbitrary and political regulation of Hukou is strongly hereditary and almost 'birth-subscribed' (Chan and Zhang 1999). It means that children whose parents held a rural Hukou registration would automatically have a rural Hukou irrespective of their place of birth (CLB 2015). As Chan (2010, p. 358) argues, under the dual Hukou system, especially during the pre-reform time, Chinese people lost their freedom of residence and mobility within the country.

Apart from the function to control rural-urban migration, the Hukou system defines people's rights for many activities and thus forges their social status as well. Under this system, urban residents received a wide range of basic resources, social services and welfare, while rural residents largely had to fend for themselves (Li and Chui 2011). Hukou regulation therefore is critically regarded as a mechanism of social stratification and segregation, not only in geographical term, but more fundamentally in social, economic and political terms. It excludes peasants from access to state-subsidized resources, benefits and opportunities, including state-owned enterprise job chances and welfare entitlements such as medical care and social security, and education etc. (Chan and Zhang 1999; Solinger 1999; Chan 2010). From this perspective, Hukou system has been divided the Chinese society and created two basic social classes, 'the urban class' and 'the rural class', the latter of whom were actually treated as 'second-class citizens' (Chan 2010).

Due to the Hukou regulation, China has set up a dual track welfare system: one for urban residents and the other for rural residents (Wang 2014). For instance, the rural residents didn't have social insurance enjoyed by urban citizens till 2000s when some rural medical insurance and aging insurance finally covered countryside. Since early 1990s, the Chinese government has taken various measures to dismantle Hukou system gradually. It abolished grain rationing coupons to facilitate migration in 1993 and adopted 'temporary residency permit', with which rural migrant workers could get certain (but still very limited) rights to get social insurance and send their children to schools in host cities. However, as a whole, the deep social stratification and segregation between urban citizens and rural workers

still maintain. The people holding rural Hukou are still second-class residents in cities, and their situations even get severer with the rapid flooding of rural migrant workers into cities.

It is such an omnipotent and deeply stratified social structure – the Hukou system – that has decisively been affecting the unequal educational situations in migrant children.

Educational Inequality in Migrant Children: From Visible Exclusion to Invisible Discrimination

The 1986 Compulsory Education Law (amended in 2006) establishes a system of free 9-year compulsory education starting from 6 or 7 years old equal for all school-age children regardless of their gender, ethnicity, race, familial financial status and religions, and regulates the state's obligation to help poor students pursue their learning. This principle of educational equality is further clearly stipulated in the 1995 Education Law. Moreover, it also provides that the people's governments of each level should adopt measures to ensure that children and young people in the age for compulsory education be enrolled in schools.

However, the reality of educational equality in China is still far from what these legislations have claimed. What the disadvantaged migrant children have been suffering in host urban areas is a typical case to indicate how serious educational inequality is in China. In early 1990s, educational segregation and marginalization of migrant children first came into public view. To date, Chinese and international scholars alike have conducted numerous investigations about the educational inequality in migrant children from different perspectives, including general exclusion situations, access to public schools, problems of migrant schools, educational performances etc., quite often concentrating on specific urban areas like Beijing, Shanghai and Canton province etc. where the migrants are concentrated (e.g. Solinger 1999; HRIC 2002; Han 2004; Liang and Chen 2007; Wang 2008; Woronov 2008; Chan 2009; Goodburn 2009, 2014; REAP 2009; Dong 2010; Tan 2010; Wang and Yin 2011; Chen and Feng 2013; CLB 2015 etc.). These studies, however, share similarities in describing the problematic situations but lack a historical view of the whole development. Indeed, the educational situations of migrant children have been changing gradually with the continuing reform of educational policies installed to improve equality since mid-1990s. Nowadays, it is necessary to get a systematic and historical review of the changing situations. In this chapter, the inequalities of migrant children in access to education and in process of education will be discussed respectively in the developing context of the educational policies for migrant children. Based on this review, an overall trend of the educational inequality of migrant children will be summarized and the prevailing problems, either the radically old or the emerging new or both, will be further examined.

Inequality of Migrant Children in Access to Education: Visible Exclusion

Absolute Exclusion of Migrant Children from Urban Public School System

As above mentioned, Hukou system primarily determines where and what kind of education a child will get. Legally speaking, migrant children with rural Hukou status is supposed to access compulsory education only in their origin rural areas. In cities, public schools are not accessible for migrant children unless they meet two criteria: first, they must reside within the local school district; second, students must be registered in the school district based on local urban Hukou (Chen and Feng 2013). In China, it deserves attention that it is local governments at county/district level that bear the responsibility to render elementary education. The relevant budget for compulsory education is allocated through local governments in term of the number of school-age children with Hukou and not portable across administrative units (Chan 2009; Chen and Feng 2013; Démurger and Xu 2013). The burden of local governments for compulsory education was even heavier in 1990s. At that time, obsessed with new managerialism, Chinese government adopted the efficiency-oriented management strategy and took advantage of market mechanism to run public and social services. This privatization of public services relieved central government of its responsibilities for delivering public goods and generated profound impacts on the compulsory education (Wang 2012).

Without central government's necessary fiscal subsidy, local authorities lacked both financial resources and motivations to accommodate the educational needs of migrant children who didn't have local Hukou. Therefore, both Hukou-based education access system and the increasingly important role of local government in taking responsibility for elementary education absolutely excluded the migrant children from the urban education system at the outset of migration process. Indeed, prior to mid-1990s, migrant children were rejected to enroll in the urban public schools at all (Wu and Liu 2007; REAP 2009; Goodburn 2014).

First Opened Access for Migrant Children to Urban Schooling but with Tight Limits

In order to integrate migrant children into the compulsory education in urban areas, the former Educational Commission drafted *the* (*Trial*) *Measures for the Schooling of Children and Young People in the Migrant Population*[4] in *1996*. This trial regulation proposed the school-age migrant children were able to apply for schools within their residence district if their parents held 'temporary residency permit' there. Although this regulation was trial and only implemented in some specific districts of a few cities, it was the first time to offer accessibility for migrant children to

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[4] In Chinese:《城镇流动人口中适龄儿童少年就学办法 (试行)》

enroll in the urban schooling system. Based on this trial regulation, in *1998*, together with the Ministry of Public Security, the former Educational Commission officially proclaimed *the Provisional Measures for the Schooling of Migrant Children and Young People*[5] (*Provisional Measures* hereafter) and detailed the guidelines regarding how migrant children could access local education in cities. This *Provisional Measures* is of historical significance. It established the responsibilities of inflowing local governments to accept migrant children aged between 6 and 14 as temporary students (*Jie Du Sheng*) mainly in local public schools. This means that the former absolute exclusion of migrant children from urban education set up by Hukou system started to be broken down.

However, the 1998 promulgation still emphasized that the migrant children who had guardianship in their origin Hukou area should get compulsory education directly there, and that those who didn't have guardianship in their Hukou registration place could enroll in schools in the in-flowing cities but only as temporary students. In addition, there is a serious problem in the *Provisional Measures* because it approved schools that 'accepted' migrant children to collect temporary student fees (*Jie Du Fei*) which were generally far beyond what their parents could afford, to cover extra expenses. Obviously, this 1998 stipulation still had an attempt to exclude migrant children from the local urban educational system.

Gradually Widened Chances for Migrant Children to Schooling but Still with High Barriers

With the rapid growth of the whole-family migrant population since 2000, the problem of accessing urban education for migrant children has been getting more serious. Against this background, in 2001, *the Outline for Development of Children in China* (*2001–2010*)[6] was issued, which suggested that the educational rights of all children, including migrant children, should be guaranteed. In order to reach this goal, the State Council formulated *the Decision on Reform and Development of Elementary Education*[7] in *2001*. It established the 'two mainly' (*liang wei zhu*) principle, that is, first, the compulsory education of migrant children should be mainly provided and managed by the in-flowing local governments, and second, migrant children should mainly be admitted by the local public schools.

Clearly, the 2001 'two mainly' principle further explicitly regulated the obligations of both local governments and local public schools of the destination cities for educating migrant children. However, the 'new barrier' emerged in the 1998 stipulation, namely, the approval to charge migrant children various fees, was not solved. In January 2003, the General Office of State Council issued *the Notification Regarding Employment Management and Services for Migrant Workers*,[8] which

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[5] In Chinese: 《流动儿童少年就学暂行办法》

[6] In Chinese: 《中国儿童发展纲要》

[7] In Chinese: 《国务院关于基础教育改革与发展的决定》

[8] In Chinese: 《关于做好农民进城务工就业管理和服务工作的通知》

urged the local governments to treat migrant children equally in school enrollment. In addition to banning discretionary charges for migrant children, this regulation required the local governments to set up specific budget for the education of migrant children. In September *2003*, the General Office of State Council announced *the Suggestion for Improving the Compulsory Education of Migrant Children*,[9] which was formulated by the Ministry of Education together with other five ministries. In this stipulation, the former 'two mainly' principle was further confirmed, requiring the local educational administration to supervise public schools in accepting migrant children. Moreover, the principle of equal treatment was highlighted in this regulation, under which, the popularity of access to compulsory education among migrant children should reach the local level, and migrant children should not pay more fees than the local students in studying at public schools.

Undoubtedly, the 2003 *Suggestion* was a big political step forward to help migrant children access compulsory education, since it not only explicitly defined the responsible agency for that, but also regulated the fees that migrant children should pay for their 'free' compulsory education based on principle of equality. Theoretically, this much widened the accessibility for migrant children to urban education system.

However, the actual implement of the above policies was another story. These policies, in practice, have been working more as guidance. The local governments of in-flowing urban areas still hold high flexibilities or discretionary powers to decide how to implement these policies based on actual conditions (Chan 2009; Chen and Feng 2013; Goodburn 2014). One the one hand, it is due to the imprecise contents of the policies. On the other hand, more decisively, it relies on the fiscal structure in China. As mentioned above already, compulsory education is mainly financed by local governments in term of the number of school-age children with Hukou. To meet the additional educational needs of migrant children means the local governments have to increase their educational expenditure. Under the current taxation and revenue distribution system in China, local governments only get a small portion of the national revenue even though they have to mainly achieve a variety of economic development goals (Li and Chui 2011). Let alone getting educational subsidies for migrant children from the central government. As a consequence, without necessary support from the state, local governments directly face financial restrictions to fully provide compulsory education for migrant children in the urban public school system. This has been acknowledged as the most important factor of unsatisfactory inclusion of migrant children in public schools (Dong 2010; Li and Chui 2011) and well explains the continuing illegal existence of the high fees for migrant children to get 'free' compulsory education in their host cities.

Due to the financial limits of local governments which rarely could cover the additional costs incurred by schools, the urban public schools were normally reluctant to admit migrant children. Chan (2009) took an example in Nanjing city, where in 2003 the yearly cost for a primary school student was 1,500 Yuan. Following the charge principle suggested by the state, the Nanjing municipal government set a

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[9] In Chinese: 《关于进一步做好进城务工就业农民工子女义务教育工作的建议》

ceiling of 480 Yuan for temporary student fees. This means, the local schools themselves still had to spend addition 1,000 Yuan per migrant student. This accounts for why the local public schools had to collect additional fees to fill the fiscal gap, which actually was also invisibly sanctioned by the local government although it obviously violated the ongoing policies. The exorbitant fees that the local public schools charged the migrant children included temporary student fee, education compensation payment, and school selection fee in addition to miscellaneous fees which the urban students also paid. For instance, between 2003 and 2005, the school selection fee in Guangzhou provincial grade middle schools ranged from 30,000 to 60,000 Yuan (Chan 2009). In 2006, a national survey showed that the average yearly educational expenditure for migrant children was 2,450 Yuan per person (Xinhua News 2006), while according to NBS (2006), the average monthly wage of migrant workers in 2006 was only 966 Yuan. The 2,450 Yuan education cost of migrant children accounted for 21 % of their family income. Taking Beijing as another example, in 2008, in addition to 500 Yuan per semester in miscellaneous fees, migrant children had to pay an average registration fee of 1,226 Yuan, a 500–1,000 Yuan temporary schooling fee, a 2,000 Yuan education compensation payment, a one-off 1,000 Yuan school selection fee, and a 1,000–30,000 Yuan sponsorship fee (REAP 2009; Tan 2010), while the average monthly wage of migrant workers in 2008 was merely 1,340 Yuan (see Table 8.1). All the fees that migrant children had to pay for their compulsory education in cities were much beyond the affordance of their families.

Apparently, despite increasing opportunities available for migrant children to enter urban schools as enabled by the 2003 policies, the prevalent exorbitant fees which were/could not be abolished due to the problems deeply based on Hukou system and the financial structure for education, turned as barriers for migrant children to practise education rights in urban public schools (Chan 2009; Goodburn 2009).

Migrant Schools as Alternative Access to Education but with Various Problems

In the context of the exorbitant fees charged by local public schools, many migrant parents had to send their children to migrant schools. Migrant schools were first run in early 1990s by retired teachers and other migrants to provide alternative basic education for migrant children (Han 2004; Chen and Feng 2013). In the beginning, because the local governments lacked clear regulations with regard to private schools, and because the conditions provided by migrant schools in general were much inferior, migrant schools normally ran without license, regarded as illegal and often faced being closed down. In 1998, *the Provisional Measures* officially started to allow social organisations and individuals to open migrant schools as an alternative solution to the educational problems of migrant children. Since then, migrant schools developed mushroomed. Till early 2000s, they even accepted more migrant children than public schools since the fees charged by migrant schools were far more affordable than those for enrolling in public schools (Chen and Feng 2013).

However, the educational quality of migrant schools has always been a problem in general. They normally have poor infrastructure, worse equipment and hygiene standards, less qualified teachers, and thus inferior quality of teaching and curriculum design (Han 2004; Goodburn 2009; Tan 2010). According to the survey done by Chen and Feng (2013), teachers in migrant schools are considerably less experienced and lower educated: 85 % of teachers in public schools have more than 10 years' experience, while only 28 % of migrant school teachers have similar experience; 58 % of teachers in public schools have at least college education while only 16 % of all teachers in migrant schools do so. As for the learning performance of migrant students, Chen and Feng (2013) find that the migrant children visiting migrant schools are much worse than the migrant students enrolled in public schools. For most migrant parents, migrant schools therefore are "merely temporary venues for education, providing their children with a basic knowledge of mathematics, reading and writing" (Han 2004). In recent years, the conditions in many migrant schools have improved substantially with the donations from society or the subsidies from local governments, but migrant schools and their students are still 'not-in-the-system' (Chen and Feng 2013) and deeply disadvantaged.

Therefore, although migrant schools, for quite a long time, have been playing a very important role in involving migrant children excluded by public schools in the elementary education in cities, their disadvantaged quality at the same time also reproduced the disadvantages or inequalities that migrant children already suffered.

A Breakthrough to Improve the Educational Equality of Migrant Children

After the long period of educational exclusion and disadvantages that migrant children had been suffering, a turning point to improve their educational inequality finally emerged. In June *2006*, *the Compulsory Education Law* was revised, in which the education of migrant children was added as a new item.[10] The former 'two mainly' principle, regarded as merely political guideline, finally became a law. It stipulates that migrant children must be equally treated by local governments in accessing local compulsory education and that this basic right is protected by law.

In 2008, the State Council announced *the Notification to Waive Tuition and Fees during Compulsory Education*,[11] which clearly abolished all tuition and miscellaneous fees that had been charged for all for a long time in the urban compulsory education. Eventually, the free compulsory education came true! In this regulation, the temporary student fees charged only for migrant children were also waived.

Clearly, both the 2006 revised Compulsory Education Law and the 2008 'two waiver' policy tried to significantly reduce previous obstacles for migrant children to access compulsory education in urban areas. Therefore, they can be regarded as a crucial political breakthrough in improving the educational equality of migrant children. In some areas like in Beijing and Shanghai, these new regulations, to some extent,

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[10] See the item 12, chapter 2 of the 2006 Compulsory Education Law.
[11] In Chinese:《国务院关于做好免除城市义务教育阶段学生学杂费工作的通知》

did result in some positive effects. For instance, in 2006, the temporary student fees were abolished in Beijing; and in 2010, migrant children who were out of the Beijing Hukou system could get almost the same treatment in school access (Qian 2011). Among all major in-flowing or migrant-receiving cities, Shanghai is probably among the most accommodating ones in terms of meeting migrant children's education needs (Chen and Feng 2013). In 2008, Shanghai government launched the *Three-year Action Plan for the Education of Migrant Children*,[12] which was aimed to further open up public schools to migrant children and improve migrant schools. By 2011, all migrant schools in Shanghai's central districts have been shut down and migrant students in these districts have been transferred to public schools. In peripheral districts where not enough public schools exist, authorized migrant schools are still allowed to operate as private schools and receive subsidies from the government (ibid.). As explained by the headmaster of one elementary migrant school in Shanghai Baoshan district, each migrant child there gets subsidies for free education from three level governments – Shanghai government, the district government and the town government. According to Chen and Feng (2013), currently, there are around half million migrant students in Shanghai, about 70 % of whom are admitted in public schools while the rest enrolled in the subsidized migrant schools.

However, in reality, the full implement of the law and the above new policy is a long and complex process. Due to the discretionary powers that the local governments are still granted in deciding how to implement the policies based on actual situations which are still influenced by the Hukou system and the related finance structure defect as discussed before, various barriers, either in old or new forms, are still in evidence. In addition to fees in new forms or names which still can be out of affordance of migrant parents, in some areas like in Beijing and Canton, strict criteria are even established for migrant children to get free compulsory education. For instance, migrant parents are required to present credentials regarding their residence (temporary residency permit), employment (contract), social insurance enrollment, birth planning policy compliance, and health conditions etc. It normally takes quite long to get each of these credentials. Moreover, quite often the migrant parents don't have employment contract. Few can provide social insurance proof since they are still generally excluded from the urban social insurance system. But if the parents fail to provide the required documents, either their children are refused in public schools or they are still required to pay additional fees (Fan and Peng 2009; Li and Chui 2011).

Migrant Children Still Excluded from the Urban Higher Schooling

As a crucial part of the reality of migrant children education, it deserves attention that the increasingly widened access for migrant children to urban schooling as discussed above is still only limited to the 9-year compulsory education. If they want to go further to study in the senior middle schools and even participate in the

[12] In Chinese:《农民工同住子女义务教育三年行动计划》

national university enrollment exam,[13] they generally have to go back to their origin rural Hukou residency since it is still tightly fixed with the Hukou system. For those without such a learning plan, they either follow parent's suggestion to find a job in cities for surviving or just do nothing. Some cities offer the vocational education for those migrant students with middle school leaving license recently, but they are only a few cases. To a great extent, the future of migrant children after the finally partially equalized compulsory education is still bleak.

In short, the above analysis of the inequality experienced by migrant children in educational access in the context of the changing educational policies offers some implications. On the one hand, migrant children to a certain extent still face exclusion from the urban educational system and suffer various educational disparities, and it is still a long and complex process forward to completely realise their equal rights in educational access. On the other, from the whole development of the educational situations of migrant children in the in-flowing cities, it can hardly be denied that a big process has been made in the past to improve educational equality. The Hukou-based block has been progressively loosened and the visible institutional exclusion of migrant children in educational access (at least in compulsory education system) has been gradually alleviated. In particular, the decisive milestones are the legislation of equal rights that migrant children should enjoy in compulsory education as enacted in the 2006 Compulsory Education Law and the 2008 policy to waive tuition and all other fees including temporary student fees for migrant children. To implement these policies, the best example to accommodate migrant children is Shanghai, where the majority of migrant kids have been enrolled in public schools for free compulsory education and the left admitted in migrant schools with subsidies from local governments.

Inequality of Migrant Children in Educational Process: Invisible Discrimination

Though the visible institutional exclusion of migrant children from accessing education in urban areas is roughly regarded as a progressively reduced process, this only tells one part story of the educational inequality in migrant children in China. As Woronov (2008) argues, policies that allow migrant children to enter public schools do not address the issue of how they are treated once enrolled, or how good the education provided is. With the gradually widened access to urban compulsory education and the growth of migrant children population being enrolled in the local public compulsory schools, the invisible discrimination mainly in public schools but also in migrant schools tells the other part of the educational inequality suffered by migrant children.

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[13]After the 9-year compulsory education, there is another 3 years of learning in senior middle schooling/higher schooling before students can get possibilities to participate in the national university entrance exam.

Metaphor of Physical Spaces: 'East'-'West', and 'Upper Class'-'Underclass'

In 2010, Nanfang Daily (Wu 2010) reported a story of a 14-year-old migrant student, Meng Chen, who was transferred to a public junior middle school (H) at Baoshan district after his former migrant school was shut down due to implement of Shanghai's 2008 *Three Year Action Plan for the Education of Migrant Children*. It should have been a great success and joy for migrant children including Chen since before it was prohibitively hard for them to equally enroll in the public schools. However, after eventually being enrolled, migrant children only find them being treated differently. As the student Chen explained (ibid.), every day as he passed by the basketball court on the campus, he told himself not to cross the 'border'. Actually there is no visible border in the physical space. But on the H school campus, the teaching buildings are just divided into east part and west part, each of which has its own basketball court and football court with a bicycle shed lying in between. Such a physical space arrangement is like a metaphor, invisibly dividing the school into two separated and closed spaces: east part for local students with Shanghai Hukou while west part for the migrant students.[14]

Xiong (2010) provided a more vivid example of such an invisible discrimination based on differentiation in physical space. In a public junior middle school in Shanghai where he did qualitative research, he found all migrant children there were grouped into classes numbered with same series and that all their classrooms were arranged together on the ground floor of the buildings. This maybe unintentionally, but exactly produced an interesting physical metaphor in sociological term, the "underclass" standing for migrant children and the "upper class" referring to the local peers. As Xiong (2010) argues, in this way, the social segmentation or the class distinction based on the rural-urban (Hukou) stratification is intensively reproduced in the public school space. It just acquires a new form, that is, invisible discrimination.

Unequal Treatment and Discrimination in Pedagogical Processes

The invisible discrimination for migrant children is embodied not only in the separation strategy of some schools in grouping students, but also in the direct pedagogical treatments of some schools where migrant and urban students are mixed.

Rural children are often perceived as being 'out of control', 'illdisciplined', 'dirty' and 'ignorant' (Goodburn 2009). In a qualitative research on the invisible discrimination for migrant children inside public schooling which the author supervised, evidences were found regarding the pedagogical discrimination from schools and teachers. *First of all*, migrant children normally have much less or even no chances to enter the excellent classes. In China, not only schools are strongly

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[14] Since Shanghai lies in the east costal side of China, the 'west' here also has a geographical metaphor meaning that the migrant students are from the rural poor 'west' parts of China.

stratified in terms of recourses, teaching quality, student performances etc.; inside schools, students are also grouped together based on their learning performances (normally scores) or abilities to enter the further grade schools. For the school managers and teachers, such exclusion is not exclusion or discrimination at all since the selection process, in their opinion, is equally based on the performances of each student. However, they just ignore the disadvantages that migrant children have been suffering from the beginning before being enrolled in public schools in accessing various educational recourses, either formal or informal, which already decides that they would never win the merely performance-based competition with their local peers. *Secondly*, migrant children are often found excluded from the extracurricular activities which are not free. Although as for the free extracurricular events, they are still involved; as for those they have to pay, normally that it is out of the affordance of their parents prevents migrant children's participation. *Thirdly*, migrant children often appear to be much less active in participating in class discussions. As reported by some migrant children, usually they feel non-confident and have lower self-esteem, and are afraid of being laughed by teachers or local classmates when answering something wrong. However, seldom do they get enough encouragement from their teachers on such situations. Due to the similar reasons, it is also revealed that migrant children usually hold more distant relationships with their teachers than their local peers. *Last but not the least*, migrant children are much less or even not at all concerned by their schools and teachers regarding their future after graduation especially with junior middle school leaving certificate. As already mentioned before, migrant children are still excluded from the urban higher schooling. In contrast to their local peers, they are absolutely outside of the system of intensive preparation for the higher school entrance examination. In this context, their teachers, clearly, lack motivations and resources to care the future of migrant children.

In brief, being enrolled in the urban public schooling doesn't mean that migrant children are equally treated in contrast with their urban peers. On the contrary, they still suffer various discriminations like being separated by schools from the local students or being differently treated by their teachers in concrete pedagogical process. Such differentiation strategies are not visible, but can always be felt by migrant students in their daily school life, that is, invisible discrimination.

Conclusion and Discussion: Permanent Inequality Reproduction or a Bright Future Equal for Migrant Children?

Based on the above analyses, now it can be concluded that the development of educational inequality of migrant children in the past around 20 years presents a rough transformation from visible exclusion to invisible discrimination, or more precisely, to a situation mixed with visible exclusion and invisible discrimination.

Despite more chances for migrant children especially to the urban compulsory education system which is a crucial positive improvement, migrant children in general are still in the shadow of the durable educational inequalities in various forms. *First of all*, the basic access to a free compulsory education in the host urban areas as clearly legislated by law has not yet been completely realised, and big regional differences still exist. *Secondly*, migrant schools as an alternative access for migrant children to compulsory education in cities generally are still confronted with much worse quality problems which further reproduce the disadvantages of migrant children. *Thirdly*, the access to after-compulsory education or higher schooling in many host cities remains tightly closed for migrant children, which directly divides the futures of migrant children and their urban peers. *Finally*, for the migrant children enrolled in the urban public schools, invisible discrimination in different forms is still prevalent.

Under the mechanisms of both visible exclusion and invisible discrimination, the educational attainment and the future of migrant children can only be a continuing process of inequality reproduction. As Xiong (2010) argues, as for the migrant children still excluded from the public schools but admitted in migrant schools, they gradually develop a "counter-school subculture", under which they deny the school values, contempt teachers, and are willingly ready for the worse labour market. While for those enrolled in public schools, the situations are not much better. Both the invisible discrimination and the ongoing block to higher schools in their host cities just discourage most migrant children who have strong desires for an upward social mobility. In their public schools, despite hard learning, they always feel an invisible high 'ceiling' there which blocks out their way of upward mobility. Because of such a 'ceiling effect' (Xiong 2010), most migrant children just initiatively choose to give up in learning.

The above hardships are however not yet the worst. The most recent change with situations of migrant children's education in urban cities shows a negative backward step. In 2014, stringent measures were suddenly taken to deter migration to major metropolises, making enrollment in both public and migrant schools for migrant children even much harder than before (Chan 2014). Even in Shanghai, the most accommodating city for migrant children, since 2014, a more complicated list of documents which is much beyond what most migrant parents can provide is required by schools for enrolling migrant children, even in the primary migrant schools.

Go forward or backward? This should not be a question of educational policies based on social justice and equal rights for all. Migrant children with rural Hukou, like their urban peers with urban Hukou, deserve an equally bright future which can only be necessarily realized through equalities in both educational access and process. If migrant children continued to become victims of migration, China would lose not only a generation but a bright future in terms of economic prosperity and social development. To completely improve the educational equality of migrant children, it is not only the local governments of migrant-receiving cities that should take all responsibilities. The central government should never shrug off its fundamental obligations to provide sufficient additional resources to migrant concentrating areas so as to cope with the financial stresses of the local governments due to the

Hukou system and the financial structure defect. However, the most critical responsibility of the central government should be strengthening legislation to eradicate all the Hukou-based barriers for migrant children to get equal education, if such a deeply divided Hukou structure still cannot be removed immediately. For a bright future of migrant children, it is worthy for the state to make radical efforts.

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Chapter 9
(Temporary) Educational Integration of School-Age Children in the Context of Multiple and Multidirectional Migration: A Critical Challenge for the European Union and Its Member States

Beatrix Bukus

Changing Trends of Migration in the European Union

Migration patterns have changed in recent years and this directly effects the involvement of children in migration as well. In this section, I explore some of the changes in migration patterns in general, and within the European Union in particular, and examine the implications of these changes with regards to the educational prospects of school-age[1] children. This is critical to a deeper understanding of the migration-education nexus.

Most existing research on migration patterns has had the single adult migrant as their primary focus. However, the trends described are also relevant for children migrating as part of a family or independently, as a number of the research examples given below demonstrate. In recent years, a number of researchers have attempted to better map the complexities of migration experience by focusing on specific age groups (for children e.g. Ní Laoire et al. 2011; for the retirement migration of elderly e.g. King et al. 1998; migration of young persons with the purpose of study e.g. Rédei 2009), specificities of gender (see the literature on the feminisation of migration e.g. Morokvasic 2004; Sekulová 2013; Chereni 2015) and the migration of families (e.g. Ryan et al. 2009). Despite insightful contributions, a coherent and systematic typology of migration patterns among families and children remains a desideratum (Geisen et al. 2014; Wallace 2001, p. 47).

The binary dichotomies traditionally used in migration research have been progressively blurred by recent research. King (2002) shows how these were developed in the context of the settler migrations from Europe to the Americas and the guest

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[1] The precise definition of the category school-age varies from one educational legal framework to the other therefore to provide a coherent definition proves to be challenging.

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worker programmes in Europe in the post-war period. He argues that current forms of migration are not captured in a satisfactory way through the binary categories of 'internal and international', 'country of origin and country of destination', 'voluntary and forced', 'temporary and permanent' and 'legal and illegal'. Intra-EU migration also challenges many of these binary categories, in that it is, for example, internal in some respects, but international in others (Bailey and Boyle 2004, p. 233). Many sources refer instead to movement within the EU as *international mobility*, in an effort to capture this complexity. However, in the domain of education, the terms internal and international conserve their mutually-exclusive character, despite the unique framework of the European Union. In cases in which a child crosses international state borders within the EU, this is here considered an international migration. The reason for this is that, in the European Union, state borders coincide with the legislative borders of state-run educational systems in all cases, and from an educational point of view it is very important to distinguish between country-internal migration and forms of migration which involve the crossing of an international border.

The dichotomy of *country of origin* and *country of destination*, is also open to critique. On the one hand, it is undermined by research on return and circular migration (Čapo Žmegač 2010; Çaglar 2013[2]), which has found that in many cases the country of origin may become a country of destination, just as a return migration might become a simple inward migration. On the other hand, in cases in which a migrant's life unfolds in a transnational social space, the strict distinction between sending and receiving country becomes superfluous. From a pedagogical point of view, the distinction between country of origin and country of destination is less important than the consideration of first, second etc. country of educational provision, as well as the country of birth. The biographical experience of a student with the country of educational provision strongly determines what can be considered return migration, as my research shows.

The dichotomy of 'voluntary' and 'forced' is difficult to maintain with regard to cases of economic migration linked to poverty, or indeed any form of 'mixed cause migration'. The dichotomy is also untenable when children are under consideration, especially when we consider the extent to which children are involved in the decision-making about their own migration. Furthermore, as some of the cases below show, in cases of multiple migration this dichotomy frequently breaks down, as one movement might have a rather forced character, while subsequent movements might have a more voluntary nature.

Different jurisdictions vary in their definition of 'temporary' and 'permanent' migration, along the axis of duration of stay. Even in the European Union, there is no unified definition for temporary or permanent migration (Pitkänen and Carrera

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[2] According to the author, circular migration is closely related to temporary migration, but is different from it. The stay in circular migration is for a limited time and the mobility is bidirectional, which means repeated movement between the countries of origin and destination. In other words, circular migration is a repeated cross-border movement between two countries. Return and repetition are the distinct characteristics of this form of migration.

2014). In a study of temporary migrants crossing the border between Hungary and Ukraine, Çaglar (2013) finds that it is difficult in practice to determine what type of movement can be clearly defined as temporary, circular, permanent or return migration (2013, p. 162). With regard to education, and when migration from one legal framework to another takes place, it is often challenging to determine how long a student has to attend school to no longer be considered a temporary migrant.

An increasing number of women have become involved in migration in recent years, a phenomenon described under the rubric of the 'feminisation of migration'. Women are thus considered independent migrants, not simply tied migrants who follow a bread-winning male relative (Bailey and Boyle 2004, p. 238). Alongside the reconceptualisation of male and female migrants, gender roles more generally are undergoing change. This affects the balance of responsibilities within a family unit (e.g. Kurczewski and Fuszara 2012) and opens up new areas of investigation for educational migration research, for instance on children left or staying behind (e.g. Parreñas 2005).

Within the European Union, it is evident that patterns of migration and mobility are becoming increasingly complex. There has been a diversification for the motives for migration, including labour migration, migration for retirement, migration for purposes of education, life-style migration, forced migration and tourism, as well as combinations of these. Furthermore, since the early 1990s a large number of European countries, including those of East-Central Europe, became sending, receiving and transit countries at the same time, accommodating, receiving and sending migrants who have mixed reasons for migration (Verwiebe et al. 2014; Koser and Lutz 1998). The political facilitation of the free movement of European nationals within Europe has contributed to a greater number of temporary movements, as examined by Engbersen et al. (2013) with respect to Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian labour migrants in the Netherlands. They question whether the usual typology of temporary, circular and settler migration is sufficient to capture the migration experience of those involved in their research survey. As well as these categories, the authors find that a considerable number of migrants are involved in what might be termed 'liquid migration', in which the migrant tries his luck in new and multiple countries, benefiting from open borders and open labour markets. This form of migration is generally individualised, relying less on pre-established networks and family responsibilities. It is legal and is primarily for the purposes of work and is characterised by temporary nature of stay, multiplicity and multidirectionality, an individualised life-strategy, and unintentional unpredictability (2013, p. 960). These findings need to be tested among those labour migrants who migrate with their families and in other countries, as the findings of Ní Laoire (2011) suggest that a sizeable proportion of Polish, Latvian and Lithuanian migrants arriving to Ireland after 2004 were children.

These three trends at the EU level, i.e. (1) the diversification of migration types and their parallel presence in any given country; (2) the parallel status of countries as sending, receiving and transit; and (3) the proliferation of temporary migration, have their impact on children's involvement in migration as well as on their education. Emerging from these changes is a highly diverse population of migrant

children, who differ in terms of their length of stay, the motives of they or their caregivers to migrate and their migration routes. The countries on this route, whether sending, transit or receiving, face the challenge of how to accommodate the needs of such a diverse student migrant cohort.

In order to satisfactorily address this challenge, access to accurate statistics regarding school-age children involved in intra-European mobility is an obvious prerequisite. This access is hampered by problems in measuring intra-EU mobility and difficulties in accessing data on child migration.

A key problem in this respect is that administrative data sources (e.g. population registers, immigration registers, residence permit registers, work permit registers etc.), statistical data sources (e.g. census), and survey data on migration, are administered and collected within national frameworks. This means that there is a proliferation of different categories in data collection as well as varying definitions of key terms such as 'migrant' (Kupiszewska et al. 2010, p. 29; Benton and Petrovic 2013, p. 4). Additionally, these datasets usually are unable to measure short-term or commuting forms of migration. Those using the right of free movement neither register with local authorities on departure nor on arrival, meaning that exact statistics on intra-European mobility are lacking. The target group of the data collection can vary from country to country: the time criterion used for distinguishing a migrant from another type of traveller can vary from the establishment of permanent residency (e.g. Poland and Slovakia), through a length of stay of at least a year (e.g. Estonia, Italy, Sweden), to a stay of as little as 3 months (e.g. Belgium, Slovenia) (UN 2009, p. 2).

There is therefore a lack of comprehensive statistics on migrants using the right of free movement within the EU and numbers on migrants involved in temporary migration are not forthcoming. Temporary intra-European mobility is often unrepresented or underrepresented in official statistical migration data sets. A report compiled by the European Migration Network in 2011 reveals how many different national definitions of 'temporary', 'circular' and 'return' migration exist and how differently EU-Member States set up their policies and statistical categories referring to these forms of migration. The report concludes that the current data collection is not capable of recording these forms of movement, because they consider migration to be a one-time, long-term change of residence across borders and because the definitions used in different statistical regimes are not harmonised (2011, p. 65).

This lack of data means finding statistics on child/student migrants is also challenging (see also Ackers and Stalford 2004, p. 15). The two potential sources for data collection are through migration statistics and educational statistics. The usefulness of the former suffers from the fact that age-aggregated data is not always readily available, while in the latter a student appears in the school statistics most often simply as a foreign citizen, without further information (Bukus 2014). For this reason, disaggregating the number of foreign citizen students from EU member countries is difficult. Additionally, school statistics often collect their statistical data for a school year, which in practice is not always capable of capturing temporary migration.

Despite all these problems in data collection, Eurostat provided figures state that, in 2011, there were 48.9 million foreign born residents in the countries of the EU, 32.4 million of whom were born outside of the EU and 16.5 million in another EU member state. Only in Luxemburg, Ireland, Hungary, Cyprus and Malta was the foreign born population born in other EU member states larger than the foreign born population born outside the EU (Vasileva 2012, p. 2). Intra-European mobility is considered to be relatively low, but reports refer to the probable underestimation or invisibility of real intra-European movement. An MPI report finds that those involved in intra-European mobility are more often third-country nationals than European citizens (Benton and Petrovic 2013, p. 4). Some country and group specific statistics are also available: the report compiled by Schneider and Parusel (2011), for example, finds that circular migrant non-EU foreign citizens comprise 10.7 % of all third country nationals residing in Germany. The authors find that some migrant groups are more likely to be involved in circular migration (e.g. citizens of Ukraine, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia, Kosovo etc.) than others, and that the average proportion of persons under 18 years of age within the group of circular migrants is 6.3 %. However, this varies according to country of citizenship, comprising 10.5 % of Serbian circular migrants and 16.6 % of Kosovar circular migrants (2011, p. 59).

Diverse Forms of Children's Involvement in Migration

Past research has examined the role of children in migrant families, including the agency of children in influencing migration processes. It has also looked at family migration, the migration of a caregiver, including migrating mothers, the situation of children left behind in the country of origin of the migrant caregiver, and unaccompanied/independent migration of children. Under the rubric *Social Studies of Childhood* cross-disciplinary studies have called attention to the role of children in influencing migration processes, as well as their own experiences of migration (Dobson and Stillwell 2000; Ní Laoire et al. 2012; Orgocka 2012.; Hess and Shandy 2008; Goździak and Ensor 2010; King 2002, p. 102; Huijsmans 2011). The call for greater research on children, and the transcendence of adult-centred research perspectives has come from, variously, migration studies, anthropology and, human geography (McKendrick 2001, p. 464). In social sciences in the West, there is a movement towards acknowledging the child as a distinct actor, who exercises agency and actively shapes the surrounding environment. However, Hunner-Kreisel and Stephan critiques this tendency, noting that while children might form a distinct group worthy of research, in many social and cultural contexts they and their experiences cannot be studied detached from the family context (2013, p. 12). Oranella et al. draw attention to the same problem, using the example of the so-called parachute-kids (South-Korean independent migrant children to the US in the 1990s): "The individualistic focus of traditional Western views of child

development tends to neglect the collective interests of families and to ignore the tight links that may connect children to larger family networks" (Oranella et al. 2001, p. 587).[3]

Migration of children is not a new phenomenon, as shown by Fass in his comparison of current patterns of child migration with historical ones in the US American context. He argues that a historical analysis of these earlier child migration experiences would shed light on the development of our current interpretation of child migration, writing "contemporary images of child migration usually assume that mass migration is both a new phenomenon and a threat to the stability necessary to child life and its proper development[…]But historians need to make the public aware that their current view of children (our view of children) is a product of a particular history" (Fass 2005, pp. 938–939). In a similar vein, Klapper (2007) analyses the migration experiences of children to the United States between 1880 and 1925.

A number of academic papers point to the influence of children on the decisions of their caregivers with respect to migration, and to the ways in which children get involved in migration. Fass points out that in the past, the migration decisions of families were influenced by children to the same extent as they are today (Fass 2005, p. 941f). With regard to the present, White et al. discuss how discourses around the migration of children often begin from the perspective of labour involvement: children are seen as dependent family members who are a burden on the migration of the caregivers (White et al. 2011, p. 1163, see also Oranella et al. 2001, p. 578). However, there is also research evidence showing how children can initiate migration or play a motivating role in encouraging it. On the basis of research among Mexican and Salvadoran immigrant families and women living in California, Horton (2008) describes how mothers decide to migrate based on their perception of what it means to be a child and what it means to be a good mother.

Similarly, a number of researchers focus on the right of children to participate in migratory decision making. Ackers (2000) for example, suggests that research should focus not only on the role which children play in migratory processes, but also on the extent to which children have the right to take part in making decisions which effect them. In an article on independent child migration (see also the terms separated, unaccompanied, trafficked), Orgocka points out the difficulties of clearly distinguishing 'forced' and 'voluntary' migration in the case of children. She finds that the level of participation in the actual decision making is often under-researched and that researchers, because of their predefined ideas about childhood, frequently do not recognise how often children consciously decide to get involved in trafficking, illegal or economic migration (2012, p. 5).

Research on families and their experiences with migration clearly requires more academic attention. According to Bailey and Boyle, the exclusive focus on the economic rational theory of migration overshadowed the importance of the family unit. In their view, migration and its impacts can only be properly understood if the

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[3]The critique of the constructs of *West*, *Western view* etc. goes beyond the focus of this paper.

influence of family involvement on migration is taken into account, and the effect of migration on family units is studied in more detail (2004, p. 203ff).

The phenomena of temporary and circular forms of child migration, as well as the presence of children left or staying behind in the caregiver's country of origin, have only recently come to the attention of academic researchers, but are by no means novel or unique to the European context. Olwig (1999) looks at the perspectives of children on the migration of their families from the Leeward Island of Nevis to the UK and their separation from their parents. Lu (2012) discusses the impact of the internal migration of caregivers on the education of children left behind in rural areas of China, concluding that it does not always have positive effects. Despite contextual differences, the secondary literature from different parts of the world can often manifest interesting similarities: Lu's results, for instance, have a number of parallels to those of Robila (2011), who presents the results of a survey on the – partially negative – impacts of parental migration on children's educational outcomes in Romania. Both authors challenge the simplistic assumption that remittances necessarily improve the educational success of children left behind. According to the authors, educational success depends on a number of factors, such as who is migrating from the family, the role of siblings, the level of satisfaction of the parents with their migration, the age at which the child is left behind, as well as gender differences.

Another interesting parallel to the European context is the work of Fry on returnee children in Japan. She focuses on those children who migrated as part of a family from Japan during the 1960s, in a period in which many Japanese companies posted employees to newly established companies abroad. Her analysis shows how the society and the educational system reacted to the return of these children after they had stayed a couple of years abroad, as well as how this reaction changed over time. She finds that until the 1970s return migrant children were considered as 'incomplete' Japanese, after a shift of politics towards internationalisation, returned Japanese were re-evaluated as beneficiaries of international experience and bearers of foreign language skills (Fry 2009, p. 368ff). This shows how a temporary stay abroad can be constructed as abnormal by a society in one period, and as normal, or even desirable, as little as a decade later. If we apply this shift to the European context, it becomes clear that the discourses evolving around students whose educational pathway does not fit the dominant patterns of the sedentary population are constructs of a particular time.

Similarly to return migration, circular migration and the involvement therein of children and youth has already been described for other contexts. Duany (2002) examines the circular migration occurring between the United States and many countries in close geographical proximity (e.g. Mexico, Jamaica, Dominican Republic) and the circular flows between Puerto Rico and the United States. The latter, which is a migration route of long standing has seen considerable research in recent decades with regard to the involvement of children and youth (de Jesus and Sayers 2007; Seilhamer and Prewitt-Diaz 1983; Nogueras and Prewitt-Diaz 1980; Rivera-Medina 1984; Zúñiga and Hamann 2009).

Although migration is interpreted in various ways in different social contexts and at different times (see Bravo-Moreno 2009, p. 424), examples from other parts of the world can offer insights which will aid us in interpreting phenomena in child migration in the European context of today. Making use of research results from other countries enriches European research on the current internal mobility of families and of children in the European Union with various different perspectives.

Due to the complexities of children's involvement in migration mentioned above, research in educational science has opened up in recent years towards the different ways in which migration effects school-age children. In the German education science literature, the most discussed topic is the involvement of children in transnational social spaces and in transnational migration (see a critical overview Bukus 2015). Other examples of an awakening interest in the variety of forms of migration among school-age children is testified by the study of Rakhkochkine on circular migrant children between Poland and Germany (2010). Also within the European context are studies such as Cozma and Popa (2010) who look at education and temporary migration of children from Romania, Kawecki et al. (2012), who do the same for children from Poland, and Ní Laoire (2011), who examines return migration of children to Ireland.

In my study I collect interviews with school-age children who have had multiple and multidirectional experiences of migration during their obligatory schooling years. The reason for choosing this group is that on the continuum between the endpoles of 'sedentary', 'settler migrant' and 'highly mobile' child populations[4] each point in this spectrum stands for a different life and educational situation and the group of children who undertake at least two or more movements across international borders but are not serial migrants or nomads and whose migration is multidirectional (spans over more than two countries) has not yet been focused on.

The qualitative study reconstructs educational biographies of school-age children by the means of problem-centred interviews. The participating students attend state-run schools of the city of Leipzig (State of Saxony in the Federal Republic of Germany) and during their obligatory schooling years crossed international borders at least twice for the purpose of relocation. In the theoretical sampling strategy there is no limitation on how much time the student lived in the different locations so the variety of duration of stay between the relocations can be also mapped.

The interviews are further enriched with narration taking place during an ego-centred network drawing. This helps to visualise the personal relationships of the student and the way in which they change through time. The choice of this method of data collection is, aside from triangulation, in line with the arguments of Krätli that educational questions for mobile people can be tackled only as part of their whole lifeworld, wherein mobility plays a central role (2000, p. 59).

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[4] Interestingly, the literature on semi-nomad or nomad children, as well as highly mobile youth populations, and the literature on migrant children, appear to be entirely distinct and there is no reference to one in the other (e.g. the chapters in Danaher et al. 2009 are exclusively on semi-nomad and traveller children and youth).

The data collection took place from December 2013 to April 2014, and from January to June 2015 and aimed to reconstruct the educational settings in which the students were involved at the different locations in which they lived, as well as the impact of their migration experiences on their education and how can these can best be contextualised?

The most extensive available research to date on the internal mobility of children included only EU citizen children. The participants of Ackers and Stalford's (2004) study attended various type of schools: mainstream, private, foreign, international, supplementary and special schools for repatriated students (2004, p. 202). I believe that multiple migration experiences play out differently depending on whether a child attends a private or a state-run school. There is a need for comparative studies, but it is an important first step to study specific subgroups, e.g. those who attend state-run mainstream schools.

Specificities of the research design include the fact that the data collection takes place with children in a cross-language and cross-cultural setting either with an interpreter or in a learned language, as well as the fact that among the participants are asylum seeker and refugee children.

This paper has been written in the final weeks of data collection. Due to the circular design known from Grounded Theory, the analysis of the data takes place parallel to the data collection which allows some preliminary results to be presented in the next section.

Examples from the Interviews: Impact of Multiple and Multidirectional Migration on Educational Biographies: Advantages and Risks

The children involved in multiple and multidirectional migration in my study fell into two distinct groups. The first includes children whose caregivers are involved in labour migration, with the family often deciding to move on to a further country after a period of stay in the first country of destination. In two cases from this group, the child was born as a member of the second generation in the country from which the family had to move.

To the second group students belong those who were part of a war-induced forced migration and arrived in the city of Leipzig through several transit countries and transit locations. The length of transition and the attachment to the transit locations vary within the sample.

Male and female students are both well represented in my sample and the age at the time of the interview varied between 11 and 17. At the time of the interview, the participating children had been attending school in Germany for between 4 and 16 months. The length of stay at the different locations varies within the sample and also within one biography, but can be differentiated into five rough categories: duration of some weeks up to a couple of months, a period of months but less than a

year, around 1 year of duration, 2–4 years, more than 5 years. Most of the periods of stay in the sample belong to the duration 2–4 years. In each case the direction of the movement follows either an established migration route between the countries involved or takes place within a family context which spans over national borders. Despite the diversity, East to West and South to North patterns can be identified.

The following diagram shows the migration route taking place during schooling years in my currently available sample. If not indicated otherwise, every symbol stands for a different country.
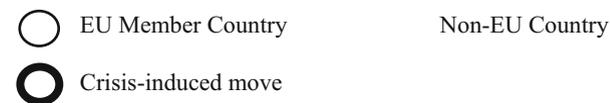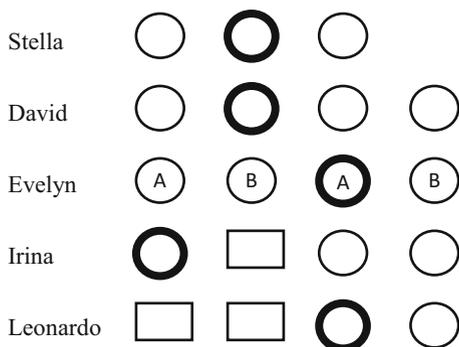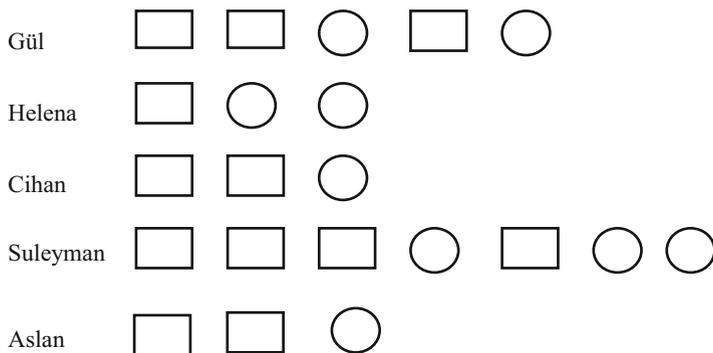
In this section of the paper I discuss three topics. Firstly, I give examples of changing trends of migration as well as the diversification of participation in migration on the basis of concrete examples from this sample. Secondly, I will elaborate on some implications their migration experiences have for the students in my

sample. Thirdly, I will present some shared challenges and coping mechanisms related to educational integration.

How Changing Trends of Migration Manifest in Children's Biographies

The fuzzy boundaries between the categories of migration outlined in the first section are confirmed in my sample. For instance, it is important to consider that within one biography *forced and voluntary* migration experiences might both occur. Leonardo, for instance, was born in Peru and fled with his parents though Columbia to Japan where he enrolled in nursery and primary school. The second move from Japan to Spain was aimed at family reunification with the Peruvian grandparents who had moved to Spain in the interim. The third move of Leonardo was induced by the unemployment of his mother because of the economic crisis and therefore can be seen as poverty-induced migration and thus in the middle of the continuum of forced and voluntary migration.

The *internal-international* dichotomy is called into question if we analyse the educational biographies of these students from an educational perspective. Many students in the sample were involved in multiple intra-European movements. However, they experience these movements as crossing between educational systems and over language borders.

With regard to the blurred categories of *country of origin and destination*, and of immigration versus return migration, the example of Irina is most informative. She was born to parents of Albanian origin in Italy, where she attended also primary school. Her family language was Albanian and she spent most of her summers with her family in Albania. The parents decided to resettle next to their family in Albania, which in her case cannot be considered either as a return or as a classical immigration.

The overview of the EURA-NET project about the various definitions of temporary migration in the EU (Pitkänen and Carrera 2014), there is no single definition of temporary. In the sample, as described above, temporariness varies from a couple of weeks up until 5 years. From an educational point of view, given the dynamic nature of current migration flows, it is worthwhile bearing in mind the possibility that all newcomer students are only temporary migrants and not, on the contrary, that all newcomer students are settler migrants. A change in approach to educational provision could be considered, aimed at better meeting the needs of the diverse migrant student population.

Implications of Migration for the School-Age Children

In the case of all students in my sample, the experience of the first movement and subsequent ones is different, and age clearly influences the desire to make a second effort to be incorporated into a new environment. Younger students report that they

did not experience the moves as major disruption and felt positively challenged by the new social and educational environment. In case of older students there is a clear division between those who consider arrive to the city of Leipzig as a terminal station after months of transition, because in their case the desire to become part of the new environment is high. On the other hand, for those who move with their labour migrant parents and became incorporated for some years in the first country of destination, the second move can be very demotivating and decreases the desire to make an effort.

With regard to their willingness to participate in migration, all students reported that they were informed about the movement, but many of them were not willing to move. In the case of conflict-induced migration, the students accepted the reasons for moving, which enabled them to cope better with the challenges of a new life in a new location. On the other hand, those students whose parents decided to move, expressed a strong desire to return to the previous location and were less willing to appreciate the positive sides of the new life at the new location.

A lost year without attendance in formal schooling is a risk which multiple migration bears. This risk mainly occurs among those involved in forced migration but is not exclusive to them. The unsecure situation of parents in the labour market can induce a transitory approach, which may lead to non-enrolment of the student into formal schooling.

A clear advantage of migration mentioned by the participants in the sample is that due to their multiple movements they have learned several languages and have met people from different cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, this experience again has the effect that these students are more likely to engage with other students with migration experience and multilingual skills, than with local students who do not necessarily share the same biographical experience and attitudes. Othering takes place therefore in both directions: the local students approach the students in my sample as others, but the students in my sample also perceive themselves, because of their life experiences and multilingualism, as being different.

Shared Challenges and Coping Mechanisms Related to Educational Integration

The educational challenges faced by students involved in economic and forced migration are in many respects similar and in others different.

All students have at least one language in which their skills are high enough to use it for learning. However, this is not considered relevant, because every time they move they are confronted with a different language of instruction. In case of Cihan and Irina the first move was easier, due to the fact that the language of instruction in the new location was the same as one of their family languages.

Four students reported that they had attended private language classes (German and/or English) as a preparation for their migration. This is evidence that integration could start prior to arrival (see IOM Headstart project).

All students in the sample attended state-run tuition free schools at all locations. The only exception is Cihan, who attended an international school in his country of birth. After every relocation, they are first and foremost confronted with the task of learning the language of instruction. Whether special language provision or study help are available for the newcomer student varies from school to school, even within countries. When such services are unavailable, the students are enrolled in regular classes. All students explained that these experiences taught them to be autonomous learners and develop strategies for learning the language, and, after a while, to follow the subject content as well. In this sense, they develop important skills during the first time they relocate, which could be built on in subsequent relocations. In fact, the students articulate how similar their situation and task is every time they relocate and arrive at a new school.

This is, however, only one side of the autonomous-passive dialectic in which they are embedded. Students often use the passive verb forms while reporting about their first phase at a new school. Their descriptions report about the passive role assigned to them, for example with regard to their enrolment in a certain class. Furthermore, due to the lack of adequate measurement tools, their previously acquired knowledge and skills are also not mapped at matriculation. This often results in the school imposing what is, in effect, a double burden on the students. Leonardo's case suggests as much: his mother wished him to enrol in the first class rather than into the second, as he was not alphabetized in the Latin script prior to arriving to Spain from Japan.

Some common difficulties the students face in formal education are the followings:

- Incompatibility of subject curricula in the different countries
- Introduction of subjects at different grade level
- Obligation to repeat a grade
- No participation in testing, no feedback on progress
- Differences in classroom methods
- Differences in scripts
- Conspicuousness in the classroom
- Loneliness
- Exposure to racism from peers at school

In the sample, four common strategies to cope with these difficulties can be identified: (1) persistent self-study planned and regulated by the student; (2) skipping classes and giving up; (3) help from family members who speak the language of school instruction; (4) help from other classmates or peers who arrived in the location earlier.

Migration has become more dynamic and due to easier transport and communication facilities, virtual and physical movements are easier to realise. Due to this, and their biographical experiences, all students in my sample consider Germany

only as a location to stay in for a period of time. Given the fact that these students have accumulated knowledge and skills with regard to relocation and reintegration and have experience with temporary stays, they envisage relocations in the future as well, for instance for the period of their higher education or work. In these future plans, not only those countries and locations in which the students have already lived are mentioned, but others as well. Thus, if the educational provision targeted at these students keeps only the country of settlement in its focus, neglecting the previous and possible involvement of the students in other locations and national contexts, it can only partially serve the interests of this group.

Based on the descriptions of the students, many tasks arise, all of which are in harmony with the findings of Ackers and Stalford (2004), whose work is discussed in the following section. These are, among others, assessment and recognition of acquired knowledge in previous study periods, cooperation between educational institutions, transparency of curricula and partnership with the student, utilisation of students' skills in relation to integration process and language learning, and support in maintaining their multilingualism.

Right to Access (Quality) Education in the Context of Temporary Forms of Migration Among School-Age Children

Ackers and Stalford (2004) analyse the legal framework and the experiences of EU citizen children who moved within the EU with their EU citizen parent(s) under the free movement provision. They examine to what extent EU citizen migrant children can claim rights independently and to what extent they derive their rights on the basis of their relationship with the parent(s). One key topic in their research was education. The authors give an overview of international and European legal instruments and policies which refer to the education of migrant children (2004, p. 203ff; see also the Annex 2 of the European Commission 2013 report). Without reiterating these, it is important to note that both international and EU legal measures secure the right of a child to be educated, her access to national educational institutions and her admission under the same conditions. Beyond this simple formulation of the right to access, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 secures the right to access *quality* education. However, due to the fact that organising educational provision and content design fall into the scope of Member States, there is no legally binding regulation on the quality of educational provisions or the ensuring of effective integration for migrant children (Ackers and Stalford 2004, p. 224). From the 1970s onwards, education was a concern of EU policy, with suggestions that cooperation between national education systems, transparency, efforts into understanding differences, recognition of periods of study in other member states and provision of supplementary language tuition are inevitable tools to ensure quality educational provision for child migrants. It can thus be concluded that on the level of legislation

and policy the framework for realising quality education in the EU for those who migrate during their obligatory schooling years is established and waits only for effective implementation.

The role of the country of previous settlement (or of previous educational provision) with regard to the realisation of the right to access to language support in the first language is also laid down in the relevant EU policy documents. This recommendation is in line with recent policy documents highlighting the potentials of cooperation with the country of origin with regard to the realisation of integration measures (Bilgili and Agimi 2015; Clewett 2015). The authors map the fields in which current subnational cooperation between EU Member States in the field of integration takes place, but education is not one of these. My study findings suggest that, for instance with regard to the maintenance of multilingual skills, the previous countries of settlement could play an important role.

Collett (2013) suggests that there are as many different needs with respect to integration measures as there are people involved in intra-EU migration. Her concepts of *diversity of integration needs* is applicable for our research in that, due to the fact that children differ in their migration routes, their length of stay, their or their caregivers' motives for migration and the countries in which they participate in education on their route, a dismantling of the concept of *integration* in the field of education is called for. In other words, integration measures could be revisited with the aim of fitting them to the heterogeneity of the target group.

Temporary migration – and circular migration as a form thereof – is often highlighted in EU policy papers as a triple win solution. It offers a solution to labour shortages; prevents brain-and skill-drain and contributes to the development of the sending country; as well as contributing to the personal enrichment of the migrant himself (Triandafyllidou 2013, p. 4).

However, little empirical evidence has been delivered for any of these three 'wins'.[5] The present research reflects on the third aspect, i.e. the win of the migrant worker in cases when this person has a school-age child. The level of access of the migrant's family members to health care, housing and quality educational provision contributes to the overall and long-run 'win' of the migrant. In the present research, I have found that although the jurisdictional and policy framework in the European Union is in place to realise quality education, the state-run national educational systems are challenged in their attempts to accommodate the needs of a diverse incoming student population who would require a range of approaches towards educational integration. The participants of my study can mainly rely on their own, their families and peers support and face difficulties in linking the different periods of study to one other. The current understanding of integration, which is based on a one time and unidirectional settler migration, has a primary focus on the period of life

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[5] Triandafyllidou suggests, on the basis of case studies on circular migrants between seven country pairs (Greece-Albania, Italy-Albania, Spain-Morocco, Hungary-Ukraine, Poland-Ukraine, Italy-Morocco, Italy-Ukraine), that there is only a moderate gain for the country of origin and the migrant himself. Meanwhile, the country of destination does not need to deal with the problems and costs of long-term integration and its labour shortage is efficiently addressed (2013, p. 234f).

which starts with the arrival of the student to the hosting country's educational system. Due to the possibility of temporality, a change in perception is required: the period which starts after arrival could be handled as a period being embedded in a continuum wherein the present is a binding element between past and future in the educational biography.

Conclusions

Danaher and Henderson conclude that mobility becomes a problem from an educational point of view if we cannot think beyond the settled/itinerant binary. "Sedentarism is the binary in the Western, industrialized world that constructs fixed residence as the sociocultural norm from which itinerancy and mobility deviate and are thereby positioned as pathologies." (2011, p. 60). In their chapter, the authors try to challenge the view that fixed residence is a natural and preliminary precondition for formal schooling and the way in which this view constructs the mobile learner as deviant. Binaries are usually invisible, unconscious, uncontested and ideological and restrict alternative thinking. This binary evolved over millennia alongside the development of agricultural practices and the industrial revolution in the eighteenth/nineteenth century. The "pathologization of uprootedness in the national order of things" (Malkki 1992, p. 32) can be overcome only in case mobile persons and communities are recognized as one type of the wider population, neither better nor worse than other types. Danaher and Henderson claim that current public educational provisions are going to be challenged only when the failure of current mainstream solutions becomes manifest and when the system acknowledges its deficiencies and opens up to alternatives (2011, p. 73). However in my view, as a first step, this set of challenge requires the national-supranational and national-transnational dichotomy to be mitigated in order to match problems arising on one socio-spatial level to a solution designed and carried out on the same socio-spatial level.

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Chapter 10
Education: Children and Youths in Rural Areas: A German Perspective

Margit Stein

Introduction

When *contemplating educational disparities* in Germany, different lines of demarcation concerning those disparities are drawn: Especially the social stratums as well as the migration background are primarily discussed in the context of educational discrimination. Ethnic origin and social background are heavily amalgamated at this juncture.

When analyzing educational disparities in respect of differential *participation in education*, divergences in the *acquirement of skills* and varying difficulties in *entering the world of employment*, regional differences are rarely considered. However, a regional analysis and the application of an urban and rural dimension reveal diverging differences, though they seem to have been narrowed within the last few years. A comparison between the works of Ditton (2004) concerning rural educational participation and the study of rural youths (Stein 2013b, c, d) is suggestive of that very fact.

Two lines of demarcation, *migration background* and *urban/rural differences* regarding the educational situation of children and youths in Germany, will be at the center of this chapter due to the layout of this book. Both views are rarely seen in correlation, since a city-bias is dominating childhood and youth research as well as migration research.

Within the introductory chapter and as a first step, important terms will be defined which will recur throughout the chapter and already appear in the headline, namely the constructs 'rural area' and 'migration background'. In a second step, the regional-spatial allocation of people in Germany in urban and rural areas will be retraced according to statistical data. Growing up and living in rural areas is shaped by a series of structural peculiarities in terms of demographics, family composition or number of

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children, although Germany tends to be urbanized to a great and growing extent. Additionally, an overview of the number and social-spatial allocation of people with a migration background will be given.

In this article's second section, educational disparities due to the ethnic origin of children and youths will be examined; they are always linked to the social background, which will be taken into account as well. At this juncture, different forms of graduation, developments of competence as well as career aspirations and career prospects will be contemplated. The international educational comparison, e.g. the PISA study, has shown that the gap between German children and youths with and without a migration background is especially distinct.

The third section deals with educational disparities based on the regional origin in terms of a comparison between urban and rural areas. While the differences regarding graduations are being reduced, rural youths can realize their career aspirations to a lesser degree. This lack of career prospects is one of the main reasons for the continuing migration from rural areas, especially in Eastern Germany, a region strongly affected by a 'brain drain' of people with higher levels of education.

Eventually, in a fourth section, the educational disparities regarding ethnic *and* regional origin will be analyzed by taking a look at youths with a migration background living in rural areas. Up until now, studies concerning German youths with a migration background have been heavily biased towards urban areas due to the fact that young people with a migration background tend to live in urban centers. One has to bear in mind, though, that – contrary to popular belief – the countryside, too, is not as traditionally German as often depicted.

Definition of the Construct 'Rural Area'

Depending on the different scientific branches, the term 'rural area' has many varying definitions. In principal, the two terms 'urban' and 'rural' can be defined from a qualitative and a quantitative viewpoint; the qualitative dissimilarity is a legal and socio-scientific difference, whereas the quantitative dissimilarity runs along the lines of settlement-structural criteria, such as centrality, density or location.

Legally, a city is described as a spatial entity which has a town charter, irrespective of its size or socio-spatial arrangement. Socio-scientifically, a precise separation between urban and rural areas is hardly possible due to today's great number of inter-relations and interdependencies between the two. In this regard, Strubelt (2001, p. 682) speaks of "Kontinua unterschiedlicher Dimensionen" (continua of different dimensions).

On a quantitative level, urban and rural areas can be distinguished via three indicators: population density, percentage of people living in rural communities and center size. In Germany, a region qualifies as rural if its *population density* is below 150 inhabitants per square kilometer, if more than half of the population lives in rural areas and if no more than 200,000 people live in its *center* (OECD 2007, p. 34).

Definition of the Construct 'Migration Background'

While the *term* '*foreigner*' is standardized in scientific literature (albeit not in every-day use), the term 'migrant' is not uniformly defined. 'Foreigners' are lacking the citi-zenship of the country they reside in – relating to Germany: people who are not German in terms of the 'Grundgesetz' (German constitution) (Art. 116 Absatz 1).

As defined by the micro-census, '*people with migration background*' are "alle nach 1949 auf das heutige Gebiet der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Zugewanderte, sowie alle in Deutschland geborenen Ausländer und alle in Deutschland als Deutsche Geborenen mit zumindest einem zugewanderten oder als Ausländer geborenen Elternteil" ("all immigrants into the current territory of the Federal Republic of Germany after 1949 as well as all foreigners born in Germany and all Germans born in Germany that have at least one immigrant or foreign-born parent") (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010, p. 6). Furthermore, the education report for Germany, commis-sioned by the 'Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland' and the federal department of education and research (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2012), as well as the OECD's PISA study ('Programme for international students' assessment') assume – following the micro-census – a migra-tion background regarding youths if they were born in a foreign country (first genera-tion) or if they were born in Germany but have at least one foreign-born parent (second generation). Within the scope of an extended meaning of 'migration', third-genera-tion-migrants are defined as Germans whose parents were born in Germany, but whose grandparents were born abroad. At times, other criteria are applied, e.g., ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity. The PISA study, for instance, does not only inquire about a respondent's citizenship as well as his and his parents' country of birth, but also about the language spoken at home.

Data Regarding the Regional-Spatial Development in Germany

The 'Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung' (2012) (Federal Institute of Constructional, Urban and Spatial Research) (2012) identifies 80 major cities, 609 average cities, 2,550 small towns and 1,310 rural communities within Germany. The OECD (2007, p. 36) presents the following figures: 29 % of the surface area including 12 % of the population can be described as mainly rural. Regarding the county-level, 59 % of the surface areas including 27 % of the population are rural.

In a regional-spatial survey, Western and Eastern Germany are oftentimes analyzed separately (Table 10.1):

The UN-projections for the development of the rural population in Germany assume a reduction to 18 % (UN 2012). A review of the 5 years from 2005 to 2010 confirms an overall reduction of the population, especially in rural areas and small towns (Kröhnert 2013, p. 14). Aside from those rural areas that are stricken by out-migration, there are still some regions of population growth with a high number of

Table 10.1 German population from a structural-spatial viewpoint (cf. Statistisches Bundesamt 2012)

	Overall	East	West
Urban	35%	38%	41%
Semi-urban	42%	30%	39%
Rural	23%	32%	20%

Table 10.2 Family profiles in Germany (Haumann 2013, p. 16 based on Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach (IfD) Gesellschaft zum Studium der öffentlichen Meinung 2012)

	Major cities	Other cities	Rural regions
Married	76%	82%	84%
Single parent	22%	18%	13%
One child	46%	41%	37%
Two children	37%	43%	44%
Three and more children	17%	16%	19%
Migration background	32%	27%	15%
Privately owned home	23%	46%	62%

in-migrants, leading Becker (2011, p. 35) to speak of a "Nebeneinander von Schrumpfung und Wachstum" ("coexistence of reduction and growth") in rural areas.

Another matter of interest within the scope of this article is the fact that rural and urban family constellations tend to converge – as Kröhnert (2013) shows – but still differ from each other at present. Rural couples living with children, for instance, are more prone to being married, tend to have more children, are less likely to be single parents or to have a migration background, and show a higher tendency of living in a privately owned home (Haumann 2013) (Table 10.2).

Data Concerning the Trend of Migration Background Within the German Population

About 8.3% of the approximately 82 million inhabitants in Germany are foreigners. Another 10.7% are German citizens with a first or second generation migration background, though this percentage is increasing (Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration 2012). The biggest share of people with a migration background originate from Turkey (15.8% of migrants), Poland (8.3%), Russia (6.7%), Italy (4.7%) and Kazakhstan (4.6%) (Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration 2012). People with a migration background are usually younger than native Germans; the average age of migrants is 34 years whereas that of natives is 45 years. While about 19% of the general German population have a migration background, that number increases to approximately 27% when focusing on people at an educationally relevant age, i.e., younger than 25.

The *regional-spatial distribution* of migrants is quite unequal: they live predominantly in western states and in large urban centers; hence, in some German major cities, e.g., Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, and Stuttgart, children under the age of 5 with a migration background account for two-thirds of young people in their age bracket (Stein 2012a). Therefore, youths with a migration background in rural areas are less likely to be studied, which leads to a city bias, especially within (youth) migration research. In this regard, an EU research project by the author serves as a remedy, providing both an application-oriented-political and a scientific contribution to analyzing circumstances and environments of children and youths in rural areas (Stein and Lindau-Bank 2014).

Over the course of the next chapters, educational disparities on all levels of the German educational system regarding people of different ethnic origins as well as different regional-spatial situations will be examined; subsequently, both lines of demarcation in terms of structural discrimination will be merged and the participation in education of young migrants in rural areas will be surveyed.

Educational Disparities Due to Ethnic Origin: Migration Background Versus No Migration Background

One of the themes of the educational report (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2012), among other things, is the fact that people with a migration background, in comparison to native Germans, are significantly less integrated into every tier of the educational system – from early childhood education in day-care facilities to the transition from school to work life (Stein 2012a). Furthermore, young people with a migration background have different career aspirations and altogether worse career opportunities (Stein and Corleis 2012, 2013).

Participation in Education

The low participation in education of children with a migration background starts early, since children of migration families attend kindergarten less frequently and at a later age: In 2011, only 14% of children with a migration background had been attending day-care facilities, compared to 30% of children without a migration background. Regarding 3- to 6-year-olds, only 85.7% of children with a migration background attend kindergarten, while 94.9% of native children do (Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration 2012, p. 149). Attending kindergarten, however, is crucial to experiencing community and acquiring language skills (Becker and Reimer 2010).

Children with a migration background are disproportionately affected by evaluation-based school enrollment restraints (Stein 2012a).

Although parents and children with migration background express ambitious educational aspirations (contrary to popular belief), those children are less likely to receive a recommendation for 'Realschule' or 'Gymnasium' than their native counterparts, even if their competence and grades are on par; they end up in lower *school tiers* (Diefenbach 2010; Kristen 2006).

If children with a migration background attend higher-tier schools, not dropping to a lower tier is more difficult for them. Youths with a migration background are still twice as likely to attend 'Hauptschule' than native Germans. The share of students attending 'Hauptschule' is especially high regarding young people with a Turkish or Italian migration background, whereas those from Asia or Poland are less likely to be found there (Boos-Nünning and Karakaşoğlu 2005; Färber et al. 2008).

As it stands, the number of people with a migration background that have no qualification at all still remains high; they are considered to be so-called 'Bildungsverlierer' ("people who are educationally disadvantaged"). Compared to people without a migration background, their rate of dropping out or just finishing 'Hauptschule' is twice as high (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2012). These figures prove a significant discrimination of young people with a migration background, although the figures are put into perspective when considering the influence of the socio-economic status: "Es kann […] gezeigt werden, dass mit Blick auf den Anteil derjenigen mit Abitur bzw. Gymnasialbesuch bei gleichem sozioökonomischem Status keine nennenswerten Migrationsunterschiede mehr bestehen". ("In view of the share of those attending and finishing 'Gymnasium', it can be shown that there are no noteworthy migration differences, given the same socio-economic status") (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2010, p. 92). Within their educational careers, youths with a migration background tend to develop competencies to a lesser degree than youths without a migration background. The PISA study, for instance, shows that many OECD countries are better at fostering youths on a high level and nonetheless keep the divergence of performance between students to a minimum. Germany has the strongest interrelation between social/cultural origins and competency, bar none (Stein and Stummbaum 2011).

Furthermore, the number of people without any occupational qualification is much higher among those with a migration background. This is in part due to migrants enunciating different career aspirations, which will be illustrated in the following chapter.

Career Aspirations and Career Prospects

Occupational aspirations of foreign youths differ greatly from those of young Germans (Stein and Corleis 2012, 2013). Moreover, their career aspirations are limited to only a few occupations. In 2000, 50.8 % of foreign trainees could be found within the four occupations with the highest number of trainees. In case of German trainees, this figure is only matched regarding the ten occupations with the highest number of trainees (Granato and Schittenhelm 2000). In 2010, 46.6 % of

foreign trainees opted for the ten most popular occupations, whereas only 32.9 % of German trainees did (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung 2011, p. 154). This is partly due to the fact that female youths of Turkish or Arabic origin in particular aspire different occupations because of certain traditional factors within their families (Erdogan-Kartaloglu 2010; Topra and El-Mafaalani 2010). The future family planning ranked first in an analysis of a graduating class with a 75 % share of migrants, since the family is such a very strong emotional support in their experience (Heid 2007, p. 38ff.). A study of Skrobanek shows that the career choices of youths with a migration background depend much more on external factors than those of youths without a migration background. These external factors are, among others, the wages, their parents' wishes, good career prospects, and a high prestige (Skrobanek 2006, pp. 82/83). Besides, there are other external, discriminating factors, e.g., the chances of native youths being twice as high to become trainees in their preferred occupation, and migrants being relegated to less well-respected jobs with lower wages and career prospects (Diehl et al. 2009). This discrimination seems to limit the migrants' choices of an apprenticeship position, since they have to consider jobs that do not match their initial notions and ideals.

All in all, children with migrant families have much bigger problems of finding an adequate apprenticeship position or occupation (Aybek 2013; Boos-Nünning and Granato 2008; Diefenbach 2009). A native German's chance of attaining an apprenticeship position is five times higher. When proficiency levels are taken into consideration – youths with a migration background usually have lesser-tier graduations as well as worse levels of competency (with deficits of up to a full school year) – natives are still twice as likely to gain an apprenticeship (Burkert and Seibert 2007; Färber et al. 2008; Beicht and Granato 2009; Stein and Stummbaum 2010; Aybek 2013). This indicates a specific discrimination of youths with a migration background during their transition from school to apprenticeship and occupation, especially of young people with Turkish or Arabic origins; aside from that, Muslim youths are confronted with special prejudices (cf. Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung 2012).

The probability of a successful job application for people with a migration background who graduated 'Hauptschule' is at 25 %, while native Germans have a 29 % quota. The success of migrants who graduated 'Realschule' is at 34 %, whereas this figure increases to 47 % for German natives. About one third of native German youths remain in transition, waiting for an apprenticeship position, while this is true for half of the young foreigners (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2012, p. 122). It takes people with a migration background 17 months on average to find an apprenticeship position; native Germans only need 3 months (Granato 2003; Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2012).

An even stronger divergence of apprenticeship quota can be found when comparing young foreigners to young Germans. In 2010, 34 % of young foreigners and 65 % of young Germans held an apprenticeship position (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung 2012, p. 45). In addition to this discrimination, foreigners' apprenticeship contracts are more likely to be terminated than those of German youths (29 % vs. 23 %), especially during the first 12 months (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2012, p. 113; Bundesministerium für Bildung und

Forschung 2012, p. 44). They are therefore regarded as less employable than native German youths (Stein 2013a).

Foreigners who successfully completed their apprenticeship are also less likely to find an occupation than Germans. The unemployment risk particularly of male foreigners with a completed apprenticeship is 50 % higher than that of their German counterparts (Burkert and Seibert 2007).

Oftentimes, young migrants' problematic transitional situations are being individualized and labeled as personal failures due to a lack of competencies. So the difficulties are often viewed as being biographical, i.e., individual challenges, although the causes tend to be structural difficulties rooted in educational institutions' failures or biases within the majority society.

Educational Disparities Due to Regional Origin: Urban Versus Rural

In most cases, disparities are only differentiated by gender and socio-economic as well as socio-cultural origin. Only a select few studies – which will be presented in the following chapter – address the question of how school integration, career aspirations and the possibilities to realize them differ between youths from urban and rural areas.

Participation in Education

Even if the overall share of children and youths that are integrated into school education is increasing, young people in rural areas are still not as firmly integrated as those in urban centers. So far, not many studies have applied a regional specification of educational disparities. The study "Ich muss mein Leben selber meistern!" ("I need to cope with my own life!") compares youths from the city of Trier to youths from the adjacent rural areas of Eifel and Hunsrück (Vogelgesang 2001; Eisenbürgen and Vogelgesang 2002). Significant disparities were revealed: 61 % of the urban youths attended 'Gymnasium' or had graduated there ('Abitur'), whereas only 33 % of the rural youths did. Ditton (2004) sums up that the educational expansion in the 1970s had indeed increased the quota of urban and rural people participating in higher education, but that the regional disparities remained unaffected. The size of one's place of residence and the integration into higher forms of education are directly linearly correlated: "Je größer der Wohnort ist, desto größer ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit für den Besuch einer weiterführenden Schule bzw. des Gymnasiums." ("The bigger the size of one's place of residence, the higher the probability of attending a secondary school or 'Gymnasium' respectively") (Henz and Maas 1995, p. 627; cited from Eisenbürgen and Vogelgesang 2002, p. 31).

This structure of imbalance remains especially in the middle range of education, since 'Realschule' is still the most frequented form of education in rural areas, but has been replaced as such by 'Gymnasium' in larger cities. It could be reasoned that youths from sections of society with educational deficits, youths with a migration background, and youths in rural areas (a rare issue in scientific research or sociopolitical discourse) are educationally disadvantaged ('Bildungsverlierer').

Regional disparities in education have multiple causes: limited secondary school options, worse connections to traffic infrastructure as well as lower levels of education of parents in rural areas. Especially the choices between different branches of 'Gymnasium' are still limited in rural areas, and the reachability of educational institutions is not a given (Henz and Maas 1995; Eisenbürgen and Vogelgesang 2002; Vogelgesang 2006, 2013; Faulde 2007, 2008) and varies within states from county to county. Ditton illustrates findings regarding Baden-Württemberg, where the quota of 'Gymnasium' graduates ranges from 51 % in the city of Heidelberg to 10 % in the rural county Freudenstadt/Schwarzwald (Ditton 2004). To make matters worse, young people in rural areas are more likely to descend from families with a lower level of education than their urban counterparts. The PISA study already shows a very high correlation of social origin, attended educational facility, grade point average, and acquirement of competencies.

This chasm between young people in urban and rural areas with regard to educational integration, however, seems to narrow, as data from the current 'Landesjugendstudie' suggests (Stein 2013c, d) – 400 people from rural areas in Lower Saxony (northern Germany) were extensively questioned about their life situation and circumstance. The respondents' level of education is to be considered as high. Almost half of those still in school attend 'Gymnasium', an additional 10 % attend 'Fachgymnasium' or 'Fachoberschule'. 33.9 % of graduates had '(Fach)Abitur'.

Career Aspirations and Career Prospects

There is still an ongoing trend toward urbanization. But it appears that the percentage of people who aspire to live in rural areas is higher than that of people who will actually do so. The cause for this discrepancy is probably the labor market situation, which renders a realization of the desire of living in a rural area unlikely. The level of education emerged as a factor which influences this issue negatively.

Christmann (2009, p. 2) concludes:

„Vogelgesang […] und andere Jugendforscher […] konnten in ihren Studien nachweisen, dass sich Jugendliche durchaus mit ihrem Dorf oder ihrer Region identifizieren[…]. Doch diese Raumbindungen treten mit dem Wunsch nach einer beruflichen Perspektive in Konflikt. Viele Jugendliche geben zwar ihren Wunschberuf auf und weichen pragmatisch auf Alternativen aus, um in der Region bleiben zu können. Die meisten müssen aber doch die Region verlassen. Manche, die weggehen, planen nach ihrer Ausbildung eine Rückkehr ins Dorf. Doch dies erweist sich angesichts der geringen beruflichen Chancen in den meisten Fällen als unrealistisch" ("Vogelgesang […] and other youth-researchers […] could show in their studies that youths do identify with their village or region […]. But

Table 10.3 Possibilities of realizing one's opportunities according to youths (cf. Becker 2011, p. 42)

Where can the following aims be accomplished …	In a village	In a city
Realizing one's schemes of life	27 %	72 %
Achieving a good education	33 %	74 %
Activities with friends	42 %	58 %
Living in liberty	86 %	21 %
Being able to afford something	51 %	61 %
Furthering one's career	6 %	94 %

these spatial ties are in conflict with their career prospects. Many youths may drop their career aspirations and switch to a more pragmatic alternative in order to stay in the region. Most of them, though, have to leave. Some of those who leave, plan to return to their village after their apprenticeship. But in most cases, this is unrealistic due to the lack of occupational opportunities").

In an online-study, the 'Thünen-institute' questioned 2,663 youths in graduate class (14–18 years) from six rural areas in total. Those areas differed in terms of being economically and demographically strong, unremarkable or weak. For every type, an eastern and western region was picked. Although, according to the study of 'Thünen-institute' (Egyptien 2013), 79 % of youths are for the most part or even completely content with their life situation in a rural area, 72 % believe that they are more likely to realize their plans for the future in a major city. Decidedly asked about career aspirations, 94 % attribute more career options to major cities. In case of deriving lower incomes, only 19 % would stay at home in rural areas (Egyptien 2013, p. 36).

Becker (2011) reports findings of a study concerned with youths' perception of regional opportunities, asking the question of which important aims in life are more likely to be realized in cities or in rural areas respectively (Table 10.3).

The subjective assessment of the provision of educational institutions is also negative. While youths in rural areas consider the retail industry (70 %) and the number of different sports facilities (75 %) as satisfactory, only 10 % are content with the number of educational facilities (Wetzstein et al. 2005).

Conclusion: Educational Disparities Due to Ethnic and Regional Origin: Youths with Migration Background in Rural Areas

To date, there are hardly any studies concerning children and youths with a migration background in rural Germany, leading to the assumption of a city bias with regards to children- and youth-research as well as migration-research. This is due to the fact that young people with a migration background – as shown above – are predominantly located in cities, even if rural areas are not as natively German as often depicted.

Even though the number of people with a migration background is highest in the city-centers of the western states – in some German major cities, like Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf or Stuttgart, children under the age of five with a migration background compose two-thirds of people in that age bracket (Stein 2012a, 2014; Scharrer et al. 2012) – it would be wrong to assume that rural areas are primarily dominated by native Germans. The 'Oldenburger Münsterland' in rural Lower Saxony (counties Vechta and Cloppenburg), for instance, is a rural county with a very high share of people with a migration background. In this regard, an EU research project serves as a remedy, providing both an application-oriented-political and a scientific contribution to the development of custom-fit survey instruments and basic analyses regarding rural youth reports of transition processes to apprenticeship and occupation (Stein and Lindau-Bank 2014). Within the framework of EU advancements in regard to the issue of youth and labor market in rural areas, only the project PAYPIRD ('Policies and Young People in Rural Development') has been implemented so far. As one of the few international research approaches, the EU research project PAYPIRD is primarily concerned with the social and economic integration of youths and young adults in rural areas of seven EU countries, including Germany. Burnett et al. (2010) show not only different definitions of the term 'rural' and the inconsistent statistics within the EU to be problematic, but also criticize the lack of regional specificity regarding the respective national coverage, which does not allow for analyzing circumstances in rural areas in particular. Within the scope of the author's project, the focus lies on both regional competitiveness and employment. On the one hand, the project deals with the economic demand for skilled personnel; on the other hand, it is concerned with potential future prospects, interests, motives and competencies of youths and young adults. Thus, an increased and more precise utilization of the given potential of skilled personnel in a particular region is to be ensured. Based on this data, a custom-fit program-monitoring to control the initiatives against the threat of a lack of skilled personnel will be created, with a special consideration for the role of young people with a migration background in rural Germany. The operational competitiveness of small and medium-sized corporations will be supported via the development of business-specific concepts of advanced vocational training in order to improve the infrastructure of further education in rural areas. Special focus will be put on e-learning, digital integration, and e-culture.

Additionally, a proposition to the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) by the author is dedicated to enlightening the issue of children and youths with a migration background in rural areas. Its deliberate focus lies on regions of the 'Oldenburger Münsterland', and it encompasses value orientation and conflicts of young people of German, Turkish and Vietnamese descent.

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Part III
Questions of Global and Local Living

Chapter 11
Making Sense of the Smell of Bangladesh

Benjamin Zeitlyn

Making Sense of the Smell of Bangladesh

Bourdieu's (1977) notion of habitus has been critiqued in several ways. This article engages with three of these critiques. First, the way Bourdieu conceptualises agency as a 'product of the field' leads to a deterministic understanding of habitus (Noble and Watkins 2003, p. 524; Lovell 2003, p. 4). Second, habitus is seen by Bourdieu as occurring 'below the level of consciousness' (Bourdieu 1990, p. 73) leaving little room for conscious agency (Lovell 2003, p. 13; Noble and Watkins 2003, p. 525). Third, habitus is conceptualised as static, as Bourdieu focused more on space than time, thus leaving little space for dynamism, interaction, relation and change (Noble and Watkins 2003, p. 525).

This article investigates these critiques. It illustrates how British Bangladesh children and young people make conscious choices about their appearances and behaviour, choices that project their identities and draw upon different discourses of modernity. It shows that this agency is informed by preconscious stimuli, using the example of the sense of smell, and illustrating the links between sensory experiences and deliberate identity work. By focusing the research on transnational children, the paper emphasises the need for a dynamic and relational understanding of habitus, which is open to change and strategic deployment.

Research on British Bangladeshi children (between the ages of 8 and 11) involved 18 months of fieldwork in 2007 and 2008 in London and Sylhet. I lived in London during fieldwork, but travelled to Sylhet twice, each time with a family from London who were visiting their extended family. I worked as a volunteer teaching assistant

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in a London primary school two days per week. There I conducted participant observation, ran an after school club for British Bangladeshi children and a computer class for their mothers. I also attended Qur'an classes after school once a week and the homes of British Bangladeshi children three days per week. These sites provided me with opportunities for participant observation, interviews and focus group discussions. Quotes in this article are taken either from recorded interviews and conversations with British Bangladeshi children and/ or their families, shorter quotes recalled from conversations, or stories written by children and parents in after school clubs.

Thirty children and their families participated in the research, but fieldwork focused especially on three families with ten children between them. Children and adults involved in the research gave their informed consent to participate. They signed consent forms, they were free to withdraw at any stage of the research and discussions about the nature, methods and outcomes of the research were on going throughout fieldwork leading to well informed consent.

Other methodological and ethical concerns involved issues of power relations and outsider status as an adult conducting research with children. These were addressed through methods that were multi-sited; involved long-term ethnographic fieldwork and arts-based activities, by situating research within schools and families and through reflexive awareness of these issues. Access to the school was negotiated with teachers; through a group of Bangladeshi parents connected to the school, fieldwork also took place in the homes of families.

This paper is in two parts, reflecting the dialectical nature of habitus, which both generates and judges practices (Bourdieu 1984, p. 166), each part starts with an ethnographic vignette. The first examines the role of smell in creating a sense of belonging operating below the level of consciousness. The second shows how these dispositions are acted upon and inform identity work among British Bangladeshis, illustrating the agency inherent in habitus. The first part opens with an account of my arrival in Dhaka to begin fieldwork.

Proust and Me in Dhaka

At dawn, 260 men piled off the flight from Doha to Dhaka, they were mostly Bangladeshis who worked in the Gulf and were returning to Bangladesh. It was my first time back in Bangladesh for many years. I wearily reacquainted myself with a slightly rusty haggling technique and got a taxi from the airport to the city.

We rushed along the tarmac of the airport road, through a bustling suburb that had been fields when I left the country as a child. I breathed in the warm air of Dhaka, a thick soup of diesel fumes, dust, humidity, and the odour of 15 million people as I hung my arm out of the window of the car. The air flowed like treacle round my face and I felt a strange combination of nerves about the beginning of my fieldwork and inexplicable calm as the car honked and harried its way through the already mounting traffic.

In the days that followed I wandered the streets and markets of Dhaka preparing for my fieldwork. At each pile of rotting rubbish, mouth-watering *fuchka*, putrid drain, or aromatic mountain of biryani, a torrent of vivid memories flooded from one part of my brain to another. In the chaos of the markets and traffic I felt calm; I felt a sense of belonging in Dhaka. These were places I had wandered, watched and breathed in as a child growing up in Dhaka. Despite the distance that had built up between us, the smells and feel of Dhaka communicated with my memory and identity in a way that is hard to explain.

Psychologists working on the so-called 'Proust phenomenon', the idea that smells are particularly powerful autobiographical cues, have found that it is supported by controlled experiments. The phenomenon is not well understood, but one type of explanation postulates that cue smells give access to file away autobiographical knowledge faster than cue words can due to the remarkable link between smell and affective reactions (Chu and Downes 2002). Another explanation is that the memory of smells lasts longer and better than visual memories (Chu and Downes 2000, p. 115). These accounts see autobiographical knowledge as crucial to the construction of identities. Autobiographical memories help to maintain a coherent self and/or a divided self that may have several different identities, which may be specific to a particular period in one's life and which can be accessed and activated by cues, such as words, smells and locations (Conway 2005; Bluck 2003; Wilson and Ross 2003).

There are synergies between these psychological understandings of identity and recent work on identities in the social sciences. Influenced by the work of Bourdieu (1977) and Hall (1992), identities are seen as a process, always in dynamic relationship with context. Identities are understood as multiple, intersectional and relational, becoming important in some contexts and melting into insignificance in others (Alexander 2000, p. 125). Despite this focus on context, most recent work on identities within social sciences neglects the *senses*, which are central to a *sense* of identity.

The sensory experience of arriving in Dhaka made me feel calm despite the objective chaos of the place. I felt a sense of belonging as I arrived in Dhaka and explored its streets and markets after so many years. The cues took me back to a period in my lifetime and gave me a feeling that I was somewhere familiar and safe. My emotional response to the place was driven by the sensory experience. What is interesting is the extent to which my experience was entirely different from the British Bangladeshi children I had come to Bangladesh to study. After discussing emotions, smell and belonging, I will return to Bangladesh.

The Dialectical Nature of Emotion and Habitus

Katz (1999) describes emotions as 'dialectical': they cross over from the subconscious to the conscious and are produced but also produce powerful reactions in us. He critiques the lack of appreciation given to emotions in many branches of

academia (Katz 1999, p. 7). This discussion resonates with debates within geography about affect and emotion (Pile 2010) and about the similarly dialectical nature of the senses, which are both the ability to detect, or *sense*, environmental change but also to understand, process and *make sense* of them (Rodaway 1994, p. 5). This duality is reminiscent of Bourdieu's notion of habitus, which is 'both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification of these practices' (Bourdieu 1984, p. 166).

One of the aims of habitus was to bridge the subjective (practice) and the objective (capital and field), what Bourdieu refers to as the 'dialectic of objectification and embodiment' (Bourdieu 1977, p. 87). Bourdieu's notion of habitus has been criticised for its determinism, its lack of agency. The extent to which habitus is preconscious or conscious and therefore whether Bourdieu allows for agency and reflexivity is key to this (Lovell 2003, p. 4; Noble and Watkins 2003, p. 525).

The study of senses is well suited to investigating the space between structure and agency, subject and object, conscious and sub-conscious. The senses of smell and taste uniquely allow particles from the world outside into our bodies to be received, analysed and processed bodily. Smell breaks down the separation between subject and object, between a person and the world around them (Walmsley 2005, p. 56; Corbett 2006, p. 228). This dialectical and trans-subjective nature has made the senses and smell in particular difficult territory for social scientists who rely heavily on words and images.

Authors such as Walmsley (2005) and Low (2005) have reflected on the difficulties of expressing the nature and meaning of smell verbally, suggesting that this is one reason for the marginal place of smell in social sciences. The senses, and smell in particular, have been under researched and undervalued in social science, while the verbal and the visual have been privileged (Classen 1997; Synnott 1993, p. 183). Smell and the 'lower senses' have been associated, since Aristotle's ranking of the senses, with animals (Synnott 1993, p. 132) and later on by primitive anthropologists with irrational cultures and 'lower races' (Classen 1997, p. 405; Low 2005, p. 399). The visual and aural, the 'objective senses' have become the foundations of western philosophy (Corbett 2006, p. 228) and dominated western scholarship (Classen 1997, p. 403; Synnott 1993, p 184).

Hairstyles, clothes and fashion have been analysed as co-constitutive with identities for many years and have entered the mainstream in ways that the humble and mysterious sense of smell has not. Goffman's (1959) work on the performance of identities through the control of appearances and props and Bourdieu's (1984) work on the role of the aesthetic in class distinctions have been particularly influential. Clothes and hair are recognised as powerful symbols of identity, social control, rebellion and differentiation (Synnott 1993, p. 103; Entwistle 2000). In recent scholarship on migration, transnationalism, and multiculturalism, clothes have attracted attention as markers of identities and means of differentiation in the work of scholars such as Tarlo (2007), Salih (2002), Somerville (2008), and Dwyer (1999). Unlike smell, clothes and hairstyles align themselves with the 'objective' sense of vision, they are easier to describe in words or pictures, and therefore to

'read' as cultural texts. They are in the realm of the conscious, within our self-awareness and products of agency.

Smells help to identify unpleasant or dangerous places as well as familiar places and therefore give a strong sense of belonging, linking environmental stimuli with autobiographical memories and a sense of self (Synnott 1993, p. 183). Once the sense of belonging, or rejection, repulsion or disorientation has been established through smell it lasts for many years so that it can be triggered again by cue smells (Chu and Downes 2000, p. 115).

Smells help to form strong, lasting opinions about places, and these are manifested in a number of ways. As we will see, British Bangladeshi children on visits to Bangladesh feel, partly through smell, disorientated and out of place in Bangladesh, they have the impression that they do not belong there, but feel, by contrast, at home in London. This feeling of rejection of/by Bangladesh is connected to discourses about the wealth, superiority and modernity of the west, which are partly expressed through the ways in which British Bangladeshis differentiate themselves from others in Bangladesh in an active and conscious way through material possessions, clothes and hairstyles. These performances of identity can tell us a lot about the ideas of modernity and aspirations of British Bangladeshis.

Smell and Belonging

In the accounts of British Bangladeshi children about Sylhet, the smells they encountered were prominent. They repeatedly mentioned the smell of the drains, toilets, fish, food and streets.

> I don't want to go to Bangladesh because I don't want to eat rice and I don't want to smell like fish. I don't want to go to Bangladesh because I don't want to use the toilets. Mohammed, 9[1]

It is easy to trivialise these sensory experiences, but they contributed to a deep-seated sense of being unsettled and uneasy in Bangladesh. The unpleasant smells that the children recalled from their visits were a key part of the construction by them of Bangladesh as a place to which they did not belong. These, combined with the unfamiliar tastes of foods that it was assumed they would be familiar with, overbearing and unfamiliar family members, the hard beds, mosquitoes, power cuts, illness, heat and strange television helped to build up a sense of disorientation that was felt very deeply by children, and then synthesised into a discourse of rejection of Bangladesh and of considering London to be their homes (Zeitlyn 2012a).

Smells have a long history of being associated with discourses of rejection and prejudice. They have been used to illustrate ideas of inferiority of women, ethnic, racial and class groups and, by comparison, the superior hygiene and morality of others. They have a well-established pedigree in the systematic allocation of a

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[1] All the names of people and places are pseudonyms.

negative moral identity to non-western peoples, cultures and places (Synnott 1993, p. 197). This connects the real life experiences of British Bangladeshi children, with the idea that Bangladesh is inferior, dirty and unpleasant via discourses about the materially poor but spiritually rich *desh* (homeland) and the materially wealthy but morally corrupt *bidesh* (foreign countries) (Gardner 1993). The spiritual wealth and purity of Sylhet that characterises the discourse of *desh* is called into question by the smells they encounter and the popularity of Islamic reform movements among British Bangladeshis, which are discussed later.

One boy told me quite unprovoked 1 day, that he thought Bangladesh was 'like a bad dream'. The sense that visiting Bangladesh was deeply unsettling and disorientating for some children emerged from participating in visits with families. Some refused to talk Bangla while they were in Bangladesh and only spoke English, others refused to talk to or play with local children, and others became increasingly unruly and badly behaved. Some children conceptualised these feelings in terms of where they felt at home or 'settled'. In the following conversation, Rafique and his sister Shirin, in London, reflect on their feelings following their visit to Bangladesh in August 2008.

Rafique: *I didn't feel like I was at home*.
BZ: *You didn't*?
Rafique: *No*.
BZ: *Not in Bangladesh*?
Shirin: *I couldn't bear that hot*.
Rafique: *I felt like I was in some different place*.
Shirin: *Like America*.
BZ: *Where do you think is your home*?
Rafique: *Here*![2]

Later in the conversation, Rafique sought to explain why he felt such a strong sense of home in London. He expressed this as feeling settled and confortable in London, but not in Bangladesh.

> I know why, I was born in London and I wasn't born in Bangladesh, I was already settled in London, which I felt comfortable with, but in Bangladesh, I was not born there, I was not settled, it was a holiday.[3] Rafique, 9

It is the contribution of smell to the sense of feeling 'settled' and 'comfortable' that is important for this discussion. The sense of relief in the children was palpable when they returned to their flats in London. The familiar smells and spaces contributed to them feeling comfortable and settled. Their reflections of their visits to Bangladesh convinced them (and me) that they considered London their home. They had enjoyed elements of the visit, but it had taught them that they felt a strong sense of belonging to London (Zeitlyn 2012a).

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[2] Discussion on visits with Shirin, Rafique and Nasrin, in their flat, 28.11.2008.

[3] Discussion about visits with Shirin, Rafique, and Nasrin, conducted in their flat, 28.11.2008.

The international differences in the way smells make one feel at home and away from home were repeated on a micro scale in the cramped flats that the families lived in. The lift and stairs to the blocks of flats often smelt of smoke or urine and occasionally had a cigarette butt or broken bottle in them. The cold stale air and sharp *haram* smells in the public spaces are the antithesis of the soft, warm, oily *halal* fragrances of 'inside' (Zeitlyn 2012b).

Morley (2000), Ahmed (1999), and Brah (1996) all point to a distinction between the idea and practices of home. The idea of home is a '*mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination*', the place of origin, a place so romanticised and mytholo-gized that it is impossible to return to because it does not exist. This is experienced by older British Bangladeshis who sometimes feel disillusioned by the way contem-porary Sylhet differs from the place of their (often childhood) memories (Gardner 2002, p. 217). Home is also the '*lived experience of a locality*', the sensory, physical experiences of living in a particular place. This experience is, Brah reminds us, '*mediated by the historically specific everyday of social relations*' (Brah 1996, p. 192). This is similar to the link that Bourdieu (1977) makes between habitus and the lived experience of the home.

The sense of being in a familiar, comfortable place, settled and 'at home' is derived from the habitus that the children had learned in a particular place. The generative schemes of the habitus are inculcated in children through repetition in the inhabited space, and especially the houses of families (Bourdieu 1977, p. 89). The lived experience of locality has had a powerful structuring effect on the British Bangladeshi children's habitus and sense of identity, which they link strongly with London. On visits to Bangladesh they are reminded that they do not belong there by the sensory and aesthetic experience that makes them feel out of place (Zeitlyn 2012a).

This sense of being either at home or out of place is not under their control, it is below the level of consciousness and it is one way in which their embodied habitus is determined by the spaces that they inhabit. The next section discusses the way in which through hairstyles and fashion, British Bangladeshi children and young peo-ple express agency in the performance of their identities.

The *Fakir Wallah* and the Performance of Modernity

After I had spent a month staying with a visiting family from London, I went to Sylhet Town on my way to visiting another family. I checked into a hotel and spent a relaxing day doing some shopping and seeing the sights.

Little did I know that every move of myself was being watched. Several weeks later in London the mother of another family that I knew said with a mischievous smile that she had heard that I wandered the streets of Sylhet. Yes, I had *walked* rather than take a car or rickshaw, but not only that, I wore *cheap rubber flip-flops from Bata*, rather than sensible branded Western shoes and worst of all; my t-shirt *had a hole in it*. So shocking were these revelations that word had got back to

London that a strange white man was wandering the streets of Sylhet wearing nothing but rags, like a *fakir wallah* (beggar man). The families who I knew in London had been informed about this and laughed long and loud when I confirmed to them that it had probably been me.

Not only did this demonstrate that the transnational flows of information and gossip worked remarkably quickly and accurately, but also that there were certain expectations about the way in which someone from London should dress when visiting Bangladesh. I had, by horribly violating these expectations, learned something valuable. The presentation I had made through my choice of clothes was at odds with the image presented by *Londonis* (British Bangladeshis) of London and the image that Bangladeshis in Sylhet have of London as wealthy, modern and stylish (Gardner 1993, p. 2008).

On visits to Sylhet, *Londonis* carefully maintain this image through a display of wealth and fashion using their clothes, hairstyles and material possessions. In London, before their visits, the families had brought new clothes, luggage, a laptop and camera. Once in Bangladesh these props and costumes were essential to the performance of Western wealth power and sophistication and the maintenance of the discourse of *bidesh* (Gardner 1993).

Back in my most acceptable clothes, I was invited to the wedding of a local woman to a *Londoni* groom. It was a large lavish wedding in one of the local banqueting halls, where more than a thousand people sat down to a meal of roasted curried chicken, rice and beef curry followed by *mishti doi* (sweet yoghurt). After we had finished eating, the groom's family began to arrive.

The bride's cousins and brothers locked arms and sprayed a kind of false snow on the arriving groom's party, blocking them from entering the wedding venue. They demanded money from the groom in order to let him in, so during a drawn out ritual, the groom and his family had to barge and bribe their way in. Once they had breached the resistance they made quite an entrance. The groom's brothers and cousins, all from London visiting for the wedding looked like Mughal princes.

Each one wore a matching shiny blue *Punjabi*, a long, robe-like garment worn in Bangladesh by men on special occasions. The blue-green silk shimmered and shone. The girls had matching *shalwar kameez*, (long dresses or tunics with matching trousers) also in the same beautiful fabric. They must have all been tailored especially for the wedding. The spectacular costumes were only the beginning of the effect. The cousins and brothers all had such wonderful skin, they were so well presented, shiny skin, sculpted eyebrows and beards, plucked and moisturised, threaded and anointed with expensive perfume. The blue eyeliner worn by the girls matched the costumes, and the shoes they all wore were immaculate, not a flip-flop in sight, nor so much as a hair out of place.

All of them had luscious thick hair, which combined a Bangladeshi aesthetic that valued thick lustrous dark black hair and was daring and Western. Many of the girls had asymmetrical hairstyles, hair pulled to one side or clipped in strange and gravity defying ways, and the boys had their hair gelled up into slick hairstyles like David Beckham. Some of them wore sunglasses, watches or soon were chatting on their large mobile phones.

Later, I was with one of my Bangladeshi friend's sons, Rashaad, who was 12. He approached one of the *Londoni* boys who was of a similar age and they began chatting. Rashaad asked the boy how he got his hair to stand up in the quiff that he had it in, which Rashaad was clearly envious of, his own hair, although nicely styled with gel, was not so voluminous as the boy from London's. The boy from London couldn't give a very satisfactory answer, it was clear that he hadn't done it himself, but he did give a good impression of studied nonchalance about his sartorial superiority.

This whole episode was reminiscent of Salih's observations of a wedding in Morocco in which returning migrants asserted their difference from non-migrants through a performance which referenced western modernity (Salih 2002, p. 226). The clothes, hair, and possessions on display in Sylhet help the visiting *Londoni* assert their difference from non-migrants that they encounter. They are the manifestation of the distinction that British Bangladeshis make between themselves and others, and the feeling of not belonging that they have in Sylhet. This is the public performance of a transnational identity, one that is formed through interactions both in London and Sylhet (Zeitlyn 2012a). These performances, and the clothes and hairstyles, are examples of identity work, illustrating the need to include conscious agency in conceptualisations of habitus.

They are a statement of a certain form of modernity, drawing on the symbols of Western modernity but with a South Asian transnational twist. This hybrid of western modernity is actually more typical of modernities than an idealised singular Western modernity. Western modernity is not the only authentic modernity and nor has it ever been homogenous, it is a myth (Chatterjee 2008, p. 324; Eisenstadt 2000, p. 3).

An Alternative Modernity

Similar processes of inclusion and exclusion occur with regards to wearing religious clothing and practices. As Tarlo (2007) shows, wearing a headscarf (*hijab*) is a way in which young Muslim women in Britain assert their feelings of faith and rejection of certain practices and behaviours associated with the West. They find themselves at times uneasy in places where others are not wearing *hijab* and rejected by people who have negative associations with it. Many of them reported that they meanwhile felt included within a different community, a community of women who wore *hijab* and an Islamic community of believers. The *hijab* is just one manifestation of an Islamic modernity prevalent among many in the British Bangladesh community. It represents one of many alternatives to 'Western modernity' (Chatterjee 2008, p. 324; Eisenstadt 2000, p. 3). Along with the wearing of *hijab*, this involved prohibiting the decoration of their houses with images of people or animals, strict observance of rules around halal food, avoidance of music and drama, and memorisation of the Qur'an by children in after school classes.

British Bangladeshis observed that more of them in London wore *hijab* than their friends and families in Bangladesh. Nearly all the British Bangladeshis girls in the school wore *hijab* from around the age of 8. Ishrat, an 11 year old girl in London described her view of Bangladeshi Islamic practices to me, when I asked her about wearing the *hijab* in Bangladesh. She linked poor observance of the 'correct' Islamic practices with assumptions about status in Bangladesh's hierarchical society.

BZ: *What about your cousins*, *do they wear it*? [hijab]

Ishrat: *No*, *because in Bangladesh*, *loads of people don't care about Islam and they just go out*, *whatever they wear*, *they go. Lots of gossiping*, *lots of back chatting*.

BZ: *Yeah*, *so do people care more about Islam here d'you think*?

Ishrat: *Yeah*, *because*, *in Bangladesh*, *they have all they want*, *like a mosque next to the house. But like they go 'oh I don't want to go*, *ooh I don't want to go to mosque*, *aaah' like that. And we*, *we don't have it and we have to pay for going to mosque. Yeah*, *like we have this inside thought that if I do this I'm going to be that*, *but they don't*, *they know that they think that because their dad's high*, *they think they're going to be high.*[4]

Her analysis reveals widely held ideas about how British Bangladeshis like her understand the 'true Islam' which they have learned in London, while Bangladeshi ideas of Islam have become corrupted by local power structures, cultures and traditions such as the belief in Sufi *pirs* (holy men). These ideas are described by Werbner (1996) who traces a shift among Pakistanis in the UK from Sufism to Islamic reform movements such as *Tablighi Jamaat* and *Jamaat i Islami*, which are both influential in London and among British Bangladeshis. These movements seek a rational, political total engagement with Islam among their followers and eschew both the traditions of the village and Sufi saints and what they see as corrupt 'Western modernity' (Werbner 1996, pp. 107–108).

Another young woman, Nasima, described how she and her sisters had started to wear *hijab* in London, while at university, after discussing it with practicing Muslim friends. Since then, her mother had taken up wearing the *hijab* too. She had never found it problematic or divisive in London, but had found it deeply problematic on returning to their well-educated middle class family in Bangladesh. Her uncle and aunt in Bangladesh were working in high profile jobs in Dhaka. Nasima described them as 'very western and hanging around with socially elite people'; a group who according to Nasima tend to 'ape the west' and associate the *hijab* with backwardness and oppression. Her uncle refused to be seen in public with her in Bangladesh while she was wearing the *hijab*.

British Bangladeshis subscribed to and performed several different types of modernity; here I describe two. One, expressed at the wedding, draws on both western modernity and south Asian transnational style. The hairstyles, *Punjabis* and gadgets exude western power and wealth while mixing it with a South Asian

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[4] Interview with Ishrat, 11, at Poynder Primary School, 12.02.2008.

aesthetic. It is a manifestation of British Bangladeshi transnational identity, one that sees themselves as representing a modern and western elite within Bangladeshi society. The second is a rational and literal interpretation of Islam, which is a critique of both Western modernity and Eastern (in this case Bengali) tradition. This draws on recent transnational Islamist movements, as well as postcolonial critiques of the West and third world elites.

Werbner (1996), Qureshi (2010), and Rozario (2011) all reflect on the wedding as a site of performances of identity and of conflict between rival ideologies of modernity and morality. Werbner (1996) and Rozario's (2011) accounts present reformist Islam, national cultures and traditions, Sufi Islam and Western modernity as being in opposition. Indeed, ideologically in many ways these different ideologies are opposed. However, they exist simultaneously in the lives of diasporic Muslims with other discourses, identities and modernities as Qureshi (2010) persuasively argues. Here the aim is to trace the links between preconscious stimuli, the conscious decisions made about identity work, ideas about modernity, and the aspirations of young British Bangladeshis. This may therefore give an impression of simple discrete lines of cause and effect, when in reality, as Qureshi's work indicates, life is complex and people continuously 'engage with multiple regimes of value' in their everyday lives (Qureshi 2010, p. 174).

The clothes that these British Bangladeshis wear are part of a performance of how they wish to present themselves to the world; they are a manifestation of their identities. Both the display of sophistication and South Asian fashion at the wedding and the displays of 'correct' Islamic dress among British Bangladeshi women are transnational displays of identities that make distinctions, inclusions and exclusions, they are context specific, so while they channel opposing discourses on how life should be lived, the same people may engage in them at different times and places.

After my observations in London and Bangladesh, I used arts based methodologies that I had devised to elicit information about the British Bangladeshis children's aspirations. These yielded interesting information about their ideas of the aesthetic, clothing and identities. They worked best when embedded within long term engagement with a groups of children, but are perhaps limited by the site of research (in school) and the fact that the researcher is a white, middle class, adult male. Further reflections on these methods are discussed in Zeitlyn and Mand (2012). The results of these arts based methods revealed the versions of modernity that these British Bangladeshi children aspired to.

Aspirations

The children in the Year 6 class I spent time with were explicitly encouraged by their teachers to aim high and expect to go to university. I asked British Bangladeshi children in interviews what they would like to do when they were older. Mostly their aspirations aimed at well-qualified, well-trodden career paths. A few children

had very specific ideas about being dermatologists or paediatricians based on personal experiences in their lives.

I conducted an exercise called 'Mr. or Ms. Successful' with British Bangladeshi children in an after school group that I ran. Each child was given a piece of paper with a simple outline of a human being on it, the title 'Mr. or Ms. Successful' and subtitles: 'is' and 'has' on either side of the sheet. I asked the children to decide whether they were going to draw a man or a woman and cross out the title as appropriate and draw what they saw as a successful person. Then they had to write five things that Mr. or Ms. Successful 'has' and five things that they 'are'.

Most of the children's drawings were of people with white skin or no pigment added to the skin. None of the Ms. Successful's drawn by Bangladeshi children were shown wearing a *hijab*. Ms. Successful was often described as 'pretty' or 'beautiful' whereas Mr. Successful was never described on the basis of his physical attributes, apart from a few references to hairstyles. Mr. Successful was more likely to be described as 'clever', 'brave' or 'good at football'. In terms of the things that Mr. or Ms. Successful has, there was less of a gender divide, money, a big house, stocked with plasma screen televisions, clothes, friends and family were included for both.

A pattern of risk adverse choices emerged, British Bangladeshi parents and children seemed to favour sensible choices that were more likely to lead to stable well-paid employment. Mary from the local Education Authority summed this up:

> I think that a lot of ethnic minority parents who have had to make their way in a world that's fairly inhospitable have stressed skills that are useful in the market place, like computer based skills for example or highly paid skills like the law or medicine over creative skills which they see as less reliable and less well paid and they often make this quite explicit in conversations with their children, if you have a choice you know, don't do textiles.[5]

Ten-year-old Faisal linked his status in the UK closely with his father's managerial role at a local company. He proudly told me that his father's employees called him 'sir'. The prestige and financial advantages his father's position brought him were reflected in his confidence and in teasing, playful exchanges of insults he had with other children. I was struck by the cruelty of these types of conversation between children whose families knew each other well. Their intimate knowledge of each other's situations enabled them to be particularly judgemental. In a conversation in the after-school club, Faisal and Rezwan competed over the extravagant electronic gadgets, televisions and sportswear that they owned. Faisal had a brand new Carbrini tracksuit, which he was very proud of. They continued a rather imbalanced competition, knowing full well that while Faisal's father was a manager in a local company and he had the latest gadgets and tracksuit, Rezwan's father was unemployed.

The tracksuits and gadgets and Western styles that the children presented in their representations of success indicate a preference for a version of modernity influenced by a Western model of capitalist, consumerist modernity rather than the more austere Islamist modernity which some of their parents preferred.

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[5] Interview with Seema and Mary conducted at The Education Authority, 23.03.2008.

Conclusions

This paper draws links between preconscious stimuli (smell), the agency of identity work (clothes and hairstyles), ideas about modernity, and the aspirations of young British Bangladeshis. Through this examination of the sensory and aesthetic expressions and experiences of a group of British Bangladeshi children, the paper describes the role that the senses and the aesthetic play, both in the determination of identities by the places into which they were socialised, and the ability of people to express agency through the clothes, styles and possessions they deploy as part of identity work. It illustrates critiques of Bourdieu's notion of habitus for its determinism, but reveals the dialectical links between what occurs 'below' and 'above' the level of consciousness.

Smells triggered cues to autobiographical memory in me and in the British Bangladeshi children that had strong associations that were central to our constructions of self. These cues made us feel at home or disorientated and out of place in certain contexts. They were difficult to express and rationalise but had powerful effects on our sense of identity. They remained, usually, 'below the level of consciousness'.

In other situations though we were capable of taking control over our identities, though the performance of particular forms of Western or Islamic modernity. Through these performances using clothes, hairstyles and material objects these modernities and associated discourses are communicated. Through agency, embodied identities are determined; they are under the control of individuals and groups and very much *above* the level of consciousness.

The presence of differing discourses of modernity points to the heterogeneity of reactions to the contexts in which British Bangladeshis find themselves. There is not one reaction to a given social field, place or set of circumstances, habitus takes different forms in different people. Agency plays a role and the projects of reproduction that exist in multiple social fields compete in the lives of children. Children and young people perform certain identities through their clothes and hairstyles and choose between competing discourses, social fields and forms of modernity. Habitus must therefore be seen as including the potential for agency that is dynamic, relational and able to be strategically performed as part of conscious decisions about identities.

The British Bangladeshi children made aesthetic choices that indicate that they subscribe to a more Western influenced version of modernity than the Islamic alternative described. This is not a representative study and only captures a short specific snapshot in the lives of these children, so a great deal should not be read into it. The point here is that there are links between the sensory experience of places, the performance of identities, and ideas of modernity, morality and success in life. A wide range of preconscious and conscious factors inform the habitus and sense of belonging that British Bangladeshis feel and express.

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Chapter 12
Qualities of Childhood: Kyrgyz Preschoolers Between Local Exigencies and Global Promises

Doris Bühler-Niederberger

Introduction

Kyrgyzstan is a Central Asian country of the former Soviet Union. It is a mountainous country with a continental climate and, therefore, the agriculture is even insufficient to nourish the own population. Very limited agricultural exports are restrained to few products (especially cotton, tobacco) while many farmer families are supported by international food aid programs. Compared to the neighbor countries the natural resources are limited, too, some gold, uranium and electricity (water resources) are virtually the only exports. There are severe infrastructural deficiencies in the country (traffic, water supply, canalization, medical care) especially in the many remote areas. Industrialization remained weak, although considerable efforts were made after the collapse of the Soviet Union to reform economy, to privatize former State ownership, to support a competitive market and to some degree to fight corruption as well. Several popular uprisings and interethnic clashes in the last two decades weakened efforts of development. Therefore, enough reasons are given for many men and women to migrate to other countries of the former Soviet Union, especially Russia and Kazakhstan. Exact figures on such migration are not available as a large part of it happens in a legal gray area. However, remittances of these migrants contribute considerably to the gross national income. In the ranking of countries according to their gross national income per capita Kyrgyzstan is placed at the top of the lowest fifth of the countries, more or less equal with Cameroun or Côte d'Ivoire (World Bank 2014a).

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Kyrgyzstan depends heavily on foreign aid and it cooperates intensively with international donors. The country has a democratic system; this lesser autocratic development in comparison to other countries of the region is astonishing and not easy to explain – even for Kyrgyz sociologists (Yarkova 2004). It may be one of the reasons for Kyrgyzstan's "eagerness to accept foreign interference at the levels of both state and society" (Yarkova 2004, p. 137). Yarkova arguments, that such openness to cooperate with international donors is also a consequence of the pressing economic weakness, but as well of Kyrgyz history, which was marked by nomadic life and therefore by a weak national identity.

Foreign organizations focus mainly on economic and infrastructural development, but they are active in the field of education as well. They give special attention to early childhood and ECD programs, and Kyrgyzstan–with its already mentioned *eagerness* to accept foreign offers–made it possible to implement such programs and adapted parts of it in the own policy laws and strategies. Therefore, young children and their parents are an interesting group if we want to study the interplay of global discourses and direct interventions of international actors on the one side and local exigencies and routines on the other. The first part of this contribution will give insight into discourses and programs of international organizations concerning young children's education. The second part will add and contrast the views and experiences of parents and young children themselves and is based on an empirical study in rural and urban areas of Kyrgyzstan. This study was realized with the support of Aga Khan Foundation and UNICEF (Bühler-Niederberger and Schwittek 2014). Central part of the research were sessions in Kindergartens with totally 117 children aged 3–6; with these children we conducted several exercises according to the ideas of "participatory research" (Punch 2002; Gallacher and Gallagher 2008). About half of the children were from the capital or smaller cities and towns in the regions; the other half were from rural and remote regions. The study included interviews with 60 parents of these children and 30 home visits.

The contribution concludes with an attempt to evaluate the outcomes, i.e. the qualities and shortages of childhoods which are produced in this interplay of local conditions and global policy lines. With such attempt we reach an impasse as all available thought patterns or logics to judge on qualities of childhoods prove to be fundamentally biased. Their applicability is more or less completely limited to a *normative pattern of childhood*, a childhood as a distinct and protected life phase aiming merely at the preparation for the future – the future of a rather stable society. There are many reasons why such childhood can only be fully realized in societies of the global North and must be seen as partly inappropriate for societies which are not corresponding to the social order of individualized societies. There are only some preliminary thoughts that can be offered to overcome the problem.

International Organizations: Global Transmission of Educational Discourses and Programs

ECD: Promises for the Individual and for the World Society

International organizations show a strong commitment to ECD (Early Childhood Development) Programs. The list of benefits of ECD programs which was presented on the World Bank's website until February 2014 reminds the reader of a miracle cure: "Benefits of ECD interventions can be found in the following areas: higher intelligence scores, higher and timelier school enrollment, less grade repetition and lower dropout rates, higher school completion rates, improved nutrition and health status, improved social and emotional behavior, improved parent-child relationship, increased earning potential and economic self-sufficiency as an adult, increased female labour force participation (…), reduced criminality and reduced welfare utilization as an adult (…), better chances of developing the skills required to contribute productively to social and economic development" (World Bank n.d.). The language became a little more sober in later versions of this website, but remained firmly decided: "A child's earliest years present a window of opportunity to address inequality and improve outcomes later in life. The potential benefits from supporting early childhood development (ECD) range from improved growth and development to better schooling outcomes to increased productivity in life" (World Bank 2014b).

The overall argumentation is that the rates of return to human capital investment are high and even several times higher when young children are addressed instead of school children or even adolescents and young adults. The evidence for these promises is based on several preschool programs in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. These programs–like High Scope Perry Preschool Project – addressed mainly Afro-American children from deprived areas, children whose development was then followed up until middle adult age. The calculus on return rates is clearly demonstrated and translated into a curve of a diagram in Carneiro and Heckman (2003, Appendix, Fig. 6.1). This figure became prominent and was often quoted; however, it has been criticized, too, by authors who gave evidence in their research that later interventions may show considerable success as well (cf. Krueger 2001). World Bank put the diagram on its website (World Bank n.d.).

World Bank declared for the 'Education Strategy 2020': "The bottom line of the Bank Group's education strategy is: Invest early. Invest smartly. Invest for all" (2011, p. 4). In other words: Invest in Early Education and Care. World Bank increased its investment in ECD programs from approximately US$126 million in 1990 to a total of about US$1,6 billion in 2006, in short: they spend more than ten times

the amount they spent two decades ago (Einboden et al. 2013). The discovery of this age group by international organizations is not entirely new. UNICEF made it a subject of discussion already in the 1970s; however, preschool was considered a luxury for poor countries and the availability of primary and secondary schools for all children was taken to be primordial. Besides that, UNICEF rejected preschool education in favor of improved maternal care (Mahon 2009). For World Bank "preschool was not even on the horizon" (Mahon 2009, p. 4); their programs were confined to secondary and vocational education. The rise of the importance of ECD programs in the schedules of international organizations from the 1990s onward is due to an intertwining of children's rights (the ratification of UN CRC in 1989), growing demands for female participation on the labor markets, American neuroscience proclaiming new breakthroughs concerning the enormous importance of the first years to build better brains and better lives, and last but not least a triumph of neoliberal thinking of efficiency. Such thinking is advocating welfare cuts, but counterbalancing them by investing in human capital, in short it favors "the right kind' of social policy … targeting the very poor of the next generation" (Mahon 2009, p. 17).

Of course, it is easy to argument that there was very weak evidence for a far reaching change in educational programs, as far as the Global South was concerned. Virtually all the evidence was based on programs in United States addressing deprived children. The type of neuroscience's results that were referred to have been criticized to be rather "popular literature" and "oversimplified (Bruer 2002, pp. 8, 199), as well. And as to the social circumstances fueling the development of early childhood institutions in the Global North–like women's increased labour force participation, rising welfare costs for single mothers, growing difficulties of poorly qualified young people to enter labour market etc.– they were anyway bound to the problems of highly developed economies. But, additional reasons for this thrust reversal in educational policy can be added to the above list. Firstly, after the collapse of the Soviet Union early childcare institutions were no more suspect to be an invention of leftist ideologists, they became socially acceptable and appeared on the political agenda of middle class parties; this is at least something that was to learn in European countries in the last two decades. Secondly, it was at the same time when UNESCO (being much more critical towards westernization!) had lost its position as *lead agency* in education; this was due to serious limits of its financial resources caused by the absence of United Kingdom and United States in the UNESCO during 10 years (and since 1984). This gave additional impact to the World Bank programs with "its' championing of economic globalization, from which its education policies and lending have been principally derived" (Jones and Coleman 2004, p. 2). Thirdly, programs addressing young children must have promised a symbolic gain: Reports on education programs with these youngest learners on the front page may convince any potential critic.

The political bias of World Bank's education policy is more than obvious. However, the discourse is waterproof: It is the child's universal and natural body authorizing the policy line. The child's nature is a developing brain, a birth weight, a continuous gain of weight and height and, in addition, a clear correlation of these

traits on the one hand and (obvious) interventions like cognitive stimulation and nutrition supplement on the other. It is this correlation between interventions and children's nature which is shown on a World Bank website, reporting the success of various programs in countries of the Global South (2006). Children profiting from such programs are taller and ahead in their learning achievement in comparison to control group children (World Bank 2006). There is no social relativization of such nature; the social contexts are only damaging or fostering this universal nature. Necessarily, the treatment is the same all over the world, no matter if it concerns deprived Afro-American children in US or children in poor or lower middle income countries in Asia or Africa. And the benefits are the same as well: economic growth, a global democratic and capitalist society, a world society. And if this world has to be seen as the consequence of an adequate treatment of the universal nature of the child, such world must be naturally right. This is the logic of this discourse: a naturalization of a world of efficiency by the child's body as a convincing and engaging element. Einboden et al. call this a "poignant example of technobiopolitics" (2013, p. 549). In such a discourse any non-professional is silenced vis-à-vis the experts of the child's nature.

ECD Programs in Kyrgyzstan and the Message of an Individualist Society

Many other international organization are nowadays adhering to this educational guideline, like UNICEF, Bernard van Leer Foundation, the Aga Khan Foundation, the Soros Foundation. In Kyrgyzstan there are especially the World Bank, UNICEF, Aga Khan Foundation and UNDP which are active in the field of ECD. They run kindergartens, preschools, and *mini-libraries* (encouraging young children to read) especially in remote areas (all these are especially organized by UNICEF and Aga Khan Foundation), they provide material and equipment for kindergartens and preschools, they are active in the training and counseling of teachers and institution leaders, they make brochures for parents, and finally they are involved on any level of public education policy decisions. The Kyrgyz reality does not yet come up to their expectations and they initiate many reports, too, focusing on parents' care and educational practices, on preschool attendance of children etc. To begin with the very basic indicators: The under 5 years mortality rate is judged to be high (44 among 1000), among the important reasons are pneumonia and diarrhea (often enough not adequately treated); the prevalence of stunting as a result of malnourishment stands at 13.7 % (UNICEF 2007b). Preschool education is rather an exception than the rule: In 2007/2008 only 14 % of children between 3 and 7 years old visited a kindergarten (OECD and World Bank 2010); in 2010 there are 17 % (SABER Country Report 2013). Out of the total number of children in school entrance age (6–7 years), only 70.4 % are attending first grade; the others enter school too late and only around 20 % of the children in this age group are estimated to be ready

for school (UNICEF 2007b). Parental practices are scrutinized and the reports state that parents, especially fathers, do not spend enough time with their young children, and they use too much harsh physical and psychical disciplining. To say it with numbers: 44 % of fathers of 7-year-old children said that they had not played with their child "for a long time" or they "did not remember when this had happened the last time"; more than half of the parents admitted to practice corporal punishment towards their toddlers (Expert Consulting Agency 2004; UNICEF 2009, 2010). While discussing child labour (which is however statistically rare!) a report of UNICEF complains as well: "Some parents raise their children from an early age without taking into account wishes of the child as well as perspectives of child development in order to serve family interests. Over time these children fail to learn how to make decisions on their own, let alone know what kind of rights they have as a child" (UNICEF 2007b, p. 62). Such reports aim at the Government, they are the public "blaming and shaming" which international organizations use to provoke political response, as most of these reports are available online, too. The results are remarkable as some examples may show: Kyrgyz Republic approved a Law on Preschool Education in 2009 to guarantee a minimal attendance of at least some weeks for every child, however, the effects remained modest up to now as the kindergarten enrollment rates show. Kyrgyz Health Ministry distributes nutritional supplements for pregnant women and young children. In 2010 the Government accepted recommendations by the *Committee on the Rights of the Child*, the *Human Rights Committee* and the *Committee Against Torture* concerning the banning of physical punishment; a law against all corporal punishment of children is in discussion, but not yet approved.

But, beyond attempts to remedy the deplorable state of affair–like malnutrition, lack of cognitive stimulation by available institutions and maybe by parents as well–international organizations strive at far reaching goals by their interventions, as we already said above. ECD programs intend to eliminate poverty and to create a (world) society of productive, innovative and individually responsible citizens by giving to all children "the opportunity to reach their full potential"–as a recently published report of World Bank on Kyrgyzstan states it (SABER Country Report 2013, p. 4; cf. as well Bartlett 2013). There are, however, only few points where these individualistic aims–while seemingly a strong background motivation for international organization–become obvious. The everyday reality of Kyrgyz preschool institutions–as far as the visits during the research project showed–is quite strongly characterized by a rather authoritarian, directive style of teaching, by a class of children speaking in unison, clapping and waving hands on teacher's command. And several times during our research sessions preschool teachers reminded the children how much they were obligated to obedience to their parents and to sustain them once they become adults. A foreign visitor may doubt in which way such messages might support the neoliberal program of World Bank's experts. This is where international organizations have been intervening for some years now by the program *active learner*. The active learner "takes responsibility in his learning process". He/she becomes "academically skilled" … "competent and motivated in terms of civic engagement, economic productivity and family management";

acquires a "world view about how different characters behave and how one individual can help others change the environment for the better, and how to accept diversity and differences". This was the statement of an international expert on the Roundtable *Moving from Active Teaching to Active Learning* in Bishkek, the Kyrgyz capital, in September 2011. The Roundtable assembled head teachers, regional deputies of educational institutions, politicians etc. *Active learning* is an educational technique of the 1990s already, but becomes now one of the slogans in the rhetoric of international organizations (cf. Ginsburg 2009; Aga Khan Early Learning Center 2003). One of the messages of the Roundtable was that such a technique of learning was a way of supporting young people in becoming *entrepreneurial selves*.

In a more subtle way the individualistic aim of ECD programs can be found in children's literature books and textbooks which international organizations produce and distribute in Kyrgyzstan. Two examples shall be given: The textbook "First steps in studying the world" (UNICEF 2007a) for the kindergartens wants "to support teachers and parents to understand how the child grows, gets adapted in social environment, develops thinking, creativity, learning". This is what the introduction tells; in fact it is a textbook for early reading education, teaching as well numbers. But, it teaches more: The pictured book addressing Kyrgyz children (it is in Kyrgyz language and persons, dresses, nature, and many of the objects look typically Kyrgyz) is a clear message for the nuclear family which up to now is not the Kyrgyz ideal nor most common family pattern.[1] The scenes from everyday life show a nuclear family with two children (while there are two, seven children born per woman, so most families have at least three or four children). The book limits the traditional togetherness of three generations to occasions like family celebrations, holidays, visits–as such is common in the countries of the Global North. The nuclear family is in addition depicted to be a *partnership* family, in which household duties are shared by men and women. Some scenes show the father coming up to his household duties, e.g. vacuuming the apartment. This is clearly not depicturing Kyrgyz predominant family patterns, where–this may show the patriarchal situation–more than one fourth of women takes it to be appropriate to be physically punished by their husbands when objecting, leaving the house without the man's permission etc. (UNICEF 2007b). The book for first readers "Bow and Mew" (Aga Khan Foundation 2011) is a message for ethnic tolerance. Dog and cat represent diversity and teach children that they can become friends despite any difference. Meanwhile, the little girl, who is the third character in this book, teaches children an individualistic lesson. The girl sleeps alone in her bed with her teddy; she is able to regulate herself with a stuffed animal–according the good night rites of the Global North and different from Kyrgyzstan where the practice of co-sleeping is common for children at least until school age. The presence of pets–the cat and the dog in 'Bow and Mew' and of a cat in 'First steps in studying the world'–can be seen as another individualistic message. Pets are uncommon in Kyrgyzstan especially in the

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[1] While somewhat more than half of Kyrgyz households are nuclear families, this means, that old couples almost never live alone; as there are always several siblings that might live with old parents once they are married (UNDP 2010).

rural areas (and the books were produced for kindergartens in rural areas!) where animals are meant to be useful. Meanwhile, they are of growing importance in the childhood in Global North. The most frequently heard pedagogical argument for pets in the North is that children learn to take responsibility and that they do so by inner motivation, i.e. that it is helpful for the development of self-responsible individuals.

Exigencies and Hopes: Local Perspectives onto Childhood

Parents Expectations and the Importance of Social Networks

The efforts of International Organizations are clearly aiming at efficiency, at self-responsible, entrepreneurial individuals who are able to solve the bulk of problems caused by poverty and development needs. Together with their ECD programs they transport an ideal of a new social order: an individualized society. Meanwhile, parents' attitudes seem to be somewhat ambivalent. They have to be interpreted against the background of the economic and social situation in Kyrgyzstan. A considerable part of the population is without jobs and regular income. Therefore, people rely on social networks and mutual support in families to overcome emergencies (Kuehnast and Dudwick 2004; World Bank 2010; International Crisis Group 2012). The strong reliance on social networks of family, relatives, and neighbours goes along with a clear hierarchy between generational groups. Accordingly, important decisions in the life of the younger generation are made by the older generation. Recent survey data on young people's behaviour and attitudes show that the majority of young people follow their parents' advice concerning the choice of studies and professions as well as marriage decisions (Esengul 2012, p. 39). All the same, they aspire for some independence, e.g. more than two thirds of young people say that they prefer neo-local residence while elder people expect the youngest son to live with his wife in his parents' household and the daughter-in-law shall be a help in the household (UNDP 2010, p. 44). The Soviet State counteracted the power of the older generation by its own influence on education and young people's lives for many decades (Esengul 2012, pp. 38–39). Quite on the contrary, the Constitution of the independent Kyrgyz Republic declares nowadays that 'respect for the elderly … shall be the obligation of everyone'.[2] Everyday rules of greeting and behaviour express and reveal the dominance of the elder generation over young people.[3]

Such collectivist elements and necessities of this society are helpful in understanding parents' educational practices. Parents do not really object to the *new* message of child centered family and intensive parenting. This is what the interviews

[2] Art. 37.2, Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, 2010, http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text.jsp?file_id=254747 (Accessed 24 February 2015).

[3] We thank our Kyrgyz exchange students and research partners for precious insights into their everyday knowledge.

with 60 parents during our field trips showed. Parents seemed to be conscious of such expert advices and admonitions and answered to our questions accordingly. They e.g. declared that they would explain things in cases of conflicts instead of scolding or slapping the child, that they would tell stories to the child, and that they would answer his/her questions etc. However, when the interview switched from the level of attitudes to the level of real behavior, i.e. when we asked parents to talk about concrete events, they described situations of everyday conflict (of disobedience, defiance or sloppiness of the child) in which they acted harsh and made short work of their children. It became very clear that the only accepted outcome of such conflicts was the child's unconditional submission. This harsh punishment and unconditional adult dominance can't be explained just by uncontrolled temper or a lack of diligence but has to be interpreted as part of a strategy. This strategy aims at the submission of the child under the rules of the age hierarchical order.

Parents expect their children to become sustainers of the family and to remain strongly integrated into the family context once they are grown up. In the parent questionnaire we included some *value of children* questions (VOC)[4]. The item 'He/she shall be a sustainer of the family' was ranked highly by more than two thirds of the parents. These generational obligations correspond to what is commonly taken to be a *collectivist society* in the cultural approach which is called I-C-approach (Markus and Kitayama 1991; Heine 2001; Triandis 2001). But, a further assumption of this approach is that individuals in collectivist societies gain status and prestige and their sense of honor out of their affiliations and their ascribed properties and not by achievement i.e. not by individual success (Triandis 2001, p. 914). Either this assumption is outdated for collectivist societies since a global educational and labor market gained relevance or Kyrgyz parents–or at least the parents who send their children to kindergarten–make an exception as they have quite in the contrary very high expectations concerning achievement and success of their children. This expectation towards the young generation, to be highly successful-and not the least for the sake of the older generation–is probably consequential to the social insecurity in a twofold way: Firstly, this shall help to overcome the insecurity of the actual situation. Secondly, the actually insecure and opaque situation of economy and labor market does not make careers really predictable, paving the way for high ambitions beyond reason. When parents were asked what they wanted their children to become once they would be grown up, only 2 (!) of the 60 parents mentioned occupations which did not require university degrees. Medical doctor was the most frequently mentioned professional aspiration, followed by engineer and manager in business. The expectations concerning children's success and future were culminating in sentences like the following about their kindergarteners:

"I hope S. will build a large house where we can all live together".
"I think O. could be an ambassador".

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[4] VOC is a well-established question battery in intercultural comparisons and asks for the actual and future expectations towards the child. We used it in our parents' interviews according to Nauck and Klaus (2007).

Needless to say, that parents with such ambitions are more than willing to accept and take advantage of the global message and programs of early cognitive development. The human capital message has now a new, private and unexpected implication: to foster cognitive development of the child for the sake of the family. The parental efforts to support this development consist in monitoring the child and in a high amount of pressure. Parents carefully survey school success, even in kindergarten, scold or praise children's performance and make this a topic of high relevance in the parent-child-relation. Once again they choose as well harsh practices to fuel the achievement motivation of their kindergarteners–this is what the interviews showed. When asking parents in the interview for a recent situation in which the child made them mad, we got the following answers of different mothers of kindergarteners:

> The child makes her mad several times a day. When she forces him to learn and to read, he reads wrong letters.
> The son made the mother very furious two days ago as he did not want to make his homework.
> Recently the mother yelled at her child because she could not solve her math exercise. She used to be able to do that easily, but now she couldn't. The mother could not fall asleep in the night because of this.

Children's View and Experiences: "I Will Buy a Car for My Parents"

Children comply with parents' expectations. This is what they do probably in every society and in every institution: comply with adult expectations. Such *competent compliance* (Bühler-Niederberger 2011; Bühler-Niederberger and Schwittek 2014) means more than mere obedience; it consists in an attentive way of identifying expectations which are directed towards them and in finding the means to come up to them. In Kyrgyzstan, and with the strict demands of the parents there, children not only comply but they even make this compliance the basis of their self-esteem. When asserting their own value, children express their pride on coming up to parents' exigencies like the following statements of kindergarteners show:

- 'I'm a good girl, when mother says something I listen to her. I get water, I must listen, that's a good girl' (girl, 5, Bujum village, Batken).
- 'I'm a good boy' – Researcher: What is a good boy? – 'A good boy works, is tidy' (boy, 4, Bujum village, Batken).
- One girl speaks about 'bad children' – Researcher: What are bad children? – 'They are naughty, they do not obey their mother, they do not eat up their rice, they go out of the house without asking their mother, mother is scolding them.' – Researcher: And a good child? – 'A good child brings water without parents telling her, washes dishes. I wash dishes and I bring water' (girl, 5, Naryn town).

Children as well correspond to their parents' expectations and ambitions when they develop fantasies in regard to their future life. The young children put this in the following ways:

- 'I will be a big girl. I want to be a bank officer.' – Researcher: Why bank officer? – 'I will give money to my mother and father, I will buy a car, a Russian car' (girl, 3, Naryn town).
- 'I want to be a doctor. I can take care of my mother' (girl, 6, Bozadyr village, Batken).
- 'I will be a doctor. I'll treat parents, relatives, other people' (girl, 6, Bujum village, Batken).
- 'I will be a doctor. I'll take care of my mother and other people.' – Researcher: Is your mother sick? – 'No' (girl, 6, Bujum village, Batken).
- Researcher: What do you not like to be in the future? – 'I do not want to be a shepherd.' – Researcher: Why? – 'I don't like just to wander around the mountains.' – Researcher: Do you know shepherds? – 'Yes'. – Researcher: Are they nice people? – 'Yes, but I want to be useful' (boy, 6, Samarkandek village, Batken).

The high parental expectations and exigencies generally do not seem to be to the dismay of the young children, quite in the contrary. But, we may doubt if this remains harmonic and encouraging in the further development, too, when children may disappoint parents while not being that successful as they should be and while parents react strongly disappointed in such cases, as the presented statements even for their kindergarteners showed.

There is one major sorrow which the data collection on kindergarteners and school children showed: Aggressiveness from the side of the parents and care takers, be it physical or verbal. In the research sessions the kindergarteners were asked to interpret the facial expressions of wooden and colored smiley 'how does he feel?' and to tell the researcher then if they had experienced similar feelings and in which moments so.

- 'The blue smiley': It's crying, I cry when someone hits me, takes my things.' – Researcher: Who hits you? – 'My father, grandmother, brother, my mother doesn't hit me, she loves me' (girl, 6, Bozadyr village, Batken).
- 'Blue smiley: cry … When my grandmother beats me, I cry because she beats me "You must go to kindergarten!" then I cry' (boy, 6, Bujum village, Batken).
- 'Pink – cry, when my father beats me I cry, if I don't listen, if I don't do what he said' (boy, 5, Bujum village, Batken).
- 'I cry when my mother beats me. When I beat my little brother my mother beats me. – Researcher: What do you do then? – The next time I will not hit my brother' (girl, 5, Bujum village, Batken).
- 'Green smiley: angry, when my sister beats me. When I don't listen to her' (boy, 5, Bujum village, Batken).
- 'Blue smiley: he is crying. Because he is not allowed to play.' – Researcher: Do you cry? – 'Yes, when somebody beats me. For example, when I wanted to sleep with my mom, my dad beat me, and when I wanted to watch cartoons' (boy, 4, Bishkek Center).
- 'Pink smiley is upset, I'm upset when someone quarrels and beats me.' – Researcher: Who? – 'My sister in law and brother, they have a baby, if I don't play with him, if I don't take care they yell at me' (boy, 6, Janybak village, Batken).

Children were not explicitly asked for disciplinary practices of their parents in order to not embarrass them. But, more than half of the kindergarten children brought up harsh practices themselves. Taken together one may conclude that for this age group the combination of strong family expectations together with a high degree of expected submission implicates in their own view positive and negative effects.

Conclusions: The Qualities of Childhood Between the Global and the Local

International Organizations and parents have their own and differing expectations in regard to childhood. They agree as to the high relevance which they attribute to children's cognitive learning, but disagree as to the ways of learning and to the amount of pressure that should be put on young children to achieve good results. They disagree, too, as to the aims they want to achieve: an individualist society in the case of the international organizations and a continuance of collectivist obligations and a hierarchical generational order in the case of the parents. Consequently, their opinions in the position of the young child in the family drift apart. In the view of the parents the child has to submit to the family's interest and its age hierarchical order. On the contrary, the family shall be focused on the child, in the view of the international organizations: Thus, the child's personal wishes and needs should have some priority. But, what can we say about the qualities of childhood which are produced in this encounter of the global and the local? Is the new message a step ahead in the attempt to improve children's lives or does the mixture of different concepts even cause new problems?

Trying to answer such questions leads to the much more basic question of the criteria that shall be used to judge on childhood quality. One can choose a *child protection* perspective, asking if childhood is a protected space and if children's needs (which are then understood to be 'naturally' given) are fulfilled. It is evident that the interventions of international organizations aim toward a more strongly protected space as we have to consider their efforts for a healthy development and against violence. If we consider, how many children bitterly complain about being beaten by their parents and other care persons, it is, however, not that clear if there has already been a big progress in Kyrgyzstan in this respect. There is also a shadow cast over the possible record of success. It is the growing pressure on children's academic achievement in families that were lucky or ambitious enough to find a Kindergarten place and that are expecting now best learning results already from their very young children. But, beyond such differentiated weighing of positive and negative effects there is a much more fundamental problem in adopting a child protection perspective in countries of the Global South. This is the problem that *any* step toward Westernization and the modern concept of 'good childhood' has to be judged a priori as a step ahead in such an approach. We can take the psycho-historian

Lloyd deMause as the most popular representative of such an approach to explain this highly problematic presetting. In his famous book "The History of Childhood" (1974) deMause presents a list of six historical stages of childrearing modes. He says this is a process of evolution, a continuous amelioration starting in the darkness of history, which had been a nightmare of severe child abuse and maltreatment, and resulting nowadays and in the Western societies–he speaks of "modern nations" – in a childrearing mode characterized by empathic and warm reactions to the child. According to deMause these reactions become possible due to growing psychological maturity of parents. He calls this final stage the "helping mode" of child-rearing. This final stage which is reached in "modern nations" however has not been reached everywhere. Not only India, China, Egypt, and other countries of the Global South (deMause 2002) but as well "Eastern Europe" (1974, p. 11), "many villages of Europe" (p. 12)" and even "Germany" (p. 13) are mentioned by deMause as places remaining behind in this process of redemption. In such places ancient customs and practices are still prevailing, harming and frightening children as he illustrates with a variety of examples.

It becomes very evident in deMause's thinking that the attempt to distinguish good and bad childhoods beyond any societal conditions, economic situation etc. ends up in a judgment that is biased by presentism and ethnocentrism. Such view assumes universal and-historical needs of children and does not explain any deviance from a postulated pattern of 'good childhood', but condemns it simply to be wrong and bad parenting. We know that especially in childhood sociology there is a real outcry against such export of notions of childhood from the West to the South and of Western morality implicated in these notions (e.g. Twum-Danso Imoh and Ansell 2013). There is an inherent Western bias in such a child protection approach and this critique can once again be confirmed by the blindness of international organizations towards specific harms which result from the country's or region's economic and social conditions. In Kyrgyzstan–if we want to study children's sorrows and distress–we have to think about the problems of migration which separate many children from their parents up to the point of a complete estrangement of parents and children. We also have to think about the problem of children born out of wedlock; they are at the margin of a society in which strong family networks and family affiliations are uttermost important. But, such problems are not on the agenda of the international organizations; the child protection problems to which they give attention to are beyond local social conditions, they might be put on their agenda worldwide. It is not that much the actual situation with its specific problems which is in the focus of their interest; international organizations are rather oriented towards the *goal* which has to be reached–and are too strongly fixed on this idea. The goal is a childhood moulded according to the ideals of childhoods in the middle-class of rich countries. And this childhood is not a value in itself, rather it is a vehicle to reach a social order as it is prevailing in such countries and for these groups of the population. And the child protection perspective is far more another emanation of such an approach than a useful tool to analyze it or its effects.

A second available perspective to judge on qualities of childhood focuses on children's agency. Such a perspective is less common in public discourse, but *agency*

has become a core concept of the new sociology of childhood. Such perspective requires to consider children as 'actors', as 'beings', and not only as 'becomings' (Qvortrup et al. 2009). What appears to be an impulse for childhood theory and empirical research at the first glance is in fact a highly normative claim for a new understanding of childhood in institutions, in everyday life, and in policy guidelines. This concept goes along with the concept of *generational order* (Alanen 2009; Bühler-Niederberger 2011) which implicates the critique of an asymmetrical order of age groups analogous to the asymmetrical order of gender categories. Such order of age groups limits children's scope of action, their opportunities to shape conditions and interactions according to their wishes and need–to an extent that children don't have 'voice'. Childhood sociologists claimed that their approach should be "(…) a basis for righting children's wrongs" (Mayall 2000, p. 246) and this meant to take children's perspective into account and to give them access to participation in relevant decisions. While for deMause's approach violence against children had been central, it is now the right to participate and to have voice which is assumed as a central need of children. Maybe such an assumption is even more tightly bound to Western value orientations. The accusation which goes along with this approach is, however, not that much directed against certain *Others*, not the European villages and not India or China, it is against virtually all existing generational orders as they are what they are: categorizations according to the age clearly attributing more rights and more voice to adults than to children.

International organizations in Kyrgyzstan have this perspective in their mind when they ask for *active learners* and complain that parents submit children to family interests instead of supporting their independence. In this way–and if we take this point of view–their interventions have to be considered a gain of childhood quality, at least as long as we accept the Western bias of the judgment criteria. However, to consider young children's own view – what makes part of the respect for children's agency as well–reveals to be a two-edged affair. If children are given voice as they were in our research, they may be in favor of the authoritarian and collectivist order. This is what the Kyrgyz children demonstrated when they expressed their pride on being 'a good child' and when they adopted self-confidently their parents' ambitions. This is by no means an exception: We find similar paradoxical effects of this approach to evaluate childhood which is meant to be empowering when kids from Ghana tell in interviews that they accept physical punishment (Twum-Danso Imoh 2012) and kids of South Africa even declare such slaps to be a sign of love and attention (Payet and Franchi 2008). Such compliance may be consequential to children's *competent obedience*, but there is no reason to deny that different types of social orders may offer gratifications to their lower ranking members, too. Attempts to change such orders may therefore not necessarily improve childhood quality, at least not in the judgment of children themselves. Even if this thought may be irritating it seems that the quality of a more self-oriented childhood depends on the local frame of value orientations that are taught to the children. In addition, we may assume that the 'family interests' and the compliance to these interests has a vital importance in a country where there is no welfare system to support isolated individuals and where social relations which are interconnected with family membership are highly important to find one's position in economy.

If children are educated to become members of an individualistic society this may therefore be a dead-end road.

These last deliberations already belong to the third and last possible point of view: the socialization perspective. Rooting in classical sociological theory, the approach of socialization conceives of childhood as a process of internalization of values and beliefs and of acquiring conforming need dispositions (Durkheim 1961; Parsons and Bales 1955). Without going into any details of these theories one can easily discover that such a point of view is as well the major guideline of any education which attempts to prepare children for their adult lives. In such an approach the quality of childhood has to be judged according to the quality of preparation of the young people for society's requirements. International organizations try to prepare children for an individualized social order; they shall become self-responsible individuals by appropriate learning methods, by appropriate parenting patterns etc. Meanwhile parents prepare them to submit to the requirements of a collectivist society, although, to be ambitious all the same. Taken together, Kyrgyz childhood becomes characterized by quite a variety of (contradicting) messages. Maybe, this has to be taken as an advantage as there is not much to predict about the type of orders they have to fit in once they will be adult; taking into account, that they may migrate for a shorter or longer while, that they may work for international organizations/companies, that local society may change, but that collectivist demands will be directed towards them as well. However, it might be helpful for children if the local and especially global actors had some awareness and openness in regard to this bricolage of orders and preparation for orders. Unhappily, such awareness has been remarkably absent so far.

To come to the end, we have to admit that in the attempt to evaluate the impacts of the transport of global ideas to local conditions we do not even find a secure ground from which to start our evaluation. This is due to the fundamental bias of any available perspective. But, for sure, the attempt proved to be fruitful as we became aware of the rigorousness with which local conditions are ignored by international actors. If there were to attain sustainable steps ahead in improving childhood qualities, such local conditions, for sure, have to be considered. There is not only a lack of interest for the facets of the local situations from the side of international organizations but, far beyond, there is a lack of interest for the fact and amount of a relevant difference. It is not the local situation in which they are interested, not the local starting point but the global aim.

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Chapter 13
From Access to Post-access Concerns: Rethinking Inclusion in Education Through Children's Everyday School Attendance in Rural Malaysia

Noëmi Gerber and Roy Huijsmans

Introduction: Beyond Enrolment and Access

Globally, about 58 million children were not enrolled in primary schools in 2012 (UIS and UNICEF 2015, p. 18). This figure is a stark reminder of the unfinished project of providing universal primary education, which has been on development agendas for several decades now (Handa 2002, p. 103). Figures like this are also powerful ammunition for campaigns that address this 'exclusion from education' (UIS and UNICEF 2015, p. 18) by focusing on increasing enrolment, such as the Millennium Development Goals and the joint UNESCO-UNICEF 'Global initiative on out of school children,' launched in 2010.[1] Such enrolment-oriented policy frameworks focus on (1) getting all children into school, (2) at the appropriate age, and (3) for a specified minimum number of years. In addition, the objective of ensuring the 'full educational inclusion of every single child' is understood as removing 'barriers' that are said to be responsible for educational exclusion (UIS and UNICEF 2015, p. 39). However, the seductive simplicity of such campaigns leave unaddressed a series of questions pertaining 'school attendance' that, we argue, have become increasingly important in a global primary school landscape that, despite the figure stated above, is ever more shaped by post-access concerns.

In making the case for a focus on school attendance we do not wish to deny the importance of continued efforts aimed at increasing primary school enrolment rates. The uneven geographical distribution of the out-of-school primary school-age pop-

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ulation suggests, however, that such efforts are of greater relevance and importance in certain places than others. For example, three countries (Nigeria, Pakistan and Sudan) are home to nearly one-third (16.9 mill.) of the total primary school-aged out-of-school population (UIS and UNICEF 2015, p. 22). Research on children's everyday school attendance also offers important conceptual and policy potential. First, it complements understanding 'exclusion from education' in term of barriers, with a relational and processual account of inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics. Second, 'the development of a child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential' (UN 1989, article 29a), the ultimate objective of education, is only poorly captured by enrolment data (see also McCowan 2010), and much better by research on children's school attendance.

In the next section we present a conceptual discussion on school attendance before moving on to the research context (Sabah, Malaysia) and a brief discussion of the research. In the analytical section of the paper we first demonstrate empirically the great variations in primary school attendance in a context where enrolment has virtually become the norm. Attendance patterns are analysed in relation to a range of structural factors, and specific attention is paid to questions of agency by looking at how children experience the benefits of school and schooling and how this manifests in exercising agency in the decision-making processes of everyday school attendance.

Conceptualising Children's Everyday School Attendance as an Inclusionary Dynamic

School enrolment reduces the notion of exclusion from education to a one-off annual event. School attendance, however, is a daily phenomenon, requiring a dynamic analysis of exclusionary processes, embedded in lived and cumulative experiences, interactions and relations (Huijsmans et al. 2014). The rights-based literature on education that takes a systems approach here is of limited relevance as it primarily assesses whether the barriers causing exclusion are overcome and much less into why it is that if and when school is 'available' and 'accessible' (Tomaševski 2001) school attendance patterns vary.

The education economics literature, on the other hand, directly addresses the issue of school attendance. It understands attendance as an 'efficiency' issue, because poor attendance is found associated with repetition and desertion. Bedi and Marshall (2002, p. 129) put this as follows: 'low levels of school attendance may be responsible for low academic achievement, which, in turn, is linked to high repetition and desertion rates' (ibid 2002, p. 129) and Epstein and Sheldon (2002, p. 308) state that 'poor attendance predicts dropping out of school.'

A major shortcoming of the economics literature is its adult-centredness. For example, Bedi and Marshall (2002, p. 131, emphasis added) 'assume that *parents determine* the particular pattern of school attendance for their children on the basis of expected gains and costs of attending school'. The childhood literature has countered such a perspective and made the case for appreciating children as actors

in household decision-making processes (e.g. Levison 2000). Here, parental interests and perspectives, as well as their power over children's lives, are acknowledged and wedded to an explicit concern with understanding how children, from their often inferior position in relations of power, nonetheless exercise agency (Bourdillon et al. 2010, p. 134) and may have some influence over issues like school attendance.

A child-centred perspective on the exclusionary and inclusionary dynamics shaping patterns of everyday school attendance also demands understanding exclusion in the lives of children *as* children. In contrast, the economic literature is ultimately concerned with the effects of exclusion from education on the child as a future adult through the concept of human capital.

Context and Methodology

Malaysia is rated an upper middle income country by the World Bank (2013), yet there are considerable variations in standards of living and pockets of poverty have persisted (UNDP 2005, p. 14). In particular, there is a stark contrast in standards of living between peninsula and insular Malaysia. Sabah, on insular Malaysia (see Fig. 13.1), is the poorest state of Malaysia (UNRISD 2010. p. 77), with a fairly

Fig. 13.1 Administrative Map of Malaysia Source: Central Intelligence Agency, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/cia-maps-publications/Malaysia.html

high poverty incidence rate (16 % in 2002) and sizeable indigenous ethnic minority populations. Since these factors are commonly associated with enrolment and attendance problems the world over (Nadchatram 2007; UNESCO 2010, p. 136), Sabah constitutes an appropriate site for investigating children's everyday school attendance.

Across Malaysia, enrolment rates for compulsory primary education are high. Yet, a fraction (~1.5 %) of the primary school-aged population is still out-of-school. Despite the relatively small share, children 'who remain outside the education system' are an important policy focus (MoE 2008a, p. 42) and the essential target population for reaching the country's 'objective of achieving a GER [Gross Enrolment Rate] of 100 percent' (MoE 2008a, p. 43).

Four study villages, or 'Kampungs' in Malay, were chosen in a rural area in the northern part of Sabah. Between them, the four Kampungs represent different degrees of rurality, standards of development, and educational facilities (detailed in Gerber 2011). For reasons of anonymity the four villages are here referred to as Kampungs 1–4, reflecting key differences between the four villages. Kampung 1 has the smallest population, no school and is not accessible by car, and Kampung 4 sits at the other end of the scale as it has the largest population, a full government school and is accessible by partially-paved road. The population in the four study villages is primarily of Kadazan-Duzun ethnicity (the largest indigenous ethnic group of Sabah) and predominantly poor. The latter is evidenced by the fact that 336 of 345 students at the government school were recipients of the Government's 'Poor Student Trust Fund' in the year prior to the research.[2]

There are two primary schools among the four villages. Most primary school students from Kampungs 1 and 2 go to the small private school with two teachers in Kampung 2 which is run and funded by the Seventh-day Adventist Church.[3] Most primary school students from Kampungs 3 and 4 attend the larger government school with at least 30 teachers in Kampung 4. The government school has a dormitory, which houses 114 boys and girls, mainly from villages situated farther away (including Kampungs 1 and 2).

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[2] Households falling below the national poverty line qualify for this fund (in Malay: *Kumpulan Wang Amanah Pelajar Miskin*).

[3] The Seventh-day Adventist church runs and funds schools a number of schools across Sabah. Note further that Christianity is fairly widespread among the Kadazan-Duzun peoples, in contrast with the Malay population which is predominantly Muslim. However, going further into the ethnic and religious dimension of education in Malaysia is beyond the scope of this paper (for an overview see: Nelson 2008).

Table 13.1 Primary school students participating in the research

Village of usual residence	Primary students		
	Male	Female	Total
Kampung 1	9	2	11
Kampung 2	7	11	18
Kampung 3	10	18	28
Kampung 4	7	10	17
Other Kampung	8	3	11
Total	41	44	85

'Village of usual residence' refers to the village that children's parents live in, and which are thus their 'main' village of residence. In most, but not all, cases this coincides with the village that children currently live in. Exceptions are: Children who live in the dormitory in Kampung 4, or with relatives in Kampung 4. In addition, a few children who participated in the research attend school in Kampung 4, but live in a Kampung other than Kampungs 1–4

Data Collection

The study draws on research with both children and adults conducted by the first author between February and April 2011 – coinciding with the rainy season. The adult sample was composed of parents (49), teachers (11), village officials (4), government officials (2), and other adults (3). The children's sample consisted of a total of 85 primary school students from the four *Kampungs* (see Table 13.1). In addition, four children who had dropped out whilst in primary school were identified and also interviewed. This low number reflects the relatively low incidence of out-of-school children of primary-school age. The out-of-school children and 11 secondary school children who participated in the research are excluded from the quantitative data sets.

The research adopted a qualitative approach and this paper presents data that was generated through seven different methods. All methods conducted with children were carried out in a participatory fashion, and although essentially qualitative we have quantified the results where this adds additional value. The methods are briefly discussed in relation to the data collected below (for a detailed discussion see: Gerber 2011).

In addition to the primary data various secondary data sources were consulted, including a range of English language publications of the Malaysian Ministry of Education, and the school's teacher records of children's school attendance.

School Attendance: The Story from Teacher Records

Primary education in Malaysia comprises 6 years of compulsory education (MOE 2008a, p. 18), and the school year runs from January to November. The state of enrolment in the four Kampungs studied reflects patterns reported by the Malaysian

government (MoE 2008a, p. 81); most primary-age children are enrolled in school.[4] The story of school attendance proves, however, more complex.

Data obtained from teacher records sketch the overall school attendance patterns. Teacher records for January, April and October (2010) were consulted. These 3 months were chosen based on teachers' advice as they claimed that in January– which coincides in the rainy season–attendance was generally poorest, attendance in April is also problematic since it is harvest time, and in October attendance was claimed to be highest because it is near exam time. Further, records for years 1, 4 and 6 were collected at the large government primary school and data for the years 1 through to 4 (all years available) were collected from the much smaller private school.

Strikingly, teachers' records show that in each month there were children who never missed a single day (full attendance) and who missed all school days (complete absence). The mean attendance rate was, indeed, lowest in January (63.3 %) and highest in October (79.8 %). However, it is also in October that there is the greatest proportion of children–almost one in ten – who were absent from school the whole month.

The teachers' records further show that across the 3 months, it was more boys than girls who attended very irregularly (missing more than 50 % of the school days). At the same time, however, in both January and October greater proportions of boys than girls attended school 75–99 % of the time, and in April and October, greater proportions of boys than girls attended school every day (100 % attendance).

In terms of children's village of usual residence, Kampung 4 shows the best attendance rates for the 3 months, followed by Kampung 2–these are the two villages with schools. Kampung 1 clearly has the lowest range of attendance rates for all 3 months. Bearing in mind that all primary-school age children from Kampung 1 are enrolled in school, the village serves as a striking example of the need to move beyond enrolment concerns and concentrate on children's everyday school attendance to more fully understand exclusionary and inclusionary dynamics around education.

Structural Factors Shaping School Attendance

Another valuable source of information regarding children's everyday school attendance were children themselves: children were asked to recall their attendance over the past 2 weeks by writing down the number of days they had missed over the concerned period (a number between 0 and 10). Below we use this self-reported school attendance to explore the factors shaping the variations in children's school attendance.

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[4] In the absence of reference data, enrolment was assessed by estimation using a social mapping exercise involving village children in the smaller Kampungs 1 and 2. In the larger Kampungs 3 and 4 the estimation of enrolment was based on informal observations and interviews.

Financial Access to School

Although Malaysia officially has 'free education' and there are no tuition fees (MoE 2008b, p. 5), 'cost-free status has not yet been guaranteed' (Suhakam 2006, p. 15) as there is still a registration fee, and costs for transport and teaching materials (UN 2009, p. 12). Indeed, 'economic circumstances' are still seen by the government as a main barrier to children's full educational inclusion (MOE 2008a, p. 52).

Interviews with parents of out-of-school children revealed that school costs have stopped very few parents–and only parents of secondary school-age children–from *enrolling* their children in school. Yet, money matters in relation to everyday school attendance. This appeared most strongly the case in Kampungs 1 and 3, the two villages with no schools: here parents emphasised the costs related to travel. Primary school-age children from Kampung 3 must travel 6.5 km along a dirt road to reach the government school. Most parents send their child(ren) by a 'school lorry' which costs RM30 (€8) per month per child. Children from Kampung 1 must walk 3 km to the private school in Kampung 2; for them pocket money, rather than a 'lorry fee,' plays a pivotal role. Children must begin their journey to school early in the morning, and often leave without breakfast. Pocket money enables them to buy food in the small shops of Kampung 2. Several mothers from Kampung 1 said that children begin 'disliking' school if they are not given pocket money, and that a lack of pocket money even 'stops them from going to school' on some days.

The Opportunity Costs of Attending School

The literature emphasises that financial constraints may also affect children's school attendance in indirect ways. The economic literature on child labour (e.g. Duryea and Arends-Kuenning 2003) uses in this respect the notion of 'opportunity costs', which typically refers to the foregone earnings, but also includes the far more widespread unpaid productive and reproductive contributions to the household (Bourdillon et al. 2010, p. 28–35), if children attend school instead of working.

The research tool 'my activities when I'm not in school' sheds light on children's school-related, leisure, and working activities. Children were asked to list their activities during four periods of a *typical* school day: before school, during school time on days when they do not attend school, in the afternoon, and in the evening. Of all children (n = 83), 59.0 % reported engaging in forms of work. This included children of all school standards, villages and across frequencies of school attendance. Most of this work was unpaid and carried out in the context of the household economy, including working the fields or gardens, tapping rubber, washing dishes or clothes, cleaning, cooking, and watching siblings or other small children. Importantly, 39.8 % of children engage in some form of work during school time, on days when they do not attend school. This percentage was slightly higher among the girls (48.8 %) than among the boys (30.0 %).

Table 13.2 Children's involvement in forms of work during school time, by village of usual residence (N = 83)

		Involvement in forms of work		
		No	Yes	Total
Village of usual residence	Kampung 1	18.2 %	81.8 %	100.0 %
	Kampung 2	27.8 %	72.2 %	100.0 %
	Kampung 3	89.3 %	10.7 %	100.0 %
	Kampung 4	52.9 %	47.1 %	100.0 %
	Other Kampung	100.0 %		100.0 %
Total		60.2 %	39.8 %	100.0 %

Of all variables, the most considerable difference is between Kampungs. Table 13.2 shows that work during school time was most common among children from Kampung 1 and hardly the case among children from Kampung 3. Kampung 1 is also the village whose children attend school most infrequently, both according to the self-report method, and teacher records.

Looking at children's work during school time by number of days absent does not shed a conclusive light on the question of causality. Among the children not having missed a day of school in the past 2 weeks the involvement in work is lowest. Yet, the reverse does not hold true. The involvement in work is higher among children having missed 3–4 days over the 10-day period (55.6 %) than among those having missed 5 days or more (50 %). It is perhaps equally surprising that half of the children with the poorest school attendance records did not make mention of any involvement in work during school time. This counters the widely-accepted view–held also by the Malaysian government–that one of the main reasons children do not attend school is their engagement in forms of work.

Physical Access to School

Physical access is another structural constraint on access to school (e.g. Porter et al. 2010), and is considered by the Malaysian government to be a main barrier to children's regular school attendance (MOE 2008a, p. 52).

Whether or not children stated travelling to or from school as one of their daily activities gives an indication of the prominence of children's journeys to school in their daily routine; if a child's journey is in any way noteworthy it is likely the child would report it. Almost three in ten children made mention of their journey to school as part of their daily activities (without significant variation by gender or year of schooling). In terms of frequency of school attendance, Table 13.3 shows that the mention of travel correlates with infrequency of school attendance, and that 70 % of children who were absent for 5 or more days listed their journey to school as part of their daily activities.

Table 13.3 Table showing whether or not children reported travel to and from school as one of their daily activities, by frequency of school attendance (excluding dormitory students) (N=66)

		Travel		
		No	Yes	Total
Number of days absent (out of 10)	0	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%
	1–2	81.3%	18.8%	100.0%
	3–4	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	5+	30.0%	70.0%	100.0%
Total		72.7%	27.3%	100.0%

Given the unequal distribution of schools across the four villages and the variations in distance and landscapes traversed in journeys to school, the strong variation by village in the reporting of the journey to school is unsurprising, yet important. Children from Kampung 1 must travel 3 km by foot to reach their school in Kampung 2; the journey takes roughly 55 min, and involves the crossing of a river seven times–only one of these crossings has a bridge which is old and in bad repair. Thus, when the river is flooded due to rain, it is difficult if not impossible for children to make or complete this journey. Given these conditions and since the research was conducted during the rainy season it is unsurprising that, without fail, all children from Kampung 1 made mention of their journey to school as part of their daily activities and that 'rivers' featured strongly in drawings of their journey.

The next highest score (15.8%) of the journey to school comes from the activity reports of the children from Kampung 3 who have to travel 6.5 km, most of them in an overcrowded school lorry, along an unpaved road to reach their school.

The trouble of simply getting to school for children from Kampung 1 in particular shed further light on the observation presented above on the large proportion of Kampung 1 children who engage in productive activities during school time. At least in Kampung 1 it seems that children work because they cannot make it to school instead of work coming in the way of school attendance.

Exclusion from Education: From 'Barriers' to Lived Experiences

The economic and physical factors discussed above clearly affect children's everyday school attendance. Yet, the important point is that they do not determine it. This is best illustrated with reference to physical access to school. Although the geographical realities are shared by all children from the same village, our findings show considerable variation in frequency of school attendance between children, even between those from the same village. This underscores the caution also expressed by UIS and UNICEF about a 'build it [schools] and they will come' (2015, p. 15) optimism to address exclusion from education. In addition, it raises the

analytical question why some children attend school very irregularly, whereas some of their peers attend daily despite being subject to the same physical constraints.

Whereas UIS and UNICEF (ibid) rightly use these observations to call for an intersectional approach and to direct attention to system-wide barriers, such as language of instruction, the role of gender, and disability, we pitch our analysis at the other end of the analytical scale by concentrating on the micro-level and by foregrounding children's understanding of the importance of attending school and the everyday experience of it.

Understanding School Attendance from Children's Points of View

Studying everyday school attendance from the perspective of children requires appreciating children as social actors living their current lives as children, who are also aware of the role attributed to education in their future lives as grown-ups. Such an approach is inspired by Uprichard's (2008, p. 312) call for appreciating children as simultaneously 'beings' and 'becomings,' meaning they are 'present and future agents of their present and future lives' (Uprichard 2008, p. 312). Based on this conceptual approach, we distinguish between children's understanding of the perceived present benefit of *school* (i.e. the physical location children visit on any given school day) and the perceived future benefit of *schooling* (i.e. what children learn and its advantages for future life).

Children's Enjoyment of School

Children's enjoyment of school is an important perceived benefit of school (the physical location they visit), and relates to children's 'being' in the present. The research tool 'best and worst things about school' revealed much about this.

Academic Activities 78.6% of children named academic activities among the best things about school; most frequently cited were general statements like 'dapat belajar,' meaning 'able to study' (named by almost three in four), and reading (named by six in ten). Academic activities were never named worst things about school (see Fig. 13.2[5]). Moreover, children of all frequencies of school attendance listed at least one academic activity under the best things about school. Lastly, greater proportions of children in lower years (over eight in ten children in years 1–3)[6] named academic activities as a 'best' about school. This suggests a diminishing

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[5] Note that children often stated more than one best (or worst) thing about school; thus, the categories shown in the bar graph are not mutually exclusive.

[6] Compared to roughly seven in ten in years 4 and 5, and roughly five in ten in year 6.
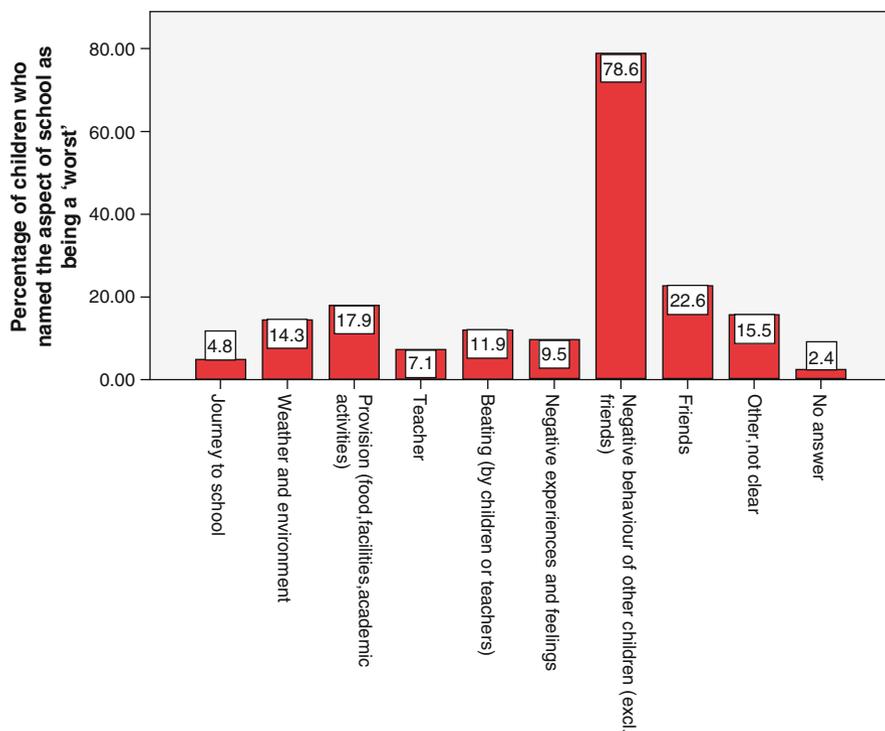
Fig. 13.2 Bar graph showing the worst things about school according to in-school children (N = 84)

return over the years in school to the 'enjoyment' factor of education concerning 'academic activities' at least for a proportion of the children.

Friendships   Friends are the third most-quoted 'best' thing about school: 39.8 % of children listed as 'best's making new friends, having friends, or engaging in activities with friends at school. However, 'friends' are also the second most frequently-quoted 'worst' thing about school (see Fig. 13.2): Children referred mostly to negative behaviour towards them by friends, but some also referred to not having friends. Thus, an aspect of school can be considered both good and bad by children, even by the very same children.

Almost half of the girls, but only about a quarter of the boys named friends as a 'best,' suggesting that friends are a more important, or at least a more consciously appreciated positive aspect of school for girls than for boys. Further, children's mention of friends as a 'worst' seems to be patterned by the school they attend, for all participating primary students from Kampungs 1 and 2 attend the small private primary school in Kampung 2, and it is these children who cited friends as a 'worst' most frequently (almost two-thirds, and one half respectively). Perhaps the key to this trend is the size of the school: Only 28 children are enrolled in school, and not
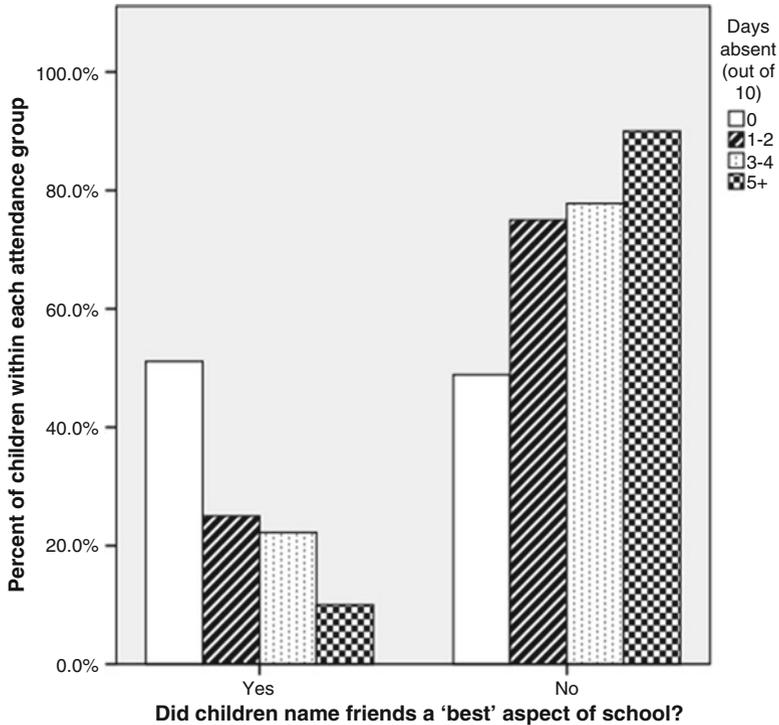
Fig. 13.3 Bar graph showing proportions of children who consider friends a best thing about school, according to frequency of school attendance (N = 84)

all attend regularly. So, children do not have much of a choice in terms of friends (compared to children in the large government school in Kampung 4 that has 399 children enrolled), and they cannot easily avoid peers they (temporarily) do not get along with. Nevertheless, one must keep in mind that this does not mean these children do not also enjoy friendships in their small school.

Finally, the proportion of students who listed friends as a 'best' increases with the number of days children attended school in a 2-week period (see Fig. 13.3). The reverse is also true: the proportion of students who named friends as 'worst' decreases with the number of days children attended school. This illustrates the ambiguity of the notion of friends and clearly shows how closely friendships, or the lack thereof, in children's everyday school experience are tied to frequency of school attendance.

The above was also confirmed by adult respondents. For example, the mother of a boy from Kampung 1 who attends school very infrequently explained: '[in the dry season, when the river is low], he go sometime, when there is friend. But he doesn't want to go by himself.' The fact that 'friends' do not only positively affect children's school attendance but may also impede it, is something that has received little

research attention in the Global South (Jeffrey 2011, p. 795; Horton 2012). Yet the issue has for long received scholarly attention in the Global North (e.g. Reid 1989). Underpinning this divergence is a dramatically different way of thinking about children's well-being in the Global North and Global South. Where subjective well-being in relation to school attendance is taken seriously in the Global North, this is seldom a point of discussion in the literature on the Global South where discussions typically revolve around tangible factors such as poverty, school meals and distance to school.

Negative Behaviour of Other Children, and Discipline The most-quoted 'worst' aspect, or drawback of school–negative behaviour of other children (i.e. children not specifically called 'friends')–was named by 78.6 % of children (see Fig. 13.3). Six percent of children also reported its opposite, namely the absence of negative behaviour by other children, as being a 'best' thing about school. Negative behaviour includes things like punching, fighting, and making fun of someone, but also behaviour such as running or being noisy in class; going against the class monitor or teacher, and stealing or cheating. The latter forms of behaviour were more frequently listed by girls than boys.

Although it is evident that the negative behaviour of other children affects children's enjoyment of school it is less clear whether, and if so how, this impacts their school attendance. A mother from Kampung 1 suggested a causal relation: 'sometime they [the children] come back [from school] and tell the parent, "I'm not going to school tomorrow." "Why?", [parents ask.] "Because so and so bully me".' Children's self-reported school attendance data are less conclusive on this matter. In fact, it is children who missed 1 or 2, or no days of school in 2 weeks among whom the greatest proportion of children (over eight out of ten for both) listed negative behaviour of other children as 'worst's. Perhaps this is because children who attend school more frequently are confronted with this negative behaviour on a more regular basis. Still, two thirds of children who missed 3–4 days, and two in five children who missed 5 or more days of school also listed negative behaviour by other children, which suggests that such negative behaviour may influence children's frequency of school attendance.

Another negative aspect of school closely related to children's lack of discipline (i.e. their negative behaviour) was that of teachers' disciplinary actions. Teachers at both schools referred to discipline issues too by acknowledging that it is 'susa'–difficult–to control the classes, and that they 'don't know what to do already'. Though teachers were reluctant to talk about their ways of disciplining children, only mentioning 'reminding' or 'advising' children, and 'rotan' (rattan, a type of wood; sticks such as rattan ones are used to hit children in many parts of Southeast Asia). Children of all sessions and villages alluded to this negative aspect of school–corporal punishment–through responses such as 'memukul,' beating, and 'cikgu yang garang,' fierce teachers. Indeed, some parents suggested that their children 'don't like to go to school if the teachers is fierce.'

Table 13.4 'Children need to go to school to have a good life'

	Parents (n=67)	Children (n=71)
Agree	85.1%	64.8%
Disagree	1.5%	12.7%
No opinion	4.5%	21.1%
No answer	9%	1.4%

Perceived Benefit of Schooling

The previous section has underscored the importance of appreciating children as beings and their enjoyment (or lack thereof) of school in relation to everyday school attendance. In fact, one government teacher went as far as to claim: 'If children don't enjoy school, they won't come.' However, more than half of the children and roughly one in three adults disagreed with putting so much importance on immediate 'enjoyment' in explaining children's school attendance. In discussions initiated by this statement in the attitude survey[7], several of these children and adults argued that: 'We [children] go to school not for enjoyment but to study.' In this quote 'studying' is valued for its future benefits regardless of how it is enjoyed as a present activity. This perceived benefit of *schooling* was also captured by the statement 'Children need to go to school to have a good life'. As Table 13.4 shows, children and especially parents recognise the importance of school as a means to an end, with no clear variation by children's frequency of school attendance.

Probing children and adults further on the value of 'studying', students would emphasise their objectives of obtaining 'a lot of knowledge', or state that they 'want to be clever'. Particularly older children (as well parents) would instrumentalise such claims further by stating the broader inclusionary effect they associated with education. This included statements on how 'studying' and the information they learn in school would 'help getting a job' and how this would help to benefit one's family (often emphasising financial difficulties). This was clearly captured by one of the village leaders of Kampung 3 who argued that '[the children] are the one[s] that will bring the family to a better way of living in the future'.

Some parents with less (or no) education gave telling everyday examples of forms of social exclusion and marginalisation. They described situations in which people with little or no education are cheated, bullied, gossiped about, looked down on, or face difficulties because 'even [when] we go to hospital, sometimes we have to see writing [i.e. read], and if we didn't have any education it will be hard for us even to go to hospital'.

The above has shown that an appreciation of the future benefits of schooling is not limited to economists but also embraced by villagers. Whilst the importance of schooling as a means to an end was shared by both children and parents, the data above show that it is particularly parents who firmly expressed themselves in these terms. This counters a widespread idea among education policy makers in Malaysia

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[7]The attitude survey statement: 'Children only go to school if they enjoy school.'

about the apparently prevailing 'negative attitude of [rural indigenous] parents towards their children's education' (MoE 2004, p. 26), leading to recommendations that particularly indigenous parents 'must be persuaded to realise the importance of education' (Suhakam 2009, p. 9).

Of course, remarks by parents of the importance of schooling need to be scrutinised. Hence, 13 parents were explicitly asked whether they encourage their children to attend school. All 13 answered positively, although one mother from Kampung 1, where children need to wade through rivers to reach their school in another Kampung, frankly answered that she would mostly encourage her children except 'when it is raining, then I discourage them from going to school'. Parents explained that they would encourage children to attend school verbally, as well as through material incentives (in the form of pocket money for snacks), and the threat of corporal punishment (e.g. spanking, or threatening with a cane). Further, all teachers who were asked if parents encourage their children confirmed that this is the case (N = 9). Finally, of all children who were asked to respond to the statement 'my parents encourage me to go to school', 29 of 30 agreed that their parents do encourage them. The child who had no opinion on the matter (a girl from Kampung 2) explained that the question was confusing for her because 'My parents encourage me to go to school,' however, 'Sometimes they say, "go to school," but other days they say "today don't need to go to school, you better help me in the house"'.

Children's Agency in the Everyday Decisions Concerning School Attendance

The overwhelming support of parents for their children's school attendance fits poorly with the highly irregular patterns of school attendance with which we started the analysis. This raises questions about the extent to which parents determine the decision-making processes concerning everyday school attendance. Talking about this with the parents themselves, they were ready to admit that they experienced real limitations in this regard. For example, the mother of three primary-school children in Kampung 2 said that: 'the parents really want the kids to go, but then, some children doesn't want. They themselves doesn't want to go to school'. In addition, the mother of two primary-school children in Kampung 1 said: 'it's hard for us asking [our children] to go to school…because they are too naughty'.

The above suggests that parents may be exercising agency in the decisions concerning everyday school attendance of their children, yet, they are not the sole actors. If then, children play an active role in such decision-making processes, this raises the question of how this manifests.

It is here that the term 'malas' is insightful. Villagers would often talk about '*malas* to go to school' in response to why children sometimes failed to attend class. The English speaking adult villagers would typically translate the term 'malas' in negative terms as 'lazy'. Hence children weren't attending because they were 'lazy to go to school'. The term 'malas' was repeatedly used by teachers and parents,

mainly to describe boys who attend school infrequently or have dropped out. One mother from Kampung 1, whose two children both attend school, directly related the concept of 'malas' to the gender differences in school attendance: 'actually it's both important [i.e. important for both boys and girls to go to school], but my main point is it's easier for me to ask my daughter than my son to go to school…he's *malas*.'

These statements by adults were confirmed by children themselves (including girls). In a discussion about school attendance, one 11 year-old boy from Kampung 3 said that he misses school 'when he's *malas*'. Even girls, and children of all ages, said this. A secondary-school girl from Kampung 2 wrote 'malas' as a reason she misses school, and an 8 year-old primary-school girl said: 'sometimes I'm *malas*, sometimes I follow my parents to [town]'.

Translating children's use of 'malas' simply as being lazy, as is common among adults, attributes some agency to children, but only a very limited form of agency. In this conceptualisation it is not children's motivations that inform their actions but the absence thereof! However, 'malas' is not just a term but a concept whose precise meaning is always contextual and oftentimes ambiguous. For example, 'malas' may also be used to express 'not feeling like doing something'. Appreciating 'malas' in this latter sense leads to a much richer theorisation of children's agency in decision–making processes concerning everyday school attendance. 'Not feeling like going to school' suggests a real understanding of what the experience of school is about, and the previous sections have highlighted plenty of reasons why children may not feel like going to school–both structural and experiential.

The ambiguous meaning of 'malas' is important. The common understanding of 'malas' as 'lazy' brings it in line with adult constructs of childhood and does not challenge the hegemonic idea that school is good for children. By referring to 'malas' children mobilise a normative construct of childhood, which reduces their (occasional) non-attendance to dominant ideas about the nature of children, and particularly the nature of boys: 'lazy' and not fully understanding the consequences of their actions. Also, it puts the blame for children's non-attendance squarely on the children without asking why some parents are apparently less able to resist their children's 'malas,' or what could be done to support these parents to make their children feel more like attending school regularly.

The point of appreciating 'malas' in its full richness, is not one of celebrating children's agency. In fact, exercising agency leading to less regular school attendance constitutes an act of self-exclusion (Redmond 2009, p. 545). The analysis above has suggested that such self-exclusion perpetuates children's lack of enjoyment of school because days absent from school was found correlating with listing 'friends' as one of the 'worst' things about school. Moreover, irregular school attendance may well lead to dropping out of school.

Appreciating 'malas' as an expression of children's agency, serves to underscore that children are not passive pawns in adult-determined decision-making processes. In addition, taking 'malas' seriously and resisting its dominant interpretation of children's ignorance and laziness leads us to asking questions about why some children may not feel like going to school. Since an increasing number of children

worldwide spend an ever larger number of hours a day in school children's experiences concerning school and schooling deserve serious and contextualised investigation. In the context of rural Sabah, the concept of 'malas' provides scope for doing so.

Conclusion

The United Nations Secretary-General's Education First Initiative (2012, p. 6) reports that 'it is true that we have enrolled more children in primary school than ever before'. The positive message of this sentence is overshadowed, however, by the preceding sentence which sets the tone for an overall message of crisis: 'we stand on the verge of breaking the promise we have made to children in 2000'.

With the closure of the UN Millennium Goals in 2015 it is no surprise that over recent years the key drivers of this project have tried to generate public support for reaching the long-standing development goal of achieving universal primary education. What is surprising is that the policy focus has hardly changed, with 'expansion' and 'enrolment' as key objectives. This appears to contradict the empirical fact that more children (in absolute number and relatively speaking) than ever before are now enrolled in school, and also appears little informed by a growing body of research revolving around post-access concerns in relation to primary education.

This paper has made the case for shifting research and policy attention away from an exclusive concern with enrolment and towards children's everyday school attendance. Our Malaysian study has demonstrated that school attendance is of far greater concern than enrolment (which is generally high even in poor and remote areas). School attendance data is a far better proxy for assessing the ultimate objective of education as set out in the UN-CRC than enrolment data, and it is irregular attendance rather than non-enrolment that in many countries leads to uncompleted primary education. Furthermore, school attendance data is generally available from teacher records or can easily be obtained from children themselves. It therefore does not require costly research. In addition, studying everyday school attendance from the perspective of children's lived experience of school sheds new light on the idea of 'exclusion from education', which we have emphasised as relational, situated, embodied and cumulative.

The analysis of factors and relations underpinning children's everyday school attendance reaffirmed some well-known claims and challenged some others. Access-related factors, such as expenses related to attending school and the physical journey to school, continue playing a role even though school is within reach. However, studying such access factors mainly from the perspective of parents leaves unexplained why children who are confronted with similar structural factors deal with them so differently.

Analysing children's self-reported experiences and perceptions of school (as a present activity) and schooling (with an eye on its future benefits) went some way in explaining differences in children's school attendance patterns. This empirical

investigation also complicated the common claim in the policy literature that it is 'parents [that] do not enrol their children in school or take them out of school' (UNESCO 2012, p. 4). Our data do not deny the important role of parents, yet make the case for paying more attention to children's experiences, opinions and practices in relation to understanding patterns of school attendance. We have shown that children embrace the many positive aspects associated with *schooling*, but that the lived experience of *school* in the present affects their everyday school attendance, and that this may potentially reinforce as well as undermine the prospect of completing a minimum level of schooling.

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Chapter 14
Transgenerational Culture Transfer as Social Constructions in Intergenerational Relationships

Christine Meyer

The Relativization of Generational Relations

Family is the place where culture is lived and passed on, a microcosm of generational societal change. The value of families in the process of changing culture is a controversial discussion. Of course, families are not the only place of passing on traditions and culture. However, family is the institution in society where the process of passing on culture is most obvious and palpable. The relationships between parents and their children can be described as intergenerational transfer-relationships where an exchange of material goods and services occurs as well as an exchange of immaterial things such as the communication about personal wellbeing and condition. The transfer happens in a specific parent-child-communication ratio manner due to shared commonplace and ordinariness as well as shared past and future (cf. Stecher and Zinnecker 2007, p. 389).[1] The transfer of culture from one generation to the next is a process of negotiation. However, this does not occur exclusively within the family. It rather happens on every occasion where members of different generations meet in day to day life. Since the mid 1970s, the relationship between younger and older generations is considered to be much stronger in terms of socio-cultural interdependence and reciprocity. The focus of newer research is rather concentrated on the retroactive effect of younger peoples socialization on older people, rather than on the reciprocity of socialization processes between youth and adult. This approach takes into account that it is not just children who learn from their parents, but that

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[1] "Eltern leben die kulturellen Muster einer Gesellschaft vor, die nachgeborenen Kinder leben sie nach und modifizieren sie dabei. Grundlage der Beziehungen sind dabei die relativ dauerhaften Handlungs- und Orientierungsmuster der Kinder und ihrer Eltern" (Stecher and Zinnecker 2007, p. 389).

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this process also occurs vice versa. Also, cultural capital is transferred from the children-generation to the parent-generation.

With reference to Margret Mead three forms of society are to be distinguished in regard to the organization of the knowledge and culture transfer between the generations. In post-figurative cultures children primarily learn from their ancestors, in co-figurative cultures children and adults learn as coequals, and in pre-figurative cultures adults learn from their children too.[2]

Böhnisch and Blanc emphasize two research findings in the 1980s as the most important findings of the decade: Firstly the interchangeability of generations which can be seen as a result of the relativization of age and secondly the end of the social and cultural restrictions regarding older persons which lead due to an increase in numbers to a new claim attitude of participation and activation.[3] Based on this assumption Böhnisch and Blanc demanded at that time a complete reappraisal of the relationship between generations. A central issue and therefore a central challenge is to find a new definition of age that is not isolating but rather integrative within the whole intergenerational relationship in which youth, employment status and age can be discussed as a new mutuality: "integrativ einer gesellschafts- und verteilungspolitischen Neudefinition des gesamten Generationenzusammenhangs– in der Jugend, Erwerbsstatus und Alter auch in einer neuen Gegenseitigkeit verortet werden könnten–Priorität zu geben. Dies verlangt analog der Neubewertung der Jugend eine Neubewertung des Alters" (Böhnisch and Blanc 1989, p. 120).

As an illustration of their ideas of new intergenerational relations, Böhnisch and Blanc refer to the socio-ecological movements or the feminists' movement in the 1970 and 1980. Referring to those movements demonstrated a new view towards intergenerational relations and understandings of time due to the fact that individuals of all age cohorts are active in the feminists' and socio-ecological movements. Intergenerational interest groups connect due to a shared interest in main topics concerning life in society. Böhnisch and Blanc see those constructs as an important development because aged-mixed groups met at new places in new constellations with new backgrounds to connect. Böhnisch and Blanc saw in the socio-economical and feminists' movements a new understanding of time and intergenerational relations that wasn't following the traditional logic of generations. It was rather in general time-related and runs crosswise through all ages. The new understanding of

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[2] "Primitive Gesellschaften sind wie kleine religiöse und ideologische Enklaven in erster Linie postfigurativ und leiten Autorität aus der Vergangenheit ab. Hochzivilisationen, die Methoden zur Aufnahme des Wandels entwickelt haben, weil sie sie entwickeln mussten, benutzen kennzeichnenderweise manche Formen kofigurativen Lernens von Ebenbürtigen, von Spiel- und Studiengefährten sowie im Ausbildungswesen von Lehrlingen. Heute treten wir in eine neue Periode ein – sie ist ein geschichtliches Novum -, in der der Jugend in präfigurativer Auffassung der noch unbekannten Zukunft neue Autorität zuwächst" (Mead 1970 nach Stecher and Zinnecker 2007, p. 397).

[3] "Die Relativierung der Lebensalter als soziale Tendenz und die konsumtive Fiktion der Austauschbarkeit der Generationen vermengen sich zur Beliebigkeit und damit Unerheblichkeit der Generationenbezüge" (Böhnisch and Blanc 1989, p. 80).

time and intergenerational relations is orientated on the issue of life itself in a way that is between the pragmatic of day to day life and social movement.[4]

Böhnisch and Blanc's theories were highly orientated on the future and understood the trans-generational social dynamics of the 1980 as a motivating force for the development of new intergenerational relations and as giving meaning to aging processes that could have received their life patterns from the culture of squatted houses. Living conditions and demands towards an individualized curriculum vitae have changed since the publication of Böhnisch and Blancs findings and impacted on the relationship between the generations in an inter- and intagenerative way. Hamburger argues present-orientated the process of de-standardization and decoupling of patterns of time within a generation in the meaning of Mannheims as an aged cohort in the sense of a mutual time reference in relation to patterns of action and time in a specific social environment and structured curriculum vitae. Social change leads to a change in this intergenerational relation which makes it necessary to reflect this understanding of generational relationships of the 1920s (cf. Hamburger 2002, p. 243).

The relativization of ages (cf. Böhnisch and Blanc 1989) leads to the relativization of intergenerational relations and flows with Böhnisch (1998) into a society that renounces the idea of *generation* in its role as knowledge broker or value creators within an age-cohort. As a result of that, affiliation to society occurs due to the process of biography building in self-creation, independently of any age requirements, as soon of the work order of the industrial society loses its validity (cf. Hamburger 2002, p. 243). According to Hamburger and Böhnisch generation and an understanding of generational relations are part of the organization and structure of the industrial society. Generation stands for the putty/bond in society in the relationship of individual and society. That leads to pedagogical and political consequences to define the functionality of the term generation for a society. The central questions for Hamburger (2002) in relation to phases of life and age are concerned with the disillusion of generations and generational relations on one hand and the differences that are still present between the generations and generational relationships on the other hand.[5] Traditional relations in education are reversed: the older persons have an enormous amount of obsolete and canceled knowledge whereby the younger accumulate knowledge that might be forever concealed for the aged. However it is the first time possible to enjoy a mutual interest and pleasure across generations in going for instance to the same rock-music concert as father, son and grandfather (cf. Schweppe 2002, p. 236).

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[4] "Neben der lebensaltertypischen traditionellen Generationenbildung scheinen sich also heute lebensalterübergreifende 'Zeitgenerationen' im gleichen historischen Erleben der Lebensbedrohung zu formieren" (Böhnisch and Blanc 1989, p. 107).

[5] "Einerseits ist die Kindheit verschwunden, die Jugend universalisiert, das Alter ausdifferenziert und der Erwachsene hat sich dazwischen aufgelöst. Entstandardisierung des Lebenslaufs. Andererseits gewinnen Generationen als Bezugspunkte für Orientierung an Bedeutung, das Verschwinden von Unterscheidungen lässt die Suche nach Verbindlichkeiten entstehen. Möglicherweise ist dabei die normative Kraft des Fiktiven noch stärker als die des Faktischen" (Hamburger 2002, p. 246).

Böhnisch and Blanc's vision of the relativity of age and the end of generations for a better chance of learning across all ages is not self-evident yet, however some concepts exist. It would have been important and foresightful if encounters between the generations would have been actively initiated rather than hoping that encounter is just happening by itself. The relativisation of the generational structure offers the prospect to improve traditional generational relations to promote to live with one another and jointly create living conditions. In the mean time since the beginning of the federal pilot program "Aktionsprogramm Mehrgenerationenhaus" ('Action Program More Generation Home') (BMFSFJ 2006) more than 500 such more generation homes have been established to promote the idea of outer family mutual assistance and help of all generations. Persons of all ages are activated in their immediate living space to connect with others and to create reliable relations in order to activate potentials and resources for help and support for all generations. This kind of activation of previous private inner-family services could be seen as political prescribed Re-Familisation strategy that is based on kinship via choice (cf. Meyer 2016). Due to the demographic change professional social work encounters new challenges because the question of generational relations impacts professional relations too. As one of the fundamental questions in pedagogical and educational relations in social work the term "umgekehrtes Generationenverhältnis" ('reciprocal generational relation') (cf. Meyer 2013) is defined as the fact that relations in social work are not just created by the aged to the young but also from the young to the aged. Social institutions will be structured along several ages, social pedagogical constellations comprising more than one age will be obvious and go without saying. The question of inter-generational knowledge exchange and moreover the creation of pass-worthy ideas, experiences and knowledge, receives through the relativisation of generations new impulses with a stronger impact on active choice and passing on. In addition further conditions need consideration such as the transnational perspective in the creation of relevant knowledge and culture of increasing importance.

The Relativization of Generational Relations in Transnational Perspective

The debate about generations and trans-generational contexts is of increased importance in relation to migration in the inter-cultural perspective. Each of the several generations of migrated families (the first, the second, and the third generation) is labeled with a specific position in society. The classical rule of migration was published by Pinzler (2000) describing the situation of Latin-American migrants in Los Angeles: The first generation of migrants is doing the dirty work, the second generation brings the skilled worker to the factories and the third generation finds its way to the universities and have already lost their validity (cf. Pinzler 2000). Hamburgers findings of patterns of interpretation in Turkish migrants in Germany can be connected to Pinzlers rule, as the first generation seemed to be stuck with their *basic personality* in their national culture of origin. The second generation

grows up in a *Mixed culture* with an ongoing conflict of culture in a way of *waking up in Germany and going to bed in Turkey*. Those findings brought a better understanding towards the issues and problems migrant children and youth are facing.[6] At present research results (cf. Hamburger 2011) show that there are hardly any differences between the first and second generation of migrants.

However, the models of assimilation when concentrated on the objectives of migration and immigration as seem not suitable to analyze relations between the first and second generation of migrants.[7] Due to the world wide opportunities to communicate anytime, migration today can always enable a connection to the culture of origin at any place of the world and due to the world wide air traffic issue-free mobility. The second generation of migrants is now able to face the risks of migration without any problems because of traditional orientation whether it is not necessary to follow the whole path of modernization in their new world. The new social space (Pries 2008) developed by migration and global transport and communications networks facilitate new forms of life and the model of first/second generation needs to be again conceptualised (cf. Hamburger 2011, p. 96).[8]

Social spaces are defined by Pries as relatively permanent in regard to time and locality as the expansion and formation of the experienced social life relations of individuals. Trans- national social spaces are not to be restricted to a specific area such as a nation-state or a specific region within a nation-state (cf. Pries 2010, p. 153). Trans-national spaces are defined by dissolving and attenuation of stationary social relations (cf. Mau 2007, p. 73 in: Graßhoff and Schweppe 2012, p. 174). Social relations across borders are not limited to mobile groups. Television, mobile phone and internet as domestic information technologies enable individuals partially to overcome barriers of time, space, region, closeness and distance. In this way people can live isolated from their neighbors and are at the same time connected and embedded in a strong cross-continental social network (cf. Beck 2004, p. 157 in: Graßhoff and Schweppe 2012, p. 174).

With the perspective of trans-nationality, cross-border and plural-local social relations become increasingly important in social work. A view of social spaces that goes across several nations offers a perspective of multi-dimensional relations containing elements of different countries (cf. Pries 2010, p. 61 in: Graßhoff and Schweppe 2012, p. 174). A trans-national view on life styles and processes broadens the perspective to understand individuals in their actions, decision making, their worries and issues and their identity building is orientated on two or more nations.

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[6] "Die scheinbare Eindeutigkeit und Konsistenz einer 'nationalen' Kultur marginalisierte alle anderen Unterschiede zwischen den Menschen" (Hamburger 2011, p. 91).

[7] "Das Erstaunen resultiert freilich lediglich aus einer nach wie vor starken Orientierung der Assimilationsforschung an der klassischen Migrations-Soziologie, die aus dem amerikanischen Integrationsprozess ihre Paradigmen bezieht" (Hamburger 2011, p. 96).

[8] "Den Risiken der Migration kann nun auch die Zweite Generation problemlos durch traditionale Orientierung begegnen; sie muss sich nicht notwendigerweise auf den ganzen Modernisierungspfad ihrer neuen Welt begeben. Die durch Migration und globale Verkehrs- und Kommunikationsnetze gebildeten Transnationalen Sozialen Räume (Pries 2008) ermöglichen neue Lebensformen und das Modell von Erster/Zweiter Generation muss neu konzeptualisiert werden"(Hamburger 2011, p. 96).

Their diverse, cross-border social relations in family, economic, social, organizational, religious and political matters can be maintained or intensified and are not limited to national knowledge and way of action.[9] This way, social relations disconnect from their local fixation. Especially since the end of the twentieth century social spaces can be increasingly identified across vast surfaces and distances.

Social work is challenged to think more broadly than traditional systematic references of a national identity and the linear development from the first to the second and third generation of migrants: The simultaneity of diverse opportunities of migration as a systematic reference offers new opportunities for social work. The perspective of trans-nationality that is beyond nation-state boarders focuses rather on relations between individuals, groups and organisations and the structures evolving from those new constellations.

Trans-nationality is based therefore on feelings of belonging, cultural mutuality, on joint expectations and beliefs, on economic and social linkages or working and dominant connections as well as on other forms of organisation which cross over boarders of nation states (cf. Pries 2002 in: Homfeldt et al. 2006).[10] From the perspective of trans-national social work knowledge and actions are transverse to national-state and national-society boarders. This perspective broadens the geographical and social-cultural reference frame substantially (cf. Homfeldt et al. 2006). Reasons for trans-national migrations are due to an increased cross-border mobility in employment and vocational training, new possibilities and declining costs for communication and transport. Also, institutionalised incentives such as legal regulations of entry and leaving a country, regulations concerning work permits enhance the motivation for mobility and migration. On top of that more individuals acquired competencies such as foreign languages, which encourage migration (cf. Homfeldt et al. 2006). With the perspective of trans-nationality, not just the diversity of different generations in the country of immigration is of interest. Moreover the focus is also on the simultaneity of day-to-day life relations and the diversity of individual developments over places and time. The diversity of social relations in different social spaces and across generations becomes visible and of use for social work. The relativisation of generational relations in general offers new time horizons in relation to past, present and future whereas the trans-national perspective over and above the time horizons overcomes local borders as well. For the varying generations opportunities arise to share, to revive or to ignore culturally relevant knowledge of different time-historical contexts beyond of timely and regional connectivity.

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[9] "Dabei ist physische Zirkularität der grenzüberschreitenden Bewegungen und Bindungen keine notwendige Bedingung für deren Entstehen, Entwicklung und Aufrechterhaltung. Vielmehr können sich grenzüberschreitende Bezüge auch in symbolischen Bindungen ausdrücken" (Graßhoff and Schweppe 2012, p. 174).

[10] "Transnationalität basiert damit auf Zugehörigkeitsgefühlen, kulturellen Gemeinsamkeiten, auf gemeinsamen Vorstellungen und Überzeugungen, auf ökonomischen und sozialen Verflechtungen oder Arbeits- und Herrschaftszusammenhängen sowie die hierauf bezogenen Organisationsformen, die die Grenzen von Nationalstaaten überschreiten" (Pries 2002 in: Homfeldt et al. 2006).

In the following, three examples of trans-generational perception and culturally transfer will be introduced which show clearly the importance of places for identification, the consciousness of traditions as well as the simultaneity of past and future. Those examples could be seen as a starting point for mutual decision making of several generations to pass on collectively constructed as relevant perceived knowledge.

Zeitlyn draws links between the sense of smell, aesthetic choices concerning clothes, ideas about modernity and the aspirations of young British Bangladeshis. In doing so it highlights the preconscious and conscious factors that inform the identities that British Bangladeshis express. He argues that despite its importance for our sense of belonging, the sense of smell has been neglected in accounts of identity. This discussion leads to a critique of Bourdieu's notion of habitus and illustrates the ways in which the conscious elements of habits draw upon the unconscious. Dispositions towards the smell of Bangladeshis feed into ways in which British Bangladeshis express their identities through aesthetic choices and in turn reveal preferences for different discourses of modernity. "The senses, and smell in particular, have been underestimated and undervalued in social science, while the verbal and the visual have been privileged" (Zeitlyn 2013, p. 4).

The typical smell of Bangladesh, the mix of drains, toilets, fish, food and streets, that made an impression on British-Bangladeshi children visiting Bangladesh underlined their very strong connectivity to London. Via the smell back-drop in Bangladesh, the belonging to nationality and there for to their identities was questioned: "The lived experience of locality has had a powerful structuring effect on the British Bangladeshi children's habitus and sense of identity, which they link strongly with London. On visits to Bangladesh they are reminded that they do not belong there by the sensory and aesthetic experience that makes them feel out of place" (Zeitlyn 2013, p. 7).

The feeling of belonging comprises more aspects of unconscious sensory perception than previously thought. It can arise at several, often not anticipated occasions and might lead to confusion and irritation. Prior to their smell experience the British-Bangladeshi children assumed their cultural habitus as Bangladeshi. Now they discover their own, stronger British influence to their habitus. "They are the manifestation of the distinction that British Bangladeshis make between themselves and others, and the feeling of not belonging that they have in Sylhet. This is the public performance of a transnational identity, one that is formed through interaction both in London and in Sylhet (Zeitlyn 2012). These performances, the clothes and hairstyles are examples of identity work, illustrating the need to include conscious agency in conceptualisations of habitus" (Zeitlyn 2013, p. 8).

The background of the second example is from eating culture research and is concerned with timely relations in trans-generational get togethers. Eating together is a social situation in which families as well as social groups establish connectivity due to repetitions in day to day life or due to arrangements of the festive meal at a special occasion (cf. Schlegel-Matthies 2011). Nutrition and how people eat depend nowadays not anymore on cultural traditions nor religious, class or gender attribu-

tions. Those facets of traditional morality in eating habits have not at all lost their empirical implications though, as every day individuals recreate and maintain them within their own eating habits and eating culture (cf. Lemke 2008, p. 221).

Complex eating cultures contain a broad range of elements and require certain continuity to evolve. To understand the process of developing eating cultures it is necessary to analyse the conditions of its development (Hirschfelder 2005, p. 75). "Das Essen zu einem festgelegten Zeitpunkt und meist auch in einer genau definierten Gruppe prägte das Sozialleben der europäischen Gesellschaften über Jahrhunderte" (Hirschfelder 2005, p. 19). Therefore the ethnographic research focuses on the joint meal (cf. Hirschfelder 2005, p. 19).

Many of nowadays practiced and accepted eating and dining rituals have its roots in religious traditions, very often as a mix of regional and religious traditions. This background information is seldom common knowledge or conscious practice (cf. Peter 2009, p. 72): "Das deutsche ‚bei Tische spricht man nicht' ist ebenso Klostersitte wie der Brauch, Eier aufzuklopfen – im Refektorium gab es keine Messer für die Mönche! (…) Übrigens: Wenn heute Solinger Silberbesteck oder Rosenthalporzellan im 12er Set verkauft wird, dann geht auch das immer noch auf das Abendmahl Christi zurück" (Peter 2009, p. 33). Due to the distribution of cook books in middle-class/bourgeois households, cooking and eating has since the nineteenth century committed to the establishment of eating and dining culture (cf. Hill and Kösling 2012, p. 92). At this time cookbooks often contain advice regarding the art of hospitality that might comprise suggestions for an elegant dinner for guests as well as advice on meals on the occasion of a wedding or feats or ideas for an appropriate Sunday dinner.[11] Eating culture is strongly connected with rules for table manners that required for their keeping regular, strong and precise discipline. Nowadays families try to loosen the rules, however, most of the conventions of the nineteenth century still apply and are passed on by families. Generation upon generation that pass on those table manners reflect the question what rules should be passed on and established and which not, especially since learning the rule requires a minimum of compulsion (cf. Kaufmann 2005, p. 105). In joint meals of different social groups the ancestors can be present in sharing memories by the present individuals: If the group memories, the communicated memories, are active, the ancestry can't be long. In the immediate exchange of experiences and stories the joint memories illuminate a time cone of approximately 80, at the most 100 years. The limit of memories is the biblical Säkulum (cf. Hartmann 2006, p. 149).[12] It is especially festive meals that offer the frame for collective memorizing and collec-

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[11] "Daran schließt sich meist eine Auflistung von Menügängen an – neun bis vierzehn in der Regel -, deren Menge und Zusammenstellung uns einigermaßen abenteuerlich vorkommen. In nahezu allen Kochbüchern um 1900 sind diese Vorschläge etwa die gleichen. (…)" (Mutschelknaus 2010, p. 42).

[12] "Wo das Gruppengedächtnis, die kommunizierte Erinnerung, aktiv ist, kann die Ahnenreihe freilich nicht allzu lang sein. Im unmittelbaren Austausch der Erfahrungen und Erzählungen leuchtet die Gemeinschaftserinnerung zwischen den Generationen einen Zeitkegel von etwa 80 bis höchstens 100 Jahren aus, die Erinnerungsgrenze bildet das biblische Säkulum" (Hartmann 2006, p. 149).

tive memories for instance in table speeches with references to timely and locally absence individuals which then symbolically are included in the meal. The table talk opens often doors to the past speaking of and memorizing long past celebrations and festive meals. Old time comes alive, the time where the ancestors were still among us. During meal times one talks again and again with passion about another meal and especially about the people that joined the meal at that time. However, it is not enough just to talk and storytelling. On top of that come the recollection which has been impregnated in things, for instance in a silver napkin ring, in a worn cooking spoon, in an old-fashioned whine glass or cutlery (cf. Hartmann 2006, p. 149).[13] Memories seem mostly affective in the culinary act and have strong atmospherically content. Memorizing visual, acoustical and tactile sensations succeeds very well and seems to merge to a synthesised overall impression.[14]

The last example is concerned with the cultural meaning of the *Niederdeutsch* (Lower German) language. For some time the importance of Lower German increases for the earlier generations even though most individuals of this generation belong to the passive-speakers of this language. In Germany there are approximately six million active-speakers of Lower German with around about four million speakers that apply the language from good to very well. The number of passive speakers, which comprises those individuals that understand Lower German, is often estimated as ten million and is with a high possibility even higher. On an estimate for one to four million people Lower German is the first language, their mother tongue (cf. Möller 2008). Most northern Germans speak *Hochdeutsch* (High German) as well which is more or less influenced by the Lower German language. "Den Sprechern ist dies jedoch selten bewusst, weil man das Eigene, das" Normale, "selten wahrnimmt – und weil Niederdeutsch selbst im Alltag an Präsenz und Bedeutung verloren hat" (Bargstedt 2009, p. 22). It is of interest that the younger generations Lower German partly understand without speaking the language themselves or applying the language actively. There for the language is in danger that the spoken language will not be passed on to the next generation. Lower German is there for considered as a potentially endangered language even though an approximate of eight million individuals are currently using the language (cf. Möller 2006). Lower German is often connected with older people that like to talk to one another about past times. For a long time Lower German was considered as the language of the working class, farmers and sailors, a language of the poorly educated, common people. Parents that wanted a better education for their children spoke from the beginning High German with their children even though Lower German was their

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[13] "Sie lassen die Zeiten wieder lebendig werden, in denen die Alten noch am Leben waren. Beim Essen redet man immer wieder mit Leidenschaft über ein anderes Essen und vor allem auch über die Menschen, die damals mit dabei waren. Doch mit dem Reden und Erzählen allein ist es nicht getan: Hinzu kommt die Erinnerung, die sich den Gegenständen wie eine Imprägnierung anverwandelt hat, etwa einem silbernen Serviettenring, einem abgewetzten Kochlöffel, einem altmodischen Weinglas oder Essbesteck usw" (Hartmann 2006, p. 149).

[14] "Geschmackserinnerungen sind gleichzeitig Bild-, Klang-, Raum- und Körpererinnerungen. Die Wiederkehr und Auferstehung der Vergangenheit bleibt also nicht auf den oralsinnlichen Empfindungskanal beschränkt" (Hartmann 2006, p. 150).

first language (cf. Bargstedt 2009, p. 69). However, Lower German is not just the language of sailors, farmers and grandparents; it still is the language of the grand-children too. Bargstedt stresses the aspects of language that are connected with an exchange of thought, with communication and understanding, discussion and debate as well as its connectivity to acquisition, education, cultural life that find its impression in literature, theater, music and film. Ninety seven percent of the Northern Germans know the term *Plattdeutsch* and every second person in Northern Germany understands *Plattdeutsch*. Very often the promotions of cultural activities have a positive impact on the passive understanding of Lower German and enhance active application of the language. The usage of the language offers possibilities of the development of a broad variety of Lower German culture that broadens the existing and reaches pass the reproduction. Plattdeutsch wins since the 1990th increasingly popularity and a Lower German culture industry with all variations of professional-ism establish (cf. Bargstedt 2009, p. 143). The theme re-Lower-German increases its presence in northern German media: theater plays, books, music are published and introduced to public. Projects of bi-lingual child care centers, courses at pri-mary schools, language courses for childhood-educators and teachers at primary schools, representatives for Plattdeutsch are announced in cities and municipalities and organizing *Plattdeutsche project weeks* including language courses and talks to name a few. Since 1999 Lower German is recognized as local language and has been registered in the *EU-Charta for regional and minority languages*. With that comes a commitment to promote the language and the revival of the language via lessons. The Hanseatic city Hamburg Lower German is part of the regular curricu-lum in most schools and therefore Hamburg is the first state that acknowledge Lower German as regular subject for teaching (cf. Asklepios Klinik Wandsbek, Pressestelle – http://www.asklepios.com/). However, Lower German and the con-nected Lower German culture remains mostly in pre- and primary education or with the older generation. Lower German should be a stronger part of all levels of cul-ture, leisure-time, social life, education and vocational training, not just because of its protective status through the EU-Language Charta for regional and minority lan-guages. A large number of younger persons from nearly 50 % of all states in Germany have themselves a Lower German language background which finds diverse active applications in day-to-day life. Culture education in this topic area promotes an active application and debate with all its cultural important aspects which are not just for the younger off-spring-generation of use. Moreover this pro-cess offers opportunities for trans-generational and cross-ages exchange and under-standing via music which itself enhance and promote the active application and development of the Lower German and secures the language for future generations. Especially for cultural expressions of an immaterial culture heritage cultural exchange enhance the consciousness and sensitivity to further develop this culture heritage as well as an extension of lingual competencies in the active application of Lower German as a second language. An additional point lays in the trans-generational get together during the several projects and follows the assumption of successfully passing on the minority language and to arouse interest to apply the language in younger generations.

Trans-generational Relations and the Construction of Cultural Transfer

In the following constructions of joint social past and its meaning for social life will be analysed. This can be seen as the starting point for reflections of the influence from trans-generational relations for traditions and culture which are actively and jointly agreed upon and in which older and younger generations are defined as keepers of cultural relevant knowledge to pass on to future generations. Memories can be seen as topography of the time and as filter of the individual history and experience. The .perception and interpretation of the own past and the past of society a person belongs to is the starting point for individual and collective identity designs, and define which actions in the present will be preferred with reference to the future. The individual memory is connected with social and historical frame works in which perceptions and experiences receive their form. A number of aspects of the past influence present emotions and decisions. Trans-generational disclosure of experiences, Welzer argues, can be identified in the bio-chemistry of neurological processing processes in children and grand-children. Unfulfilled hopes for the future from the past can be suddenly and unexpected the lead for actions and become in written in history. Trans-generational transfer, unequal terms of orientations, wishes, hopes, unsettled bills of different kind form the subjective side of memory. Practices of day to day life, dealing with things which itself transport history and memories–architecture, landscape, the interior of a pup for example, noises smells, haptic impressions–they form the objective side. Anything that transports and convey past and interpretations of the past unintentionally, matters (cf. Welzer 2001b, p. 12).[15]

Assmanns argues that the ability to remember let the human being become a human being. In his view it is impossible to create a self without the ability to remember nor to enter a communicative process with others as an individual (cfl. Assmann 2001, p. 103). On evolutionary view human beings have a significant advantage because they are able to lift their memories in two ways on a functional-efficient level. Human beings are able to situate themselves in a space- and time continuum which enables human beings to methodically deduce and evaluate their environment.

A reflective memory further enables to externalise the content of the memory and outsource this from the organism. Human beings have unique ways to represent the content of their memory: for instance simple marks on food hiding places, the development of symbolic forms of exchange via lingual communication or the evolvement of written languages demonstrate the unique ways of representation of

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[15] "Transgenerationelle Weitergabe, Ungleichzeitigkeit von Orientierungen, Wünschen und Hoffnungen, unbeglichene Rechnungen vielerlei Art bilden die subjektive Seite der Textur der Erinnerung. Die Praktiken des Alltags im Umgang mit den Dingen, die selbst Geschichte und Erinnerung transportieren – Architektur, Landschaft, das Interieur z. B. einer Kneipe, Geräusche, Gerüche, haptische Eindrücke – bilden ihre objektbezogene Seite. Es geht also um all das, was absichtslos, nicht-intentional, Vergangenheit und Vergangenheitsdeutungen transportiert und vermittelt" (Welzer 2001b, p. 12).

the content of the memory (Markowitsch and Welzer 2005, p. 12). On one hand human beings withdraw themselves from the pressure to act due to the externalisation of memorial contents and on the other hand it enables human beings to store and communicate information and pass on their memories. The evolvements of written languages enable human beings to bequeath a heritage and communicate with others with which they are timely and locally not even connected. A knowledge base of shared knowledge is existing: "der die Beschränkung der direkten Kommunikation radikal überwindet. (…) Die Schaffung einer Möglichkeit der kulturellen Weitergabe von Erfahrungen im Medium der sprachlichen Kommunikation, so Tomasello, beschleunigt die langsame biologische Evolution mit den Mitteln des Sozialen" (Markowitsch and Welzer 2005, p. 13).

In 1925 Halbwachs introduced the social construction of memories without access to results of brain research. His research was concerned with the question of memory which starts with an event and the storage of the event to the revival of the events as a memory. In Halbwachs view the memory is not of the same meaning as the event itself but rather a strong reconstructed shape as the *memory*. In Halbwachs view the memories seem to be more stable because the reconstruction process requires effort and shaping as well as awareness towards the own person to form the memory. Progressing Halbwachs' considerations and results of analysis a view of social memory has been established that see memories as an opportunity of conservation due to the reconstruction of those memories (cf. Halbwachs 1985, p. 144). Currently they are considered as the substance that brings up experiences, relations and a picture of identity (cf. Assmann 2001, p. 103) even though the memories are *not real* which Assmann considers as a possibility. The lingual issuing processes and preserves memories which then forms the back bone of an implicit life story. Most of the memories slumber within ourselves and wait to be woken up by an external event. Then, suddenly, memories become conscious, receive again a sensual presence and under specific circumstance can be put in words and become part of an available repertoire (cf. Assmann 2001, p. 103).

The distinction between the cultural, communicative and social memory could be of importance in an active process of thinking and creation. The intentional processing of the past is a specificity of the cultural and communicative memory. The social memory is defined with Burke as the entirety of social experiences of the members of a *we-group*, who during the process of social-historical memorizing refer to a practice of oral traditions to the stock comprising conventional historical documents such as memoirs, diaries etc., as well as painted or photographed pictures, collective memorial rituals and social spaces to develop a social memory (cf. Welzer 2001b, p. 15). Welzer restricts the expanse of the definition and erases everything that can be assigned to both the communicative and cultural memory: The social memory comprises in his view especially four media of social practice of past-development, to which the memory mostly refers to: Interactions, recordings, pictures and spaces, which have been not developed with the purpose of building traditions but transport history and forming past in their social application (cf. Welzer 2001b, p. 16). The social memory in its definitional expanse enables human beings to refer to memories that have been developed in day-to-day life which are

not necessarily of importance for the entire social reference group and might not be viable for the cultural and communicative memory of the whole society. That is not necessary yet because firstly the recollections and the memory of every single man and women are of importance to form and define the collective social memory of the society. The reconstruction of recollections is based on the view that recollections can only be consolidated if they will be constantly reconstructed in new actions. Reconstructive recollections can be seen as a sculptural and vivid action which depending on the needs of a changing present constantly refers to things of the past. Neuro-scientists established the view of a memory as a protective container for memories in favor of a conception of a creative changeable and therefore basically unreliable network (cf. Assmann 2001, p. 109).

Defining the memory as a changeable and basically unreliable network, Assmann summarizes specific characteristic of individual recollections:

1. Recollections are basically perspective which means that they are bound to a location and non-changeable and non-transferable
2. They exist not in isolation but are connected with memories of other human beings as well as with a cultural archive and stored pictures and data. They confirm each other through their crossings and overlapping and via their connective structure. With that they not just establish coherence and credibility, but are effective in connecting and community building.
3. In itself they are fragmented, restricted and unformed. What appears as a memory is usually an isolated scene without a before and after. Just through the narratives they receive their form and structure which in the same time add on and stabilize the recollections.
4. They are momentary and delicate. Some recollections change over time when circumstances of living or the individual change, other fade or disappear completely. Especially the relevance and muster of assessment change during the course of life, so what was previously important becomes step by step unimportant and in reviewing previously the unimportant might in become important. Memories that are included in narratives are best preserved. However, they lose due to routines a lot of their original quality of experience and might become cover-memories that hinder the access to previous experiences completely (cf. Assmann 2001, p. 117f).

The social memory of a society is diverse, broad and deep in its experiences and events. It comprises much more than recollections which can be seen as communicative and cultural memory of the society. Through the consideration of the social memory it will be possible to acknowledge the meaning of individual memories which are beyond of formalizations such as memorial places but this is not to underestimate in their importance and influence to society. What stays of any society are the memories and just those recollections that society at the present time within its present frame is able and willing to reconstruct. Social thinking can be seen as a memory which entire content exists from collective recollections which might or not might be relevant to present time. The society is open to all ideas, to the old ones too, as long the ideas are of interest to the people to day and can be understood by the people to day (cf. Halbwachs 1985, p. 390).

This brings up the question of whose responsibility it might be to remember and pass on as well as decide which ideas and recollections to choose. To date there is no theory or description available that is concerned with passing on narratives from one generation to the next, so argues Welzer. However, trans-generational and inner-family reconstructions of recollections are of importance to identity development for an integrative *we-group* as well as keeper of the past for the present (cf. Welzer 2001a, p. 168).

To analyse individual and social processes of passing-on with empirical research would visualize the direct participation and exchange processes of different generations, especially the value of the contribution of the older. In this context it is of importance to acknowledge that ontological development occurs in socio-cultural space which has been created by the progress of previous generations. Each generation starts, so to say, its own development on a slightly higher overall level than the previous generation. This process, defined as *the ratchet affect*, can't ignore basal biological conditions of development which can't be jumped over by ever so impressive cultural innovations (cf. Markowitsch and Welzer 2005, p. 17).

The *ratchet affect* just becomes possible through the specific plasticity of the human brain. The development, maturing, and sculpturing of the brain depends, other than at other mammalians, in great extent on environmental influences of the developing individual. Human beings are actually born unable to survive on their own and during their development after birth genetically determined maturing processes fall together with social maturing processes. To unfold the developmental potential the socio-cultural space and the people that live in it are essential. Due to active reproductive and educational processes the future generations' development will be promoted. In the sense of the *ratchet affect* on one hand the further development on a higher level will be shown and on the other hand the starting point will stay in this view with the previous generation. The adults or older people can be seen as mediators, who in the first enable the coming generation eventually to reach the next level of development and actively participate in creating this next level (cf. Markowitsch and Welzer 2005, p. 18).

The transmission of certain knowledge and culturally relevant competencies through social constructions of memories constitutes in smaller contexts as well. Keppler analyzed in families processes of knowledge transmission and produced an empirical knowledge base. The starting point was the thought that in families in a limited frame the same rules apply as for cultures in a much comprehensive frame. Without the continuous practice of memorizing their own past families are not able to secure a reliable form of their own present. The process of communicative recollection performs as an act of self-theming as a family (cf. Keppler 2001, p. 138). Halbwachs constituted the term *family memory* (Familiengedächtnis). According to Halbwachs every family preserves their very own memories and secrets which only will be revealed to other members of the family. Those memories can be seen as models, examples or lessons for life. They represent the general attitude of the group. Not only the individual past will be reproduced, but the nature of the entire family is represented as well as their characteristics and weaknesses (cf. Halbwachs 1985, p. 210 in: Keppler 2001, p. 138). Families use forms of commu-

nicative socialisation. In this, memorized speech is of high importance. Memorized speech produces the important things from past family life that have a meaning for the current life in this family. In speaking about the past, the past develops. In progressing life of the generations continuously new pasts will be produced which move on the spot of obsolete pasts. Keppler describes this process as *Memoirs and oblivion interlock*. In the same time trans-generational communication ensures that over time stored memories evolve and will be preserved as orientation for present action and self-understanding (cf. Keppler 2001, p. 241). Those processes are not limited to inner-family connections. They rather apply to all trans-generational connections. Wineburg demonstrates the diversity of (historical) remembering and of its sources in day-to-day experiencing. American children are under no circumstances not affected by the past. After they have celebrated Thanksgiving and Martin-Luther-King-Day for more than a decade they became without doubts experts in American culture and history (cf. Wineburg 2001, p. 185). Every day people encounter many sources that would provide the opportunity for learning from the past. Every person grow up in a home with its own history and with its own perspective on historical events and their meaning. The historical consciousness is shaped by the history of the parents and by the affiliation to ethnic, social, and religious groups and their history (cf. Wineburg 2001, p. 185).

We belong to a church, to a club or to a specific neighbourhood which forms our collective as well as our individual historical consciousness. We are visiting museums and memorial places. We sit in front of the television and absorb, mostly unconsciously, a broad range of historical pictures. Each person lives within a historical development of its society and is to be seen as part of this history (cf. Wineburg 2001, p. 185). The social memory has a broad range of crystallization points, on which recollection can keep hold on. Those points can be specific dates and festivities, names and documents, symbols, monuments or ordinary things of day-to-day life. In the context of the social memory the generational memory is of specific importance because the generational memory represents a more across phenomenon: An age group is affected by outstanding historical events, by specific ways of thinking and talking, by role-models and fellows, by utopia and trauma. This memory is alive as long the members of one generation are alive. It is immediately connected with its keepers, the witnesses of a community of experience and memories and normally goes back up to 80 years (cf. Keppler 2001, p. 142). The construction of cultural meaningful memories and competencies occurs via transgenerational communication of individuals and different groups.

Trans-generational Construction of Cultural Relevant Knowledge via Communication

According to Halbwachs not only a specific event from family life will be remembered, but also opinions and traditional ideas of the family that are of value to this family and determine the spirit of the family. The memory frame of a family is more

than just the images of faces and pictures, images of peoples and images about facts which are in this sense unique and historic. However, they hold all features of the thinking that is shared by the group (Halbwachs 1985, p. 241).[16] To date it is not completely sure how the collective memory forms, keeps and prolongs itself. It is also not for sure known how the unity of the three processes of forming, keeping and prolonging as social processes occur. Keppler for instance studied especially the process of transmitting that enables memorizing. His research is concerned with the resources and social practices of the community members to keep and transfer their ideas from the past. Kepplers research has shown that all resources and practices are communicative or connected with communicative practices (cf. Keppler 2001, p. 145). In the process of communicative exchange facts and pictures receive their relevance and embossing force. Within conversations memories of a family will kept alive, be preserved and shaped. There is no specific order, in which families perpetrate their history. No chronological succession determines family history rather an order of actualisation. The collective visualisation is subordinately concerned with the past. The focus is rather the confirmation of attitudes towards important life matters which persisted over time. A family however, hardly ever possess its 'entire' or 'comprehensive' past. She is limited to the secure knowledge about past and present which is within reach in the form of narratibility dialogical stories (cf. Keppler 2001, p. 156).

Keppler distinguishes two basic ways of memorized communication. One is concerned with the reconstructions of the past that happen 'en passant' (cf. Keppler 2001). This comprises reconstructions of a broad range of shaping, for instance those that happens during table-talks: These are memory sequences that are not itself the main topic of a conversation, but rather part of another communicative activity and are of use during a discussion for instance with a didactic or illustrative purpose. Depending on the context of discussion they may become independent and might be later on the main topic (Keppler 2001, p. 146).[17]

The second basic way of reconstructing the past happens during family happenings, which in itself serve the purpose of reviving older or younger past for instance during birthday parties, visits by relatives, family celebrations, family meetings or during slide shows. In the way "En-passant"-reconstructions serve the purpose of bringing back or keeping a consciousness for relevant and important traditions, the second basic way focuses rather on longer memory sequences of the interpretative and rating shaping of past presents. The recurring narratives about the past become an acquired identity building purpose to the community. Families form a context of conversations

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[16] "Der Gedächtnisrahmen der Familie besteht mehr aus Vorstellungen, denn aus Gesichtern und Bildern; Vorstellungen von Personen und Vorstellungen von Tatsachen, die in diesem Sinne einzigartig und historisch sind, die im übrigen aber alle Kennzeichen eines Denkens besitzen, das einer ganzen Gruppe und selbst mehreren gemeinsam ist" (Halbwachs 1985, p. 241).

[17] "Dabei handelt es sich um Erinnerungssequenzen, die nicht eigens das Thema einer Unterhaltung sind, sondern einer anderen gesprächsförmigen Aktivität (zunächst) untergeordnet bleiben, also zum Beispiel im Verlauf einer Diskussion zu belehrenden oder illustrierenden Zwecken eingesetzt werden. Je nach Gesprächskontext können sie sich jedoch auch verselbständigen und zum Hauptthema werden" (Keppler 2001, p. 146).

which choose the existence as the family as major topic of conversation (cf. Keppler 2001, p. 147). Families speak about the past at a broad range of occasions and the mutual practice of conversational remembering (cf. Middleton and Edwards 1991 in: Keppler 2001) seem to come in this context entirely naturally which does not require a specific intent nor a defined starting point. The topic is at any time exchangeable and the conversation can be cancelled at any time. The actor is not bringing up specific historical events. Rather the relatives and off-spring-generations asking questions concerning those events. Welzer denotes the request to talk on the first sight as paradox, because in most cases the stories have been already exchanged and the topic is not the first time been spoken about. "Damit ergeht eine auf den ersten Blick paradoxe Aufforderung an den historischen Akteur: Er möge doch erzählen, was seine Zuhörer schon kennen" (Welzer 2001a, p. 162). Over and above that the memories of the relatives that ask for the story must not be even correct and still apply to the historical actor as a request for story-telling (cf. Keppler 1994 in: Welzer 2001a, p. 162). In summary, the memory of a family is not based on the unity of the assets of stories, but is based on the unity and repeat of the practice of recollection and memorising as well as on the fiction of a canonised family history. It is of importance to broaden the research findings regarding trans-generational relations in families for research concerning outer-family relations too, to transfer those findings to intergenerational constellations that have been formed for a specific, limited time and formed a mutual past. The research results concerning family memories could offer perspectives for research in inter- and intra-generational relations and friendships in regard to building a future that forms identity. Further research is needed in this field (cf. Welzer 2001a, p. 164). In inter-generational conversations the connection between individual-situative history and a broader historical background has to be considered. Therefore an empirical narrative comprises immediate and unique conditions as well as inter-situational models of experiencing and interpreting. It is not just a specific older person that has a conversation with a younger person. Each of them are for themselves members of a specific generational defined collective, they are members of different memorizing communities, each of which talk to each other. In order to understand each other stories that have been passed on orally they have to provide space to enable active appropriation by the audience. According to Welzer orally represented stories have gaps and voids, so that the audience can fill in those gaps and voids with their own imagination and with fragments of their own knowledge (cf. Welzer 2001a, p. 171). This process of forming the past works at the principle of montage. It will be obvious that the emotional dimension of transmission and the picture image become in the process of preserving the past a dominant position as cognitive represented knowledge. This knowledge stands back in favour to the effort to follow the story. As less facts are used in the story the sooner a new dimension of story-telling evolve, in which gaps will be filled.[18] This opens up

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[18] "Gerade Geschichten, in denen alles unklar ist – Zeit, Ort, Handelnde, Kausalzusammenhänge etc. –, öffnen einen weiten Raum für die je individuelle imaginative Reinszenierung der von den Eltern und Großeltern berichteten Erlebnisse und bieten zugleich die geschmeidigste Möglichkeit, die fiktive Einheitlichkeit des Familiengedächtnisses sicherzustellen. Wo nichts Konkretes gesagt wird, wo 'leer' gesprochen wird, ist das Potenzial für Einverständnis am größten. Oft scheint es denn auch eher die emotionale Dimension, die atmosphärische Tönung des Berichts zu sein, die tradiert wird, während die inhaltlichen Zusammenhänge – situative Umstände, Kausalitäten,

space in order to develop something new and in the same time it becomes obvious how little gaps and voids within a story seems to matter.

Construction and Transfer of Culturally Relevant Knowledge Beyond Time and Space

Every society has it ways to thematize, transfer, manage and preserve events, facts, knowledge, and experiences in an inter-subjective binding way with a broad range of criteria for sense. The central question hereby is the issue of an active and conscious transfer. Research concerning with family memories and inter-generational transfer has shown that collective forming or montaging of past can't meet an expectation of completeness, historical correctness, comprising information or objective assessment. Older people as keeper of cultural relevant knowledge have held the position as mediator and constructer jointly with the off-spring generation. Especially in the discussion, promotion and development of joint values intergenerational contexts beyond the family memory become of specific importance. The main focus is rather the development of emotional continuity of all members of society than to pass on historical past and culture in an objective manner.

Memories are not about truth. They rather give the present and the future the reassurance of the emotional meaning of what was lived in the past and leads via reconstruction in the present to a life- long continuity. Determining the emotional meaning of past social and cultural events is only happening across time with people of different age in order to produce as much as possible in the present and pass on to the future. Each social group has a collective memory and the recollections of each single member of the group are embraced by a cultural, social and historical frame. Therefore the memories are both individual and collective. In a trans-generational context the position of subjective time moves in the centre which becomes a bigger meaning if time becomes relevant in the context of the event and one of the members as a time witness actively contributed to the event. Each person with a longer time horizon of the past decides which memories promote identity building within the collective memory and which hinder the reconstruction and montage within the group. The contribution to active and conscious identity building memories is in the responsibility of the older people of a group respectively as it is embedded in the events and experiences that comprises their life in the past. After that reconstructions and montages shape the preserved past to which each member of a group contributes and has an identity building role for both the present and future. Over and above that there are memories that are kept and stored by a person so there reconstruction will neither actively nor passive be available and accessible. However, they are of importance for the family identity and/or group identity because of their hidden effects and deserve more appreciation in their

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Abläufe etc. – frei verändert werden, so wie es für die Zuhörer und Weitererzähler am meisten 'Sinn macht'" (Welzer 2001a, p. 178).

meaning to trans-generational transfers. Each time younger and older people within a family or in an unrelated relationship intergenerational and/or internationally come together and take part of an conversation more than one time they participate actively trans-generational and –national in the development of new constructions f past and are therefore collectively responsible for the social and cultural relevant knowledge of the future.

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Part IV
Living Circumstances Shaped
by Patterns of Migration and Mobility

Chapter 15
'Blood Always Finds a Way Home': AIDS Orphanhood and the Transformation of Kinship, Fosterage, and Children's Circulation Strategies in Uganda

Kristen Cheney

Introduction

Approximately 17 million children have been orphaned by AIDS, 90 % of them in sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS 2010). While many studies have documented AIDS' effects on orphans and vulnerable children's circulation in Africa, few have critically examined AIDS' effects on constructions of kinship, and particularly the role of "blood as a bodily substance of everyday significance with a peculiarly extensive symbolic repertoire" (Carsten 2011, p. 19). While 'blood' in the African context has gained notoriety in the age of AIDS as a substance that carries pathogens such as the HIV virus, it has also gained significance as a substance that immutably binds children orphaned by those very pathogens to their extended kin, on whom they rely for care.

In this chapter, I use my ethnographic research with orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in a peri-urban suburb of Kampala, Uganda, from 2007 to 2014 to examine the way AIDS orphanhood has influenced child circulation amongst kin caregivers in Uganda. I developed a unique participatory research design for this study, in which I employed the children described in *Pillars of the Nation* (Cheney 2007) to work as youth research assistants (RAs). I enlisted a local NGO to train these youth RAs aged 18–20 years old – many orphaned themselves – in social research techniques, then we paired them with focus groups of orphaned children aged 5–10 years old. With the direction of myself and a local RA coordinator, the youth RAs spent nearly 2 years visiting their focus group kids at school and at home, recording their experiences, thoughts, and challenges. This also gave occasion for the youth RAs themselves to reflect on their experiences with orphanhood.[1]

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[1] I elaborate on the strengths and limitations of youth participatory research in Cheney (2011).

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Bringing literature from anthropology, children's studies, and development studies into conversation with each other to highlight the dynamic process of kinship construction, I trace the sometimes-contradictory social, economic, and emotional effects of orphan circulation within and across family networks, highlighting orphaned children's concerns with intra-family mobility. By doing so, I show how orphan care in the age of HIV/AIDS is consequently transforming both fosterage practices and kin obligation, potentially jeopardizing children's well-being and their ability to identify with the 'blood ties' that still form powerful tropes of relatedness for them – in spite of, and sometimes because of, AIDS' tainting of 'blood'.

Despite the continued importance of 'blood' as an idiom of relatedness and 'home' as a place tied to the patrilineage, the presence of paternal kin in Ugandan orphaned children's lives is waning as more paternal family members relinquish their traditional obligations to absorb orphans into their households, leaving the responsibility to maternal kin. Yet paternal kin continue to play an important symbolic role in the imaginations of Uganda children, who still 'belong' to their paternal clans by virtue of their shared 'blood'. Even while social ties with paternal kin erode, creating many adverse material and emotional effects for orphaned children, the concept of shared blood and the paternal 'home' gains poignant significance for orphans in danger of becoming 'rootless'.

Fostering and Child Circulation in Africa: The Literature

Anthropologists have long been interested in Africa's enduring tradition of child circulation within extended kin networks and communities, much of which is applicable in the Ugandan context. Classic anthropological analyses of the circulation of children throughout Africa, such as those of Esther and Jack Goody (Goody and Goody 1969), tied the spatial movement of children to various social constructions of kinship. Whether they analyzed the circulation of children within the framework of structural-functionalism or understood the phenomenon as part of society-wide or individual adaptive strategies, anthropologists typically tried to understand the circulation of children within the "cultural logic" of the societies within which it took place. Summarizing the literature on African fostering practices, Sangeetha Madhavan points out that "child fostering provides an opportunity for both natal and fostering households to strengthen social and kinship ties through short- and long-term benefits to both parties, including reciprocity obligations, social security, access to resources (e.g., land), and investments in both households by sharing the costs of child rearing" (Madhavan 2004, p. 1444). Foster parents of children may not necessarily be related, but Catrien Notermans has observed that "…system-oriented approaches to fosterage and kinship tend to adopt cultural ideals and to emphasize bonds of solidarity, mutual help and harmony in the African family" (Notermans 2008, p. 357). Looking at dynamics at the household level, however, and at the ways children understand and experience the everyday dynamics of fostering reveals a different story, of tensions and contradictions in the motivations for

fostering. Indeed, Caroline Bledsoe wrote in 1989 that "…many people provide support for children because children are useful to invest in, rather than simply because they must be supported somehow" (Bledsoe and Isiugo-Abanihe 1989, p. 443). Often, fostering binds children and their caregivers in relationships of reciprocity and/or 'paying it forward'. This is important for thinking about how fostering has evolved to the present day under the strain of structural factors such as the AIDS pandemic and deepening poverty.

Anthropological studies of fosterage and kinship in general declined in the 1980s, partly due to the dissolution of the discrete domains of economics, politics, religion, and kinship which had defined anthropology (Carsten 2000, p. 13). In the 1990s, demographers picked up the anthropological interest in fosterage, but with an economic cost/benefit analysis of the practice that problematically dichotomized traditional and modern, urban, and rural, kinship and cash economies (Notermans 2004, p. 48).

Development organizations entered the fosterage debate in the 2000s through the lens of aid to 'OVC'. International aid regimes' static, biological definitions of orphans as any children whose parent(s) had died clashed with social definitions of orphanhood (Chirwa 2002). While the point was that such narrow definitions of orphans overestimated the number of children in Africa without family care, aid organizations worried that they were leaving many vulnerable children out of development aid's purview. International development regimes then created the term 'orphans and vulnerable children', OVC, to encompass an even broader range of children in need of support (Cheney 2010). This led to interventions that at first treated OVC as an aid target – reifying them from kin networks – then refocused on extended family networks by building their capacity to absorb a growing number of orphans. Despite some attention to extended kin networks' coping mechanisms, development organizations have called for reinforcement of idealized traditional kin formations rather than identifying the tensions and transformations underway. While "kinship has to be brought back into anthropological theory on fosterage" (Notermans 2004, p. 48), it should also be better understood within development studies. Relatedly, children's studies scholars have criticized development practitioners for paying even less attention to children's choices and expressed interests in care provisioning.

How Orphanhood Is Changing Kin and Care Dynamics: From 'Voluntary' to 'Crisis' Fostering

As noted above, fostering children has always to some extent been based on mutual interests under resource constraints. In her 1980s fieldwork on Mende grandmothers who foster young children, Bledsoe listed numerous motivations (economic, educational, emotional, and ritual) for parents, children, and proxy caregivers such as 'grannies' in the circulation of children. She and Isiugo-Abanihe wrote: "Minding

a child is one of the most potent levers a granny can gain over the limited resources of a young cash earner, even if it is her own child" (Bledsoe and Isiugo-Abanihe 1989, p. 465). But these characteristics generally applied to what scholars call 'purposeful' or 'voluntary' fostering (Oleke et al. 2005). Such scholars have noted qualitative changes to OVC care that necessitate intervention. Aspaas (1999) and Oleke et al. (2005) talk of 'crisis fostering' in Africa in the context of AIDS, but whether the proliferation of orphans due to AIDS constitutes a 'crisis' is heavily debated. Goody noted that amongst the Gonja of Ghana, fostering orphans "…is a normative social obligation rather than a politically or economically motivated rationale…" that drives purposive fostering (E. Goody 1982, p. 33). However, development practitioners argue that this obligation is being taxed by AIDS' heavy social and economic effects; reciprocity obligations that typically undergird 'voluntary' fostering become less important in such circumstances. Madhavan points out, however, that "fostering of children orphaned by AIDS may not be seen as 'crisis fostering' by those who are doing it" (Madhavan 2004, p. 1450). One could likewise say the same of 'voluntary' fostering, as the practice always involves some measure of willingness and constraint. Still, the circumstances under which fosterage occurs today is seen by communities and caregivers as more traumatic, prompted by crisis in the form of death, as opposed to, say, choices like the pursuit of education. Decisions about who cares for children after their caregivers have died typically take place at the caregiver's funeral – overwhelmingly without the consultation of the children concerned but often with financial considerations predominating. Abebe and Aase critique the static distinctions drawn by researchers and practitioners between "rupturing, transient, adaptive, and capable families", pointing out that they are in fact part of a continuum along various dimensions of orphan care (Abebe and Aase 2007, p. 2062). Labeling AIDS orphanhood a 'crisis' that makes OVC targets of aid obscures the plasticity and adaptability of traditional fosterage systems (Chirwa 2002). From a child's point of view, however, losing a parent is always a 'crisis', and taking in foster children under duress can undoubtedly have adverse effects on them and their households, particularly when those households are impoverished. Whatever its label, we have to recognize the ways that fostering has qualitatively changed at a societal level under the impact of HIV/AIDS.

Notermans (2004) and Madhavan (2004) have argued that to understand how fostering is changing in modern times, kinship has to re-enter the debate at the organizational level, beyond the household which is often the analytical object of development studies. While it is true that humanitarian intervention has also impacted social traditions of fosterage, Hunter (1990), recognizing the impending burden of AIDS on traditional family fosterage in 1990, recommended continuing to recognize the extended family as the most important source of support for orphans and suggested aid programs to help build their capacity under crisis. Twenty years later, The Joint Learning Initiative on Children and HIV/AIDS reported that "Families and communities currently bear approximately 90 % of the financial cost of caring for infected and affected children in the areas hardest hit by aids. Many of these families are already living in extreme poverty, yet few receive any support from sources outside their communities" (The Joint Learning Initiative on Children and

HIV/AIDS 2009, p. 2). This was the situation I encountered in my own fieldwork, carried out at approximately the same time. Orphans in this study were overwhelmingly cared for through kin networks, with only two of the 39 children living with non-related caregivers. Children were also still changing households fairly frequently. Within the 2-year study, 13 of 39 (33 %) of children moved to a different household, and this number has increased since.

The Waning of Paternal Kin Obligation: Just When It's Needed Most

In her criticism of anthropological studies of kinship, Janet Carsten argues for a focus on people, homes, and everyday practice rather than on groups, systems, and structures (Carsten 2004). Madhavan rightly states that "…kinship obligations determine whether a child goes to maternal aunts, paternal aunts, grandmothers, or more distantly related kin. The choice of the foster parent also depends on the reasons for fostering" (Madhavan 2004, p. 1445). With the increase in crisis fostering, however, there is as much motivation for kin to *avoid* fostering responsibilities, as there is reason to claim orphans under rights and obligations to foster; poverty and the proliferation of orphans in the context of HIV/AIDS has overburdened many traditionally obliged to care for kin's children. Often missing from these studies are the viewpoints of the children who change homes as they lose their parents. Notermans points out, "Anthropological studies [of fosterage], based on cultural ideals of African kinship, generally do not differentiate between the various members of the extended kinship network. By contrast, children do, and [they] challenge the notion that parents care equally for all children in the kin network" (Notermans 2008, pp. 356–357). Here, I want to explore the significance of patrilineality for orphans in Uganda, who are increasingly being raised by matrilineal kin.

While it is traditionally the obligation of the patrilineage to care for children who have lost their parents, it is also the patrilineal kin's prerogative to strategically claim or reject responsibility for children of their lineage. Notermans' claim that in Cameroon "…children's experience of fosterage depends on the choices and life courses of their biological mothers" (Notermans 2008, p. 373) also holds true for AIDS orphanhood in Uganda, where more and more children are being fostered within maternal kin networks. In the context of HIV/AIDS and deepening poverty, moreover, patrilineal kin do not readily assume responsibility for the care of dependent children of their male kin until the mother has also died. If they do take in children at that point, it is not the men of the clan but the women who take on the work of orphan care. This is imposed upon them by the husband's clan – usually without them being consulted. This may be where 'evil stepmother' tropes gain salience in children's experiences (Cheney 2007, pp. 235–236): adults and children alike often said that women resent taking care of non-biological children, but this usually pertained more narrowly to children of their husband's previous/other wives.

Oleke et al. have pointed out that "The 'wantedness' of orphans by their foster families is important in determining their well-being" (Oleke et al. 2006, p. 280). Castle's 1996 study of fostering in Mali found that children who were generally voluntarily fostered did not suffer any nutritional disadvantages, but those who were fostered out of necessity tended to become undernourished (Madhavan 2004). Orphans in Oleke et al.'s 2006 study in Uganda suffered disproportionately poorer care and higher labour exploitation in homes where "…the inherently strained relationship between co-wives was often transferred to a deceased co-wife's children, i.e. to the orphans…" (Oleke et al. 2006, pp. 271–272). It may be for this reason that orphans in the care of paternal kin are not necessarily better off than those in maternal kin care. One child in the study who lived with her father and stepmother drew a picture of her household, in which she slept in a shed outside while her step-sisters slept in the house and were given more food and fewer chores than her.

Even as they sometimes try to work around bloodline patriarchy, often in order to secure access to men's resources through their children, women's strategies can actually uphold that same patriarchy. Notermans' research on fosterage in Cameroon examines how the foster transaction enables women to construct and to strengthen matrilineal bonds; it yields them power and autonomy in a society where patrilineality operates simultaneously, and at certain moments in their lives even undermines their own freedom and power of decision (Notermans 2004, p. 51). One way women in Uganda try to work around patriarchal constraints is to maintain care for their maternal kin's children – from whom they can derive some household assistance and/or who they hope will one day reciprocate – while also trying to remind patrilineal kin of their obligations in order to receive assistance from the patri-clans of children in their care. Maternal grandmothers, for example, might try to claim their daughters' children by acknowledging paternity but refusing to accept bride wealth from the children's father or preventing them from signing a child's birth certificate – in other words, evoking the rules of patriarchy to resist it. This also sometimes happens by default, as a decline in formal marriage and increase in children born out of wedlock has accompanied the onslaught of the AIDS pandemic. In Oleke et al.'s study in northern Uganda, 63 % of orphans surveyed "were found to be no longer headed by resourceful paternal kin in a manner deemed culturally appropriate by the patrilineal Langi society, but rather by marginalised widows, grandmothers or other single women receiving little support from the paternal clan" (Oleke et al. 2005, p. 2628). While the numbers in this study were not quite that high, the trend toward matrilocal care was likewise apparent, with just over half the children in the study living with maternal relatives. Further, fathers and other paternal kin tend to put up next to no resistance to claims by maternal relatives, which effectively releases paternal kin from any obligation to provide materially for the child (Notermans 2004, p. 54). In fact, paternal and maternal relatives increasingly claim that young children especially are better off with the maternal clan, albeit it for ostensibly different reasons. Indeed, many orphans themselves claim that they feel well cared for by maternal relatives (Oleke et al. 2006, p. 273). The effect of this consensus, however, is that maternal relatives have more and more trouble making successful claims for material support from the patrilineal clans, leaving

maternal aunts, grandparents, and other predominantly female kin in relative poverty as their influence on community resource allocation also weakens (Oleke et al. 2005). This is one factor that may contribute to the feminization of poverty in rural Africa (Kabadaki 2001), with female-headed households having become one of the biggest indicators of child poverty (Fussell and Greene 2002, p. 47).

Such patterns reinforce the need to empower both women and children, but patriarchal privilege continues to bind them. There was a consensus among caregivers in this study that orphans suffer more today than when they were growing up because it is both harder to provide for them and to integrate them into paternal extended family. Despite some room for maneuver, these cultural systems work against women whose caregiving strategies can play into the hands of patriarchal power; they cannot win in a system where they have no rights to make claims on fathers to help support children, but they can also have those children taken away from them because even when a woman raises children alone, the children still 'belong' to the father's clan. This is because, even as social ties with paternal kin wane, the concept of shared blood continues to dominate notions of kinship affiliation. Further, I argue here that blood as an idiom of relatedness only gains poignant significance in orphans' and others' imaginings of their kin identities, perhaps because blood ties are palpably threatened by AIDS and orphanhood. I explore this in the next section.

Orphans' Identities and Mobility Across Family Ties

> …*children*, *as persons moving between homes*, *offer us a way of grasping the significance of kinship from the inside by exploring the everyday intimacies that occur there.* (Carsten 2004, p. 56)

It is important to ask what effects this transformation of kinship will have on orphaned children and their family networks as they grow. Aside from material deprivation through the maternalisation of care and the feminization of poverty, orphans living with maternal kin can quickly lose touch with the paternal clans with whom they hope to identify. Though people on all sides tend to think young children will do better with the mother's side, a number of the study's older children expressed a desire to return to the father's side so they would 'know their family.' Orphans thus shifted over time from matrilineal kin's homes in early childhood to patrilineal kin's homes once they reached adolescence, as patrilineal kin who had previously been absent in their lives returned to make claims on their kin, and/or the children chose to go live with them. The idea of 'blood' as a bonding substance legitimizes claims of 'ownership' by virtue of kinship – but only when the father's family chooses to activate it. As mentioned above, women and matrilineal clan members do not have the same prerogative.

At the same time, orphan's ideas of 'home' become imbued with symbolic value as they formulate their identities. Despite being initially rejected by patrilineal family and raised by matrilineal family members, orphans may want to go live with

their patrilineal family as they grow older due to the notion of shared 'blood' and the importance of clan association to young people's identity formation. The gender of the children themselves influences how they relate to kin. One family's story ably illustrates these trends:

Olivia cared for her sister until her death in 2004. Her sister asked her to care of her three children after she died, as direct siblings – and especially sisters born of the same mother – are considered the most reliable foster parents. The fact that Olivia had cared for her sister – and by extension her children – once her sister became bed-ridden meant that the transition was also eased for the children after their mothers' death, because their aunt already lived with them, and she simply assumed full responsibility once her sister became too ill. Such close nurturing ties explain why children mostly have no difficulty adapting to foster families with whom they are used to frequent contact from birth (Notermans 2008, p. 361). None of the paternal clans of the children's fathers stepped forward to offer to care for the children when their mother died, but Olivia still solicited support for the children from them. An uncle responded by paying their school fees for a while, but he went to Sudan on business in 2008 and was never heard from again. The fees were not paid, and the children all dropped out of school by the end of 2008. Around this time, both Olivia's niece Angela (13) and nephew Joshua (14) started expressing desires to connect with their "real" (fathers') clans.[2]

When their uncle disappeared and stopped paying fees, Olivia again appealed to the children's paternal kin to help support the children's education. In Angela's instance, the father's family said they would not help unless the girl came to live with them, but Olivia hesitated to relinquish her; she did not wish to break her promise to her sister, but, as Fiona Bowie points out, "In many African societies, as elsewhere in the world, to refuse to give a child to someone who has a culturally validated right to ask for it is considered selfish and normally blameworthy…" (Bowie 2004, p. 11). Besides, Olivia was struggling to finish a teaching degree and get a job that would help her to manage care for both her own young son (whose father was also entirely absent) and the two nephews and a niece she was trying to support. So if she was fatigued physically, emotionally, and financially by caring for the children, she was also being given a convenient excuse to pass childcare on to the traditionally obliged paternal kin. Angela herself was also motivated both by the opportunity to continue with school and to get acquainted with her paternal clan. When Angela visited her father's family over the 2008–2009 holiday (Nov-Jan), they asked her directly to come live with them. Girls of Angela's age are often treasured by the clan for the bride price they can bring in once they marry, and their chastity is well protected to fetch an even higher bride price.[3] Olivia suspected that this was partly their motivation. They told her that if Angela lived with them, she

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[2] Each was born to a different father.

[3] Alternately, this situation leaves girls who grow up outside their patri-clan less protected against sexual exploitation. Oleke et al. found that female orphans who lived with their mothers were frequently sexually abused, especially if their mother had remarried and they now lived with a stepfather's clan (Oleke et al. 2006. p. 277).

would go to school again, and she accepted, so Olivia let her go. They kept their promise to put her in school.

Boys have different concerns with paternal clans that have more to do with questions of identity. The issue of clan identification is especially important for boys coming of age, not merely for purposes of establishing their identities but for the ways that recognition by the clan would later enable them to inherit family resources that move through the male line. Joshua, Olivia's 14-year-old nephew, also dropped out of school in 2008 when his uncle stopped paying his fees. He too spent his holidays that year with his father's family in Masaka and got better acquainted with them than ever before. Olivia said he came back very changed, talking a lot about family and the importance of kin identity. He said he realized that his patrilineal clan and father's family were very important in his life. Though they had not stepped up to care for him when his father died, they told him now that he *really* belonged with them. When he knew that he would not be going to school anyway, he asked to go live with them, stressing that it was essential to him as a boy 'to know who he was'. Olivia gave her permission.

As a Muganda, the establishment of clan was particularly important to Joshua in constructing his ethnic identity. If a Muganda father does not know where he came from and has a child, then he effectively cannot give the child a name because he can only guess his clan affiliation. When women have children out of wedlock, by contrast, they usually choose a surname from the alleged father's clan, whether he accepts the child as his or not. It may be the only way that women can eventually make a claim of support, however weak, from the father's family.

Boys are also motivated to secure the entitlements attendant with belonging to the paternal clan, most especially inheritance of land. Our study found, however, that as young male orphans grew to adulthood in maternal homes, they experienced problems inheriting property from their deceased fathers' clans. Because property is controlled by senior male clan members, who pass it on to the next generation when they die, the untimely death of a junior clan member can disrupt the chain of inheritance to the children of the deceased in the third generation (Thornton 2008, pp. 60–61). This exclusion often caused young men a great deal of stress; hence the need to establish relations with paternal kin as early as possible to ensure fulfillment of their culturally expected social support.

Olivia doubted Joshua's paternal clan's intentions; she suspected that, now that Joshua was older, maybe the paternal relatives were claiming him because they could get him to work.[4] Many maternal caregivers like Olivia noted that paternal kin often refused care of young children of their clans early on, but they typically reversed that decision and asked for children when they reached late childhood or early adolescence. They suspected the patri-clan of claiming entitlements to the children's labour once they were old enough to contribute to a rural household's

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[4] I have, however, heard from others that younger children are usually more desirable for labor because they're more easily manipulated and can be educated cheaply with Universal Primary Education. However, older children may refuse to do work and start to make educational demands on their adoptive kin.

workload. Joshua's paternal relatives refused to put him in school while making him work on the family's land. With 41 % of African children under 14 working, particularly in domestic tasks, Oleke et al. have noted that "The local communities justify the involvement of children in domestic labour as normal preparation for the future, and do not mention the abuse and exploitation that is nearly always inherent. This is more dominant in the case of orphans, who are often removed from school to work in the field or home or to pursue outside employment to earn money for the family's survival" (Oleke et al. 2006, p. 281). Despite his desire to associate with his paternal kin, Joshua found himself inadvertently reinforcing the patrilineal ideal that allows for labour exploitation of children like himself. For several years, he worked on farms around his paternal clan's home, and his relatives kept the money he earned without so much as buying him clothes or adequately feeding him. In 2012, he finally ran away after being paid directly at a plantation he had been working on for several weeks. Joshua took the money and returned to his Aunt Olivia's home in rags.

'Blood Always Finds its Way Home': The Significance of Patrilineal Identification for Orphans

To understand dynamics of child circulation requires a better grasp of the idiom of 'blood', both as a metaphor of relatedness and as a substance that actually binds kin. In Buganda, as in many other sub-Saharan African belief systems, blood ties override any other kind of conceptualization of kinship. Both the mother and father contribute blood to the children, but the father's is somehow stronger. Yet women, mothers and *ssengas* (advisorial paternal aunts), are the only ones who can curse a child – a sort of check on patriarchal power. In the Luganda language, people commonly talk about 'blood' as an interchangeable word for the concept of kinship and kin themselves. For example, a granny may talk about wanting to care for a child 'because s/he's my daughter's blood'. In the age of HIV/AIDS, however, blood also serves as a carrier of pathogens; there is a danger that shared blood across kin may actually lead to rejection of children of people who have died of AIDS, for fear that the children may also be infected through shared blood with the deceased parent(s) and thus bring AIDS into caregivers' households. Grandmothers, however, may actually choose to take in children because the grandchildren can come to represent the missing child, so they act as living artifacts of the child they have lost. Sometimes the grandchildren are all that the grandparent may have left of his or her deceased child. One grandmother who told me she took on her four granddaughters because they represent the blood of her dead daughter had even refused requests to give the children to their father's clan because, she said, "I couldn't watch my blood suffer" if they went to live with the father's family.

Blood is mainly operationalized in kinship systems through the ways it supposedly acts as a magnet to draw its own back to the clan. Powerful beliefs about blood

demonstrate its significance as a tie that binds children to their patrilineage – even when paternity is not clearly established. When I asked my youth research assistants about it in a data analysis workshop, the proverb "Blood finds its way home" came up, meaning that children estranged from their father's clan are instinctually pulled back into the clan through their shared substance/kinship. Youth RA Sumayiya gave an example: if two men are fighting over the paternity of a woman's child, people often believe that the child will find its way back to its biological father, regardless of who the mother may claim as the father. The father or his family can even use witchcraft to put a spell on the child, who will sicken until s/he is either reunited with the father or dies. I asked what happened if the father did not claim the child, and Sumayiya said that people believed that children would still find their way back to their paternal clan. She even said that people talk about blood as having a 'smell', and that children know instinctually to whom they are related. RA coordinator Faridah thought Sumayiya translated the notion of "smelling blood" a little bit too literally. *Kusika* can mean 'to pull' or 'to inhale', among other things. But Faridah seconded the notion that children who are separated from their father will fall sick until they are reunited, sometimes due to witchcraft, or as Sumayiya put it, "those local, local beliefs."

While witchcraft and kinship are closely linked in many cultures across Africa (Geschiere 2003), witchcraft often emerges in children's stories as a central concern as well as a means of expressing the domestic tensions and conflicts in which they sometimes find themselves embroiled (Notermans 2008, p. 358). Faridah knew a child who was taken to the UK by her mother and fell sick until she returned to her father's clan's land. Faridah also raised the example of twins, who are highly revered in Baganda culture and who therefore must be brought to their father's courtyard. Sometimes the traditions differ by family, but many people seem to believe that staying with the father's side is actually a matter of life and death.

There was some disagreement among the youth RAs about how strong this notion of blood is among the Baganda and other Ugandan ethnic groups. Youth RA Michael (who is Langi) thought it depended on whether you were brought up "in civilization or tradition." Since Michael and his sister youth RA Jill grew up with weak ties to extended family and do not have strong ties to their natal villages, they did not feel held by those beliefs. Michael personally did not feel drawn by any ritual, or even the death of a relative. He agreed that such beliefs were the realm of the peasant, though some people who live in Kampala will even say that you have to take a child back to their village to be blessed by the grannies, or it can negatively affect children as they grow up and their attachments to distant relatives are not reinforced. Jill said that she had seen that happen to people who were dedicated to a relative as an infant.

James, Pokot on his father's side and Muganda on his mother's, chimed in that 'blood' was an important notion that certainly played into his experience after his father died in 2001 (Cheney 2007, p. 98). Both his Baganda and Pokot relatives related any suffering James and his family experienced to just being with his mother. They thought his suffering would lessen as he went back to his father's village and got to know his dad's side of the family. His paternal relatives, whom he had never known – since he grew up in Kampala and not his father's rural homestead –

promised to look after him and his siblings, taught them tribal rituals, and gave them some articles of his father's, like his old clothes. But they suspected that James and his siblings might have been having trouble because they had not gone through the usual rites of passage. James' older brother has gone back on his own and spent some time, and he recommends that all of them go and get to know that side of the family. "But I don't think that this is so necessary for the suffering of someone," he concluded. "What I believe is that when someone produces a child and runs away with the child and the man is unaware…I think that's when those things have to come in."

These stories reflect the extent to which blood, despite its potential to act destructively as a carrier of pathogens, is also seen as a substance that immutably binds people in kin relations. In fact, I surmise that strengthened belief in blood as an affective 'adhesive' of kin bonds may be of such importance to AIDS-affected children and caregivers precisely *because* it counteracts the discourses of blood as the carrier of the HIV/AIDS virus – which also runs through families (particularly through mother-to-child transmission) and threatens to break them asunder. Seen in the context of the AIDS pandemic and socioeconomic constraints, provision of childcare increasingly hinges on the attendant obligations of these blood ties. For orphans who may find it more of a challenge under current circumstances, then, their stakes in establishing blood ties, particularly with patrilineal kin, may be even greater. In terms of everyday care – even when met with skepticism – people hedge their bets by invoking blood ties in order to ensure a child's well-being. Orphans and their maternal caregivers alike thus try to secure paternal care by demanding adherence to blood's cultural scripts. Strategies of 'fictive' kinship thus also need to be revisited, as orphaned children may employ it as a strategy to gain the entitlements of particular kin relationships.

Shifting Notions of 'Home'

While very young and/or newly orphaned children might have little say in their household placement, I have shown above that this changes as they grow. Orphans' choices to go live with paternal kin at a certain age reflect their active engagement in constructing their own notions of 'home' through the powerful metaphor of blood, and more broadly by extension, their proper place in the world where they are otherwise at more risk of being considered 'rootless' by virtue of their orphanhood. To establish this, however, they have to navigate some of the difficult cultural politics mentioned above, much of which points to the distinction Bourdieu (1977) made between 'official' and 'practical' kinship. Much of the literature on kinship and home centers on the hearth, with food as the primary substance that binds children to caregivers through feeding and sharing of other resources (Carsten 2004, p. 35). Borneman (2001) similarly centers discussion around care. This would make orphans, 'practically' members of the maternal clans that take care of them – but while this may be true to some extent, it presents a static vision of the nature of

kinship ties that can and do change over time. It also empties children of their ability to construct their identities within the social structure – even if that choice is to fulfill a normative cultural script. Multiple factors weigh into children's and caregivers' decisions, but children learn how to recreate kinship as they live it, through participation in daily household activities as well as mobility across households (Notermans 2008, p. 355). "By initiating, ending and reinitiating fosterage, children actively construct their life between different competing kin groups" (Notermans 2008, p. 367). However much children may feel a sense of belonging in the homes of their maternal kin, then, their desire to identify with their patrilineal clan may lead them to migrate to their father's family because the idea of 'home' invokes emotional affiliations based on active, imaginative re-figurings of belonging that might mitigate their marginalization, particularly as orphaned children.

Youth RA Sumayiya's movement between households as a child demonstrates this: her parents divorced when she was 2 years old, and she lived with her father until his death when she was 6 years old. Her mother took her into her home then, but as she had no regular work, Sumayiya dropped out of school. She spent several years moving around with her mother, and suffering abuses from her mother's boyfriends. When she heard at age 12 that her paternal uncle was willing to pay for her school fees, she left her mother's home and went to live with her aunt and uncle. Sumayiya's choice to pursue education through her father's kin, but also her uncle's patrilineal kin obligation, facilitated her to return to her father's family (and to school) after 6 years.

Conclusion: Orphans' Circulation Strategies in the Context of Changing Paternal Foster Obligations

I have shown how notions of 'blood' – and particularly patrilineage – continue to play an important symbolic role in orphaned children's imaginations of 'home' and their sense of social belonging in Uganda. Yet, despite the continued importance of 'blood' as an idiom of relatedness and 'home' as a place tied to the patrilineage, the presence of paternal kin in orphaned children's lives is waning as more paternal clans relinquish their traditional obligations to absorb orphans, leaving the responsibility to maternal kin who may have less access to community resources. We have seen a few examples illustrating that orphans raised by maternal kin tend to revert to the 'official' (or we might say 'ideal') narrative by identifying with their paternal clans, thus actively – if inadvertently – influencing the transformation of kinship. One of the practical consequences that we see already from this trend is that it leaves the maternal kin that provide for orphans earlier in life without later support in exchange for having raised those children – thus deepening maternal caregivers' poverty while also obviating the reciprocal relationships that have historically motivated fosterage. For all their efforts, though, some children in the study who changed households in search of greater stability and resources within their kin groups were

still living from hand to mouth, and their situations sometimes even worsened due to exploitation of their labour in the paternal kin's homes. Joshua's experience described above is one example of this. The inconsistency between ideological constructions of kinship and the realities facing orphans can thus sometimes even work to the detriment of their own and others' wellbeing by reinforcing the very patriarchal privilege that marginalizes maternal caregivers while letting paternal relatives off the hook for their filial duties.

While Carsten claims that anthropological studies of bodily substance "challenge any simple dichotomy between idioms of a bounded individual body/person and immutable kinship relations in Euro-American contexts and more fluid, mutable bodies and relations elsewhere" (Carsten 2011, p. 19), I would caution against dismissing the enduring symbolic power of 'blood ties' for orphaned children in the age of HIV/AIDS. The ambivalence that characterizes the situation of orphans has already instigated cultural changes that increase orphans' vulnerability. It is precisely because these kinship ties are being threatened by AIDS and its related social effects that Ugandans, from orphaned children to their caregivers, emphasize the idiom of blood as an immutable connection with kin in a world of uncertainty. The structural context of poverty also cannot be ignored, as orphans' kin typically do not wish to be relieved of their filial duties so much as of their poverty. In this situation, Abebe and Aase are right to call for "…research that draws on the perspectives of the children, and challenges the taken-for-granted premises that orphans are burdens not resources..." (Abebe and Aase 2007, p. 2068). It is also important to maintain fluid, processual understandings of children's active constructions of kinship (Notermans 2008 p. 373), throughout the life course. Bringing anthropological and development studies of fostering together with children's studies' concern for understanding children's perspectives helps draw attention to the dynamic aspects of kinship as well as the way children's concerns shape them. Understanding kinship as a process of imagining as well as material practice highlights the contradictory effects of AIDS orphanhood, in which patrilineal 'blood's' pull weakens reciprocity for maternal care and even allows for exploitation of orphaned children. This approach may in turn lead to better capacity-building interventions that account for orphaned children's own motivations for moving across family networks, and thereby create avenues for better material and affective support of children as they find their way 'home' in an uncertain world.

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Chapter 16
Transnational Childhood and the Globalization of Intimacy

Elisabeth Rohr

Introduction

Migration is highly gendered and it is without doubt a transnational and trans-generational issue with global dimensions (King et al. 2014). In this paper I would like to concentrate on these trans-generational dimensions of migration, because this seems to be a much neglected perspective in international investigations on migration. But instead of adding just another sociological analysis, I would like to introduce a psycho-social perspective, focusing on the emotional experiences of children, who have been left behind by their migrating parents or their migrating mothers. This includes an analysis of the relationships that develop between the left behind children and their migrant parents or mothers within a transnational context.

Thanks to feminist researchers, international debates on migration have discovered in the last decades the significance of female migration and within that frame, the changing significance of transnational motherhood (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002). But even though motherhood cannot be considered without the corresponding children, transnational childhood has been an "understudied" issue as Mazzucato and Schans (2011) pointed out. Children have been clearly marginalized in most of the international studies on migration (Bennett et al. 2011). There are at least three reasons that might explain why transnational childhood has been largely ignored in migratory debates:

1. Children are not involved as actors in the labor market. Since most of the international debates on migration focus on labor migration, mainly on working situations of migrants and the impact of remittances on the home economy, children

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are made invisible and are ignored in this context of discussion (Bennett et al. 2011).

2. The transnational and feminist debates on migration have emphasized and analyzed mainly the activities of the (female) migrants. Even though transnational theories try to look at the complexity of global and transnational family networks, they tend to leave out the impact of migration on the left behind families, especially on the left behind children. Modern technology seems a magic tool that allows contact and virtual care and love for everybody involved, compensating for all emotional losses occurred. Furthermore the suffering of the left behind children seems only the result of gender ideology that could easily be resolved if only fathers would care and take over care responsibilities (Lutz 2008).

3. Nevertheless some studies about transnational childhood have been published that show a different picture. The first study presented by Parreñas Salazar (2005) was received within the scientific community with considerable ambivalence and produced severe and controversial discussions. Parreñas Salazar (2005) had come to the conclusion that the majority of the children in the Philippines, who had been left behind by migrant mothers, suffered emotionally under the absence of their primary care taker, even though they benefitted from the remittances. These findings were confirmed by numerous studies in the USA about reunited families (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011). There seems to be no doubt that long lasting separation in combination with the lack of loving substitute care takers, leave invariably deep scars in the souls of left behind children (Pedone 2006, p. 212). But since female migrants faced harsh critique in some of their home countries when leaving to migrate, feminist researchers restrained from pointing out the suffering of the left behind children, fearing that only mothers would be blamed for their search of a better life for themselves and their families (Pedone 2006, p. 221).

The conclusion that can be drawn out of these arguments is: It is high time to consider all children as actors with agency and therefore it is high time to give left behind children a voice and have them speak on their own and explain themselves how they have experienced their parents or their mother's migration and how they try to cope with the situation. Giving them an own voice is therefore an attempt to make them and their emotions and perceptions visible and to include their perspective in an analysis on transnational families. On a scientific level it is an attempt to pay attention to the whole system of family related migratory movements and to close a gap in the international debate on migration, because trans-generational relationships are not only an essential part of transnational migration, but as a matter of fact, they allow us to understand the complexity and the nature of today's globalized migration in a more profound way. Therefore it is important not only to analyze economic and societal structures, but also psycho-social dimensions of intimate family relationships that are forced to adapt to new and transnational realities. Otherwise it will be impossible to understand the challenges that transnational migration imposes on migrants and their left behind families and children alike.

Before moving on to the empirical part of the paper, where one case of a left behind child, now a young woman of 21 years of age, from Ecuador/South America, is presented, it is necessary however to offer a short overview of the economic, social and political situation of this country, in order to be able to explain the reasons behind the massive migration movements that took place in this region of the world in the last decades of the twentieth century.

Ecuadorian Migration

A few years ago reports appeared in local newspapers in Ecuador, illustrating shocking statistics about cases of juvenile suicides, pointing to the fact that the majority of these suicides were committed by left behind children of migrants (El Comercio 2004; Expreso 2010). These reports revealed a hidden drama that had taken place for some time within the Ecuadorian society and that had been largely ignored by the state, the different governments and partially also by the national and international scientific community. In Ecuador, migration was for decades almost unanimously seen as a blessing, bringing to the country much needed revenues and income, thus diminishing the effects of the worst economic crisis, the country had ever experienced (Lagomarsino and Torre 2007). But the harrowing suicides of left behind children and juveniles opened up a new chapter in the debates about migration. They questioned the hitherto unchallenged idealistic view on migration and showed that there were disadvantages and losses as well, mostly hidden and ignored.

Ecuador is behind Columbia one of the countries in Latin America with the highest numbers of migrants (Migration Policy Institute 2013). The main reason for these massive waves of migration in recent years was the complete breakdown of the economy, producing a magnitude of impoverished people that was unheard of and that affected especially the already poor, but also the middle and lower upper classes of Ecuadorian society. With the impoverishment along went a terrifying process of social and political disintegration and with it an increase of alcoholism, domestic violence and sexual abuse (Wagner 2010, p. 97). The rate of destitution grew in a period of 5 years from 34 % in 1995 to 71 % in 2000 (Acosta et al. 2004, p. 260). As a consequence, alone between 1980 and 2011 about 20 % of the economically active population left the country (Camacho 2009, p. 63). Today it is estimated that between 1.5 and 3 million Ecuadorians live abroad, mostly in the USA, but increasing numbers also in Spain and Italy. In the last decades almost 500,000 Ecuadorians have left for Spain, forming the third largest non-European, ethnic population in Spain after Rumanians and Moroccans (Schildmann 2007; Gómez et al. 2007). About 53 % of these Ecuadorian migrants are female migrants and more than 44 % of them have left children behind (Camacho 2009, p. 89). Cortes has stated that about 218,704 Ecuadorian children under the age of 18 are left behind children of migrants. But if children 18 years or older are taken into account, the number rises to 284,027 (Cortes 2008, p. 5).

Meanwhile remittances of Ecuadorian migrants abroad are significant and they already constitute a growing part of the national GDP. Statistics show that roughly 6 % of Ecuador's GDP is generated by migrants sending home remittances (Forced Migration Online 2005). This could be interpreted as final proof of generalized migratory success stories. But a closer look raises doubts: As Cortes points out only 63 % of all male migrants and 54.6 % of all female migrants admitted having sent money back to their left behind family recently, whereas 23.4 % of the male and 26.2 % of the female migrants admitted not having send back any money in recent months (Cortes 2008, p. 34).

In the last few years the Ecuadorian government under president Correa has been offering financial incentives to convince Ecuadorian migrants in Spain to leave the country with its severe crisis that has affected to a high degree also the migrant community, and return "home" (Scheer 2013).

Transnational Migration and Its Realities

Out of these facts one can easily draw the conclusion that migration is not in every case an economic success and not all left behind families and children benefit from the sacrifices their parents or mothers took upon themselves, to pull the family out of economic and social misery.

However, beyond these findings, these statistics could also be interpreted as an indication that not all migrants keep contact with their left behind families and that a considerable number even actively avoids to be part of a transnational family or a transnational community. Research in Ecuador illustrates clearly that migration is also a strategy to separate from repressive family relationships, to escape out of a miserable marriage or too much family responsibility and sometimes it seems an option in search for new perspectives and a life on one's own (Camacho 2009, p. 120; Wagner 2010, p. 95).

Without any doubts, reasons to migrate cannot be reduced to poverty or economic reasons alone. Camacho (2003) came to the conclusion that there are specific and gendered reasons for Ecuadorian women to migrate: Next to economic reasons, it is mainly domestic violence, the desire to improve living conditions and the desire to explore life on their own that motivates women to migrate. But specific to female migration is that many female migrants are mothers and primary care takers of their children. Therefore female migration implies in many cases not only transnational motherhood, but at the same time also transnational childhood (Pedone 2006). This term of transnational childhood applies to children, who have been left behind as well as for the few cases, where children migrated together with their parents or mothers and equally for children, who have reunited with their parents or mothers after years of separation. In all of these cases it is mandatory to include transnational childhood in our considerations about female migration and transnational motherhood.

Therefore it seems more than justified and also necessary to focus on left behind children and their relationships with their migrating parents and mothers, in order to describe and analyze how they experience the separation and how they cope with this painful experience. The analyzis will concentrate on one interview with a young woman that was part of an empirical research project about transnational childhood in Ecuador. The project was realized in the summer of 2011 and 2012 and was financed by the Hessian Ministry of Science and Culture in Germany. About 40 left behind boys and girls were interviewed. At the time of the interviews the children and young adults were between 8 and 21 years old. In most cases we (Elin Rau, my assistant and me) arranged for the interviews in schools and with the consent and support of the teachers, but sometimes we met the children and young people also outside of school, in their home or in other places, where they wanted to meet. Our research was based on narrative interviews that were evaluated according to social-psychological, mainly ethno-hermeneutical and psychoanalytic theories and methods (Rohr 2014).

Belén

We meet in the courtyard of our hotel, which is close to where Belén lives. She is 21 years old, looks much younger and seems to be tense and nervous, when she arrives. I explain that we are trying to study the effects of migration on the left behind families and specifically on the left behind children of migrants. We know from an aunt of hers that her mother has left many years ago and ask, if she would like to talk about this experience. She starts to talk immediately, without any hesitation.

Her father died, when she was 8 years old. He left a family with four children. She is the youngest of one older sister and two older brothers. Her mother decided to go to Spain, just 1 year after her father had died, because she was desperate, not being able to support her children. At that time Belén was 9, one brother 12, one sister 17 and the eldest brother 19. Both the older children were already in college and at the university. Belén says the death of the father and the migration of her mother left them "as if they were separated in two". There were lots of fights between the four children and she says: "When the mother is not present, everything is different". Later on they went to live with their grandmother. "But nobody really had time for us or cared for us", she explains.

Her mother left for unexplainable long 6 years, then came back for 2 months and then left again. In these years, Belén says, her older sister was something like a mother to her, even though it was difficult for her to accept her as somebody, who could tell her, what to do and what not to do. When her mother finally came back for a visit, she noticed that she had been replaced and she cried. "We did not accept her as mother anymore", Belén adds. "She was used to do things now in a different way. We felt a lot of distance. She was like a stranger to me, very much like a stranger." Even though she called every Sunday, Belén says that she did not talk to her mother

about her sorrow, because she did not want her to feel sad and guilty. Her mother, she explains, struggled all these years to send money back home, so that her children would be able to continue with their studies and go to school. After the two older children left to go to study in the university, her mother paid a niece to come back from the USA, to take care of the two younger children. But still, Belén says, she felt abandoned: "I always missed my mother".

Obviously it was even worse for her slightly older brother, who could neither handle the death of the father nor the migration of the mother. He started to drink at an early age when he was 13 years old and never stopped again. "When he drinks, he cries and cries and cries and says he is so lonely. He thinks, we don't like him and he feels as if the whole world has abandoned him. And since our mother does not come, he thinks, she does not care about us."

Belén worries a lot about this brother, tries to look after him, but is helpless, because he continues to drink, even though he is married now and has a baby girl. Belén herself got married, when she was 19 and has recently given birth to a child. She had fallen in love with this boy, when she was 16, because he gave her a lot of attention and took care of her, when she felt miserable and alone. She had the feeling that she had to grow up fast, really grow up fast: "Now I look at my girlfriends from high school, see them study and being single … and … and me, I am married now and all this …"

She lives together with her husband in the house of his parents, but she feels unhappy, because her husband fights a lot with her, even beats her sometimes and they hardly have any money at all. "But I don't want to separate and have my baby grow up without a father."

She quit school, just 2 months before finishing high school, a decision, she regrets deeply today. She would have liked to study, but now with the baby, she doesn't know if she ever will manage to finish high school. Additionally she has to earn money, so she goes out every night to a big market, where she sells food out in the open air. She always takes her baby along with her, but since it is often freezing cold in the high Andes at night, the baby caught a bad cold and is coughing heavily. She feels very worried and medicine is expensive. But even worse is that she feels a lot of shame, standing there at the market place and selling food, meeting old school friends, who study now. She feels as if she has failed with everything in her life. She would come home, lock herself in her room, feeling unhappy, alone and sad and she thought very, very often as she points out, that she did not want to live anymore. "It was difficult. I know, my mother sacrificed herself for us, but she knows that I married at an early age, because she was not there and that my brother started to drink, because he could not bear the situation. My mother knows all this and suffers and I know this is not easy for her. But these were really tough times for us too, really tough and I missed out on a lot."

Now she only waits for her mother and her older sister to come home for Christmas. Her older sister went to Spain 2 years ago, after finishing her master degree in engineering. She just wanted to live and be with her mother and work together with her in the same household. Belén says that her older brother has been trying to convince their mother to come back and he even promised to help and

support her financially, but their mother says, she is used to Spain now and wants to stay there.

Psychosocial Effects of Female Migration on Their Left Behind Children

Belén's story is specific in some ways, but fits in the narrative of many left behind children.

Authors like, Suárez-Orozco et al. (2002, 2011), Achótegui (2004), and Cortes (2008) have pointed out that children, who have been left behind for longer periods of time by migrating parents, showed "substantially negative effects and consequences" in their psychological development (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011, p. 227). This is consistent with the findings of Grinberg and Grinberg (1990), who stated that migration always is a potentially "traumatic experience", because every migration is connected with severe experiences of loss, of separation and feelings of abandonment.

Belén leaves no doubt, that she and her sister and two brothers suffered first under the death of the father and then maybe even worse under the migration of their mother. The experience of loss and of separation affected the four children differently: It seems that the two older children, who were already young adults at the time of the migration of the mother, managed to cope with the situation, whereas the two younger ones failed to do so. College and university life and the professional goals connected with the educational experience, might have helped the older children, to bear and to cope the multiple separations and losses. But the two younger ones were emotionally so fragile that they felt completely abandoned. Of course, they were not abandoned in reality, they had a house to live in, there were grandparents, aunts and even a cousin from the USA to look after them, there was food and clothing and their mother send money for school tuition, but still the feeling prevailed, that they felt abandoned after all.

Suárez-Orozco et al. (2011) concluded, after reviewing and evaluating a series of psychological investigations that left behind children developed a generalized tendency to feel abandoned, desperate and left alone and reacted by severing the emotional parental bonds. The effects of these feelings were even more intense, when it was the mother or both parents, who had left (Ehrenreich und Hochschild 2002; Parreñas Salazar 2005; Pedone 2006; Cortes 2008). Belén describes this process of a changing relationship and of losing emotional contact with her mother in detail. Even though there was virtual contact by phone and Skype, it obviously was not possible to keep up the emotional bond with the mother. "We could not accept her anymore", she explains, her mother did things differently now and she and her brothers and sisters felt like strangers.

Suárez-Orozco et al. (2011) confirms this statement of Belén. She showed in her respective studies that parents and children, who reunited after years of living apart,

experienced themselves as strangers. Suárez-Orozco et al. (2002, 2011) as well as Achótegui (2004) both explain that a long lasting separation leaves emotional scars – on children as well as on parents and mothers alike. In Belén's case it is obvious that the children and the mother suffered, because both sides had to cope with the consequences of the separation and the emotional losses that were connected to the death of the father and to the migration of the mother. Even though the children understood rationally the reasons, why the mother had to leave and they benefitted from the remittances and went to school, to high school and even to university. But all these privileges obviously did not compensate for the pain, they experienced.

Suárez-Orozco et al. (2011) points out that even though the international migration literature claims that left behind children are by far the most prominent beneficiaries of parental migration, it has to be emphasized that the children pay emotionally the highest price for the long term separation of their parents and/or mothers.

Part of this emotional burden is connected to the experience that left behind children have to grow up fast, really fast, as Belén points out and that on the way to a premature adulthood she left school behind as well. In terms of psychological development theories, this could be called "forced autonomy", an experience that almost all of the left behind children we talked to, knew. They had to take care of themselves or of younger siblings at an early age, had to learn how to cook, to wash and to clean the house. Many obviously were not able to take over all these responsibilities and therefore failed in school, even though their parents or mothers spent a lot of money to send them to private schools and offer them a good education. But the emotional abandonment left no energy to study. Teachers in all of the schools, we talked to, confirmed this impression. But to fail in school might also be a symptom of – an unconscious – act of revenge on migrant parents and mothers, for having left them as young children. It was surprising to find so many young adolescents, who had in fact no idea, where their parents or their mothers actually lived and worked. They usually could tell us the country and in some cases even the city, but they had not the faintest of an idea, where in the world this city or this country was situated. They were intellectually and emotionally disorientated and obviously had at least partially disconnected the bonds to their parents. Mother and father were, as far as these children were concerned, somewhere lost in the universe and had vanished out of their lives. They were not able anymore to locate them, not even in their imagination. This was a clear indication that the virtual bonds could not substitute the physical presence of primary care takers over longer periods of time, forcing the children to connect and bond – in the best of the cases – to grandparents or other care takers.

Belén and her alcohol addicted brother showed widespread and more or less typical and gendered coping strategies that many left behind children chose to somehow bear the losses and the separation:

A study for UNICEF by Cortes (2008) has illustrated that a lot of young girls, who have been left behind by migrating parents or mothers, turn out to be pregnant in teenage years, whereas the young boys are drawn to alcohol, to drugs and into

criminal youth gangs, in order to bear the separation and the losses, they experienced. Young girls search for new emotional attachments and bonds and actively try to establish new love relationships with a young man. To become pregnant might be a way for young girls – as Chodorow (1978) has shown many years ago – to establish an intimate relationship and bond to a child, thus experiencing a bond that she herself has not known and to become the mother, she herself never had. Alcohol and drugs is – on the other hand – just a desperate act to numb emotions that seem unbearable. Looking at these two gendered coping strategies, it must be stated that the female option seems less self-destructive as the male option, but of course not less difficult and conflictive.

At the end of the story of Belén one irritating question remains that obviously Belén was not able to answer either and that we only could hypothetically reconstruct: Why does the mother insist on going back to Spain and why does she not come back after all these years, even though her eldest son promises to help and support her? Is this an unacknowledged desire of independence? Maybe! But more convincing seems to be the hypothesis that she herself felt lost, when her husband died, leaving her with four children, two of them, not even grown up. To go to Spain and live and work in the house of a rather wealthy Ecuadorian family, might have been an escape to avoid an unbearable family responsibility that she was not able to take over. To live in this house in Spain under the same roof with this family, even if it meant to be a servant, might have conveyed to her the feeling that she was taken care of and that only under these circumstances, she would be able to take care at least financially of her left behind children (Williams and Gavanas 2008).

On a trans-generational level these hypothetical ideas produce one more and definitely revealing assumption about some rather hidden issues of this specific mother and child relationship. It can be assumed that especially the two youngest children and therefore the most vulnerable members of the siblings, experienced and keep on experiencing the still unresolved conflicts, but also the pain and the feelings of failure, the mother avoided and tried to resolve, by going to Spain. They have been delegated and projected upon the children like a trans-generational heritage, because these conflicts could not be resolved in the generation of the parents and the migration to Spain obviously could not serve as a resolution of conflicts back home.

Conclusion

Our research in Ecuador and other studies (Dreby 2007; Adams 2000; Achótegui 2004; Suárez-Orozsco et al. 2002, 2011) show that Belén is not a singular case and definitely not an exception. Alone in our research in Ecuador we met an unexpected high number of left behind children, who lived under deplorable conditions and who missed their parents and/or mothers, who had migrated, desperately. They were in some cases left alone, in other cases left in the care of older brothers and sisters, who considered them a mere burden, or left in the care of aunts and uncles,

who only cared for them in order to receive remittances from their relatives abroad. Grandparents often felt overwhelmed to have to take care again of several young children.

Belén's case showed clearly that it is necessary to look beyond the sociological and macro-economic perspective, because these perspectives do not offer enough insight in subjective ways of feelings and experiences connected to processes of migration. But a clearly defined psycho-social orientation is capable to open up new perspectives of understanding, showing for example that the left behind children of migrants have a lot to say about migratory experiences and that their perspective is actually relevant, when it comes to understand some of the hidden motives and reasons of the people, who migrate.

It is therefore indispensable to include psycho-social aspects in any analysis dealing with the experiences of loss, separation, abandonment and reunification, connected to transnational family relationships in a migratory context. The paper pointed out that it is quite evident that when we talk about transnational families and transnational motherhood, we also have to talk about transnational childhood and that means, we have to look at emotionally significant separation processes that children and parents/and or mothers experience in the process of migration and that they have to cope with. This perspective needs precise and empirically based case studies to rely on and an approach that does not try to explain "facts" primarily, but that tries to explore and to understand – in this case – difficult emotions and difficult coping strategies connected with migration and with separation processes.

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Chapter 17
Back to Baku: Educational Mobility Experiences of Two Young Azerbaijanis and Identity Positionings Back 'Home'

Christine Hunner-Kreisel

Educational Mobility in Azerbaijan

Socio-structural Parameters in the Education Sector and Labor Market

Azerbaijan became independent from Soviet rule in 1991 and since then underwent profound socioeconomic and political change.[1] Associated with this change are significant transformations of the education sector (Chankseliani 2014; Lepisto 2010, p. 67).[2] In contemporary Azerbaijan education is a matter of class and gender

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[1] Since 1991 Azerbaijan is an independent country and together with Georgia and Armenia forms the South Caucasus. Azerbaijan has approximately nine million inhabitants, of which 65 % are Shia and 35 % are Sunni. Azerbaijan is a secular country whose national identity is nominally Muslim and which sees itself as part of the Islamic world (Cornell 2006; Baberowski 2003). Azerbaijan is considered a post-Soviet, middle-income country (World Bank 2010) and a country with a high human development index (UNDP 2013). The political system of Azerbaijan is considered authoritarian (Economist Intelligence Unit 2012).

[2] In principle, the constitution guarantees a right to education (Lepisto 2010, p. 71). According to Diuk (2012, p. 3) and Lepisto (2010, p. 69–71) the education sector is in considerable need of reform with regard to curricula, teacher pay, and the differences in quality among schools and universities in terms of staffing, educational level, class size and building standards. Corruption is a big challenge in the entire education sector and in particular in universities, leading among other things to what Lepisto terms the problem of "empty diplomas" (Lepisto 2010, p. 77). In addition to state-run educational institutions there also are private institutions, both Azerbaijani (e.g. *Khazar University*) and foreign, and in most cases their quality as well as their fees are higher than those of public institutions (see also Lepisto 2010, p. 76). A state-administered university entrance exam regulates the assignment of students to universities and, based on their test results, to specific disciplines; there is a system of private exam prep courses that is very expensive and which is used mostly by youth from sufficiently affluent families (ibd.).

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(Gozaleva 2015; Roberts and Pollock 2009a, p. 585) and a significant factor along which social inequality is reproduced.

In Azerbaijan, education and training–in particular when combined with a socio-economically privileged family background (see Roberts and Pollock 2009a, p. 590)– (co-) determine access to the labor market. Accordingly, the past 10 years have illustrated how in the age group of 16–34 year olds large income differences arise: although for the year 2010 45 % of this age group indicate that they had no income at all, there also is a very wealthy minority (Diuk 2012, p. 10). At the same time, there is considerable angst concerning the labor market: the data from Diuk show that in 2010, 20.2 % of 16–34 year-old Azerbaijanis were unemployed, compared to 27.2 % in 2003. Thus, even though the employment situation has obviously improved, in 2010 52.6 % of this group indicated that they were afraid they might lose their job or not be able to find work (Diuk 2012, p. 12). This points to the high pressure youth and young adults experience in regard to the labor market and finding work. In addition to conditions in the education sector Diuk also refers to societal changes in generational structures prompted by processes of transformation within the Soviet Union (Diuk 2012, p. 21). These changes have created new circumstances for youth and young adults. The youth policies of the Soviet era facilitated individual socio-economic improvement only from a certain age on and thus linked vertical social mobility to age. In contrast, in the transformations during the mid-1980s and mid-1990s a younger generation could already participate in this mobility, albeit only a small, privileged minority (Diuk 2012, p. 21 f.). Against these socio-structural conditions, educational mobility as a pathway to recognized degrees and the chance to make it in Azerbaijani society is for young Azerbaijanis an attractive alternative (Diuk 2012, p. 32; Roberts and Pollock 2009a, p. 593).

Motives in Educational Mobility

Educational mobility is not an entirely new phenomenon in Azerbaijan because for a privileged group of Azerbaijanis educational travel was common within the Soviet Union (Rumyansev 2013, p. 2). However, current educational mobility differs in terms of destinations: about 5000 youth and young adults[3] are currently traveling for education purposes to the USA, the northern European countries, and Turkey but also Russia and the Far East (Japan and South Korea) (see Rumyansev 2013 and CIA World Factbook Azerbaijan 2014). In general, the purpose of educational mobility is foreign language acquisition as well as academic degrees: "A 'western' diploma and the knowledge of any European language (most often, English) significantly increase the possibility of receiving prestigious employment in the major transnational companies or international organizations and foundations operating in Azerbaijan" (Rumyansev 2013, p. 1). The motives of potential sponsors vary, such as the German Academic Exchange Service (*DAAD*) and American programs like Flex (*Future Leadership Exchange*), and range from performance-oriented support

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[3] This is the number of young people currently abroad for the purpose of education.

for future elites to attempts at exerting political influence on critical young people (see also Rumyansev 2013, p. 3; Diuk 2012, p. 29). An additional motive for educational mobility can be the realization of plans for one's personal biography. Roberts considers a decisive motive the desire "to join their countries' new middle classes" and states that "[Y]young people in Central Asia also face distinctive difficulties in anchoring their personal biographies" (2010, p. 537; Roberts and Pollock 2009a, p. 593). With empirical examples from Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan, Bühler-Niederberger et al. have shown how attempts to emancipate and determine one's destiny can motivate educational mobility in an effort to escape from generational and gender orders whose particular expectations for social behavior might be perceived as stifling (2015, p. 62 ff.). In addition, based on the work of Rumyansev (2013), it is possible to name three points that matter for considering education for migration in the sociopolitical and societal context of Azerbaijan. *First*, the intentions of destination and host countries. Promotional programs in the United States, Germany and France pursue different goals.[4] Second, the intentions of the Azerbaijani political regimes and the question, which intentions they have for students who study abroad.[5] The *third point* concerns, in the perspective of those who migrate, what migration for education means for their return to the home country: "[..] to look at the situation through the eyes of those students or young professionals who have received education in the EU or the U.S., and have returned or have not returned to Azerbaijan" (ibd.).

Theoretical Perspectives on Educational Mobility and Migration[6]

The third and last point is also the starting point of my research interest, which assumes, based on the data I collected and interpreted, that "when social actors return they engage as changed individuals with changed localities" (Freitag 2005).

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[4] Rumyansev writes about foreign educational programs: "[…]a number of the EU countries and U.S. have strong expectations regarding the fact that the students (previous and present) who have received education and obtained experience of living in a democracy, will become agents of similar social organizations in Azerbaijan" (ibd., p. 3).

[5] Rumyansev here distinguishes between the motives of the government and those of the opposition. For the years 2007–2015 the Azerbaijani Department of Education presented a program that aims to motivate 5,000 students to study in the EU, the USA, Russia and Japan (http://www.edu.gov.az/view.php?lang=ru&menu=256). According to Rumyansev the regime promotes educational mobility in hopes of making a positive impression abroad and developing sustainable networks among the Azerbaijani diaspora. In contrast, the opposition hopes that students will return and aid the transfer of democratic values (ibd. p. 3).

[6] Along with Molgat (2008, p. 117), and considering my own data, I assume that educational mobility is comparable to educational migration in its effects on furthering individual lives (ibd.). Molgat investigates possible links between (educational) mobility and the transition from youth to adulthood.

Therefore, the focus of this contribution is on the actors themselves. Depending on one's theoretical perspective, educational mobility and migration and their significance for the actors, can be 'read' differently (for a short overview see Bühler-Niederberger et al. 2015, p. 57; Brooks and Waters 2011; Molgat 2008, p. 117, Cassarino 2004). It is possible to differentiate among educational mobility and migration with regard to different phases. Over the past decade, the phase of return–not only in the context of educational mobility and migration–has garnered more scientific interest, in particular through research on transnationalization (for an overview see Carling and Erdal 2014, p. 4; see also Ní Laoire 2013, p. 96). Research to date, primarily on educational migration, has particularly emphasized push and pull factors for 'returning' that different groups of migrants mention (see for example Aydin 2010). Furthermore, there are a few studies–in particular for the German-speaking context–that have examined different aspects of returning in the context of educational migration and mobility (see Bühler-Niederberger et al. 2015; Schröder 2013; Schmitz 2013; Olivier 2013; Martin 2005).

This Chapter's Theoretical Perspective on Educational Mobility in Azerbaijan

This chapter presents initial findings from *work in progress*. The chosen theoretical perspective on the meaning of educational mobility for the actors themselves, which will be explained below, arises from the current status of data analysis and interpretation: The respondents typically reconstruct their experiences through comparisons. Relevant frames of reference are the national contexts–in particular sociocultural, ethnic, and sociopolitical issues related to the category of nation. This tends to give rise to binary attributions and a tendency to contrast experiences with the dichotomies of 'There'/'Abroad' and 'Here'/'Azerbaijan'. At the same time the respondents negotiate their own positioning in terms of issues that are understood here, following Stuart Hall (1999a, pp. 394), as questions of 'identity' (as will be discussed below). Considering these issues the present contribution addresses the question how experiences of returning (temporarily or for good) from educational mobility can be reconstructed in terms of identity-related positioning and possible changes in perceived identity. The chapter is structured as follows: First, the theoretical perspective using Hall's notion of 'identity' is presented. Then two case examples from *work in progress* are described. These examples are interpreted in reference to Hall's identity-political arguments as well as the so-called 'post'-Soviet Azerbaijan and a related search for identity, as often discussed in the secondary literature (Gozaleva 2015, p. 136; see also Agadjanian 2015).

Theoretical Framework: Stuart Hall's Notion of 'identity'

In the 1990s Stuart Hall, a prominent representative of cultural studies, revisited the category of 'identity'. Hall himself puts identity in quotation marks and thus distances himself from an essentialist understanding of identity as "integral, originary and unified" (Hall 1996, p. 1). Hall's thinking begins from post-structuralist arguments that deconstructed the so-called Cartesian, autonomous subject and declared notions of identity obsolete. From there Hall posits the rhetorically provocative question "Who needs 'identity'?" (Hall 1996, p. 1). He answers his question as follows: "since they [the essentialist concepts] have not been superseded dialectically [by deconstructive critique], and there are no other, entirely different concepts with which to replace them, there is nothing to do but to continue to think with them–albeit now in their detotalized or deconstructed forms, and no longer operating within the paradigm in which they were originally generated" (Hall 1996, p. 1). Thus, Hall's theoretical starting point is the contention that within thinking and empirical analysis is a conceptual void: The void refers to the problem that without a notion of 'identity' certain questions cannot be entertained. In order to avoid falling back on old, essentializing categories, conceptual innovation is needed (Hall 1996, p. 2). Following arguments by Foucault, Hall is primarily concerned with thinking through the question of what it is that needs to be conceptualized: relinquishing the subject or re-thinking the relationship between subject and social processes and thus developing a new understanding of the notion of subject (ibd.). In terms of identity and identification, Hall concludes: "It seems to be in the attempt to rearticulate the relationship between subject and discoursive practices that the question of identity recurs–or rather, if one prefers to stress the process of subjectification to discursive practices, and the politics of exclusion which all subjectification appears to entail, the questions of *identification*" (ibd., emphasis in the original). Hall offers a fresh configuration of the relationship between subject and discursive practices and thus makes a connection between processes of becoming subject and questions of identifications (Hall 1996, p. 3) as the center of a new understanding of identit*ies*. For Hall, grappling with the notion of identification is so important because it enables re-constituting the notion of identity: "The concept of identity deployed here is therefore not an essentialist, but a strategic and positional one. […] It accepts that identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions" (Hall 1996, p. 4).

This 'new version' of subjectivity also requires a different–contextualized–perspective on identity. In Hall's theoretical understanding the subject is positioned in relation to its historical, social and cultural contexts and at the same time positions itself. According to Hall, the positioning of the subject also should always be read as an identity-political action (Hall and Höller 1999b, p. 100): "Identities [are] the names we give the various circumstances that position us and through which we

position ourselves when narrating the past" (Hall 1991, p. 29). In relation to this understanding of identity Hall sees possibilities for positioning as limited and argues that identities ought to be understood analytically in their radical historicity, in particular "within all those historically specific developments and practices which have disturbed the relatively 'settled' character of many populations and cultures, above all in relation to processes of globalization […] and the processes of forced and free migrating which have become a global phenomenon of the so-called 'post-colonial world'" (Hall 1996, p. 4). In regards to the context of Azerbaijan it is important that Stuart Hall's thinking of 'identity' results from an engagement with postcolonial theories and the so-called 'postcolonial world' (Hall 1997, 1999a). Considering 70 years of Soviet rule, Azerbaijan, too, has a "post-colonial" legacy (see also Agadjanian 2015, p. 33) in the sense that with independence began a 'search for identity' associated with a powerful resurgence of ethnic nationalism (see Agadjanian 2015, p. 22, 29; see also Hall 1999a, p. 436). In his engagement with the post-colonial Hall unpacks ethnic-national issues as expressions of the search for one's own (identity-relevant) positioning after foreign rule and associated foreign attributions. This search for new (collective[7]) identity-relevant belongings and positionings is prominent among the young generation[8] in contemporary Azerbaijan as are drawing boundaries and ambivalence toward essentializing national, socio-cultural identifications (Gozaleva 2015, p. 136; Agadjanian 2015, p. 24). As will be shown in the two case examples, mobility processes might further intensify the complexity of this struggle.

Educational Mobility Experiences of Two Young Azerbaijanis

Two case studies will be presented. One is an interview (from 2013) with Emil, a 23 year-old Azerbaijani man, who has been abroad already multiple times for educational purposes and who spent 1 year on the Arabian peninsula as well as several months in different places in Europe. The interview took place before he left for a European countries in which he would like to get a masters in engineering. The second example concerns the interview with Navid, also from 2013, an Azerbaijani man who was then 23 years old; he had been to the United States to study economics and had already been back for a year. These two interviews were chosen because they make it possible to contrast different identity-political positionings: in the first example, Emil chooses to (temporarily) leave his country. This is related to the impossibility, at that moment, to identify with national, socio-cultural contexts in Azerbaijan. At the time of the interview it is unclear whether he might return. He explains his rejection of socio-cultural narratives in Azerbaijani society (for instance

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[7] Hall discusses individual as well as collective identity processes, so-called "cultural identities" (1999a, p. 414).

[8] A representative survey by Natalie Diuk (2012, p. 82) from 2010 shows high affinity with patriotism among 16–24 year-old Azerbaijanis.

in regard to nation) with his experiences within educational mobility. In the second example, Navid reconstructs life in Azerbaijan as a deliberate decision. This positioning can be interpreted as a distancing from what Navid calls a 'western' context but also from an 'old Azerbaijan' represented by an older generation.

I am now going to examine in which ways the actors' experiences with educational mobility can be reconstructed, after their temporary or final return, in terms of identity-relevant positionings and how these may be perceived as changed. Following Hall, this interpretation references the different positionings of the interviewees and asks "what [are] the mechanisms […] by which individuals as subjects identify (or do not identify) with the 'positions' to which they are summoned" (Hall 1996, p. 14). Which positioning are available and how are they discursively restricted? In terms of methodology, this *work in progress*[9] applied *Grounded Theory Methodology* (Strauss and Corbin 1990). The interview with Navid was conducted in English. The interview with Emil was conducted in another European language. Names and places have been anonymized.

Case I: "....Freedom" (Emil)

In the interview Emil relates that he is from a larger Azerbaijani city, has been abroad twice already (for longer periods) and as a pupil lived in Saudi Arabia with his parents for half a year and attended a Turkish school there. His parents, both doctors, want to work there but there are difficulties with the work permit for his mother and because she finds it difficult to wear a facial veil and stay at home; the family returns to Azerbaijan. In the same year he travels to France with his parents. In the interview Emil contrasts these two countries in reference to the in-vivo code 'freedom' (line 228) that is central in this interview. Whereas in one country (France) everything is possible, in the other country (Saudi Arabia) nothing is possible ("there is freedom, you can do anything and … in the other you can do nothing" (line 244). Emil describes his participation in a summer school in Canada in 2011 as a radical change in his life, a rupture with his former worldview. After this trip "he ended his former life" (line 233). He links this change and new beginning with a changed attitude toward national Azerbaijani traditions. In his educational travel it become clear to him that there, abroad, one's own person and one's own ideas about life, and not 'traditions', were the reference points for one's biography: this he interprets as an expression of greater freedom. Because of this changed attitude Emil presents himself at the time of the interview as breaking with his former peers and with his parents. After his return he worked to create a new community of peers who, in contrast to his former friends, shared his worldview because they, too, had been abroad. Together, they read authors like Plato and Nietzsche discuss central

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[9] Data collection took place in the context of a pilot study undertaken in preparation of a larger comparative research project on the topic of educational migration by Azerbaijani and Kyrgyz youth (see Hunner-Kreisel 2013; Bühler-Niederberger et al. 2015, p. 59).

philosophical questions such as the characteristics of an ideal society. The discord with his parents arises from their ideas of how he should live his life. His parents would like him to get married soon and hope for a grandchild. Against this expectation Emil puts his idea of freedom: he wants to decide for himself how to live, and whether to marry, when to marry and whom to marry. A central criterion in the marriage decision for him is mutual respect and an engagement with oneself. With this he also distances himself from the usual 'Azerbaijani' marriage practices in which the parents of one family speak with the parents of another family and decide "okay, our children will get married" (line 426), that is the tradition.

Case II: "East or West–Home is Best" (Navid)

At the time of the interview Navid has been back in Azerbaijan for over a year and lives there in a larger city. Over the past year he completed his military service. From his stories it is clear that at the moment he does not have a regular job but works on a sort of internship at an international company in the oil sector; there he is responsible for taking care of and accompanying international guests and organizing evening programs for them.

Navid's interpretations of his experiences abroad are throughout positive: he does not mention any negative personal experiences and systematically interprets his experiences abroad and this study abroad in terms of how enriching they have been for his professional and private life. The challenges he encountered in the beginning (being on your own, not having the support from parents and friends; budgeting time and money) he could overcome true to his motto "[…] my life-motto is as an Azerbaijani young: never, never, never give up […]" (line 170). In addition to this motto, he interprets his experiences with an attitude that could be characterized as adapting to the respective local social order. Already in his first story he talks about the early days with an American family with whom he spent the first month until he started at university. He talks about how he went with the host family to church service on Sundays and participated in the religious rituals (communion). Only when the family asked him directly did he tell them that he was Muslim. The family then acknowledged his openness. He interprets this experience as an expression of his ability to be tolerant and his "easy going personality" (line 187; line 462), without sacrificing his difference. He contrasts himself with a Pakistani friend he was in touch with in America but who did not participate in college parties and never veered from the observance of religious duties. Navid believes that in contrast to himself this friend would never have gone to church. Twice during the interview Navid positions himself with the 'in-vivo-Code' "East and West–Home is Best" (line 421; 589) and thus contrasts America and Azerbaijan in a dichotomy that also structures the interpretation of his experiences.

For him, a good life means being surrounded by his family and friends. In contrast, in America he was always alone. In this context he expresses a clear preference for living in Azerbaijan. Yet, he holds the Azerbaijan of today as different from that of the past–as for instance his father experienced it. Navid finds that in

contemporary Azerbaijan you need to be smart and improve constantly ("You have to improve yourself all the time", line 671), and be creative. He finds Baku–the capital of Azerbaijan–already like a European country: But, he adds, here there are the *Flame Towers*[10]–he believes that Europe does not have to offer anything comparable to them. The *Flame Towers* Navid considers a good thing–a bonus–even though his father would say that something like this did not exist 30 years ago.

Naming One's Own Positioning

Navid understands himself as a "young Azerbaijani" (line 170)–expressed in his motto "never, never, never give up"–whereas Emil rejects the Azerbaijani context and identifies with the 'others' who live in the European country in which he studied and who "consider one's path more important than one's traditions" (line 233). He references his rejection in particular in terms of the "traditions" related to his parents' expectation to marry soon and have children–a "typical norm" of the social order (Roberts et al. 2009, p. 154). This social order, in turn, obstructs his "freedom" (line 228) and the life Emil imagines. In principle, the positionings of the two interviewees are comparable albeit with different results: Both position themselves along the category of nation and a sort of nationally shaped culture (see also Hall 1999a, p. 416)[11] but Emil rejects this whereas Navid agrees in a particular way. Particular in so far as the positioning as a young Azerbaijani is significant: In the course of the interview Navid emphasizes two categories of difference as relevant. In addition to nation he also mentions generation and entwines both categories in regard to worldview and attitudes about the labor market and basic abilities needed to succeed in it (see "So, like the difference is like that USSR and Azerbaijan right now, you have to be clever, you have to improve yourself every time etc." (line 670–672). In this way Navid positions himself within a cultural understanding of identity that references a new, non-Soviet Azerbaijan and is represented in particular by a younger generation (Diuk 2012, p. 82; Agadjanian 2015, p. 25).[12]

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[10] The two *Flame Towers* are considered the new icon of Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan.

[11] "National cultures construct identities by creating meanings of 'nation' with which we can identify [..]" (Hall 1999a, p. 416).

[12] The identifications of a younger generation of Azerbaijanis include in particular the short period of democratic independence during the so-called Azerbaijani Democratic Republic (ADR) from 1918 to 1920. Before being occupied in 1920 and integrated into the Soviet empire Azerbaijan experiences 2 years as an independent democracy: the period of the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic was associated with central societal changes that were partly set in motion by the oil boom in Baku at the end of nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance, in the first independent republic of Azerbaijan women had full political rights as citizens. This was a result of the *jadid* (educational) reform movement that originated from Muslim areas on Crimea, in the Volga region and in Azerbaijan and that–in its critique of society and religion–preceded the short period of Azerbaijani independence (see Baberowski 2003, p. 53). This short period of democratic independence is an important societal topoi and a building block of national identity; at the moment, the younger generation has revived and continues this topoi as Diuk describes vividly (2012, p. 82): "The ARD [Azerbaijani Democratic Republic], as it has come to be known, has

The *Flame Towers* Navid mentions in the interview symbolize for him an Azerbaijan that is 'new' and 'European' but also independent (line 693). The identification with a 'European' Azerbaijan shows another communality with Emil: in distancing himself from 'Azerbaijani traditions' he, too, identifies with Europe where–in contrast to the Arabian Peninsula but also in contrast to Azerbaijan–"everything is possible" (line 224) and "there is freedom" (line 228). And there is another communality: like Navid, Emil, too, emphasizes the importance of generation in addition to nation. At the same time he makes his parents out as representatives of a social order whose norms have "Azerbaijani' parents take great care of their children but deny them freedom" (line 475). In conclusion, both Navid and Emil are influenced by similar "discursive strategies" (Hall 1999a, p. 418) but with different effects on their identity-political positionings.

Identity-Political Positionings

For Hall, questions of identity positioning always have political connotations as he considers them in an engagement with the 'post-colonial world' and thus in the context of issues of powerful subordination. Behind Hall's demand to understand identities analytically in their radical historicity lie the attempt to trace the political conditions and thus the limits of the positioning of the subject. This will now be attempted in reference to Navid and Emil's interpretations.

Navid's Identity-Political Positioning

Given how he reconstructs his stories in the interview one can say that Navid clearly distinguishes between life in America and life in Azerbaijan ("just different", line 574). He does not evaluate these reconstructed differences, even rejects evaluation in arguments with his Azerbaijani friends and locates his experiences in a particular period of his life ("Kind of different lifetime", line 565). For him, to be back in Baku means to resume the 'old' life ("after I came back, […] I started to live my life again"). Navid sees his experiences as positive throughout, in terms of both his professional and private development, but does not want to examine his experiences for their impact on his identity positioning: he rejects any integration or consideration (in the sense of Hall's metaphor of "hybridisations",[13] see Hall 1990, p. 235)

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clearly retained an inspirational value for young people in today's Azerbaijan; on the eighteenth anniversary of its creation in 2008, young Azerbaijanis gathered in groups in Baku, Los Angeles London, and New York, posing for pictures in front of well-known monuments wearing brightly coloured T-shirts emblazoned with the letters ADR" (ibd.).

[13] "In terms of culture, hybridity […] means a new or emerging cultural formation that integrates elements of other cultural formations. Against these, hybridity asserts a certain independence" (Supik 2005, p. 57).

of socio-cultural ways that he himself holds to be different. Following Hall one can further examine to what extent Navid's positioning as "young Azerbaijani" and representative of a younger generation may be a post-colonial positioning because for Navid the Soviet period operates in the interview as a decisive historical moment (see Hall 1997, p. 232) in relation to which Navid positions himself. For Navid this may be, in Hall's phrasing, a matter of questions like "what we might become, how have we been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (Hall 1996, p. 4) rather than questions of "'who we are'" (Hall 1996, p. 4) or "'where we come from'" (ibd.): In the interview he narrated himself in the American host family as tolerant and open-minded Muslim and as able to adapt to the various circumstances in America ("easy going person") without–as he emphasized–giving up his own difference. Thus, his interpretation of his experiences with educational mobility could be read as an attempt and opportunity of representing (in the sense of exemplifying rather than describing, see Spivak 1988, p. 279) a 'new Azerbaijan'. Therefore, I argue that the interpretation of his experiences and his essentializing of different life worlds, in light of his identity-political positioning, can be understood as "strategic essentialism"[14] (Spivak 1988).

Emil's Identity-Political Positioning

In contrast to Navid, Emil considers definitely relevant the experiences he made through educational migration; he makes them the starting point of a fundamentally new vision of life. In terms of identity politics he strongly identifies with 'the (European) others' and moves away from his former values–for instance in the narrative theme of "traditions" ("I used to think that traditions are the most important thing", line 232)–and toward new values with European connotations such as "freedom" in the sense of "placing more importance on one's own way than on one's traditions" (line 233). For Emil it obviously seems to be desirable to exchange his 'old Azerbaijani identity' for a 'new European identity': from the perspective of identity politics he remains with essentializing constructs of (national) identity, even though he interprets his identity positioning as completely changed. Emil does not accept a positioning as an 'Azerbaijani' who is expected to submit to the normative expectations and entitlements of a specific generational relationship (embodied by his parents); instead he attempts to position himself anew. Hall emphasizes in his understanding of identity that the opportunities for re-positioning are often limited and therefore calls for the need to analyze identities primarily in terms of their radical historicity. Thus we can examine how Emil's opportunities for (re-)positioning may be limited, in particular against the backdrop of a generational order that demands

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[14] Supik (2005, p. 95) defines G. Spivak's notion of "strategic essentialism" as follows: "We could talk about strategic essentialism when a person deliberate rejects self-reflexivity within an essentializing fiction".

the younger generation's obedience to their elders (see also Bühler-Niederberger and Schwittek 2014; Hunner-Kreisel 2013, p. 158; Roberts et al. 2009). In the course of this (re-)positioning identity strategies may be necessary that employ processes of essentializing and 'othering' (see Hall 1990, p. 230): here 'freedom' symbolically becomes that which is 'completely different' and 'abroad' becomes an imaginary location from which to 'speak' (see ibd., p. 237).

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter provided a wide arc from socio-cultural conditions in the Azerbaijani labor market and education sector to the interpretations two young Azerbaijani men offered for their experiences of migrating for education, respectively educational mobility. Stuart Hall's notion of 'identity' was used to reconstruct these interpretations. Considering current social science discourses and theorems about a topic like educational mobility, the question arises of why use Stuart Hall's identity-political approach to understand Emil and Navid's interpretations rather than transnationalization research and its theoretical concepts.[15] To counter this, Hall's notion can be understood as a theoretical complement: within transnationalization research critical voices call for a "more grounded transnationalism" (Brickell and Datta 2011, p. 3) that includes in its theorizing the ways in which actors are situated in context and 'belong', that is, their place within contextualized social (knowledge) orders (Smith 2011, p. 185). For this, the analytical lens of Hall's identity-political positionings is relevant: this lens makes visible the significance of 'the local' and of the identity-relevant negotiations of issues such as belonging, ambivalence or alienation that become relevant when actors return from educational mobility and exemplify their historicity. The chapter applies this lens to two case examples. The first shows how Navid's interpretation of his experiences can be read as an effort to represent a 'new' Azerbaijan in America. To grapple with his experiences 'back home' he uses an essentializing identity-political strategy. I tried to reconstruct this strategy, following Hall, in reference to the societal, historical and political situation of post-colonial and post-Soviet Azerbaijan. In the second example, too, Emil interprets his experiences through essentializing. However, in contrast to Navid, Emil's identity-political strategy can be read as an attempt at positioning himself in a new way by turning away from the context of his origins and the limited space of action Emil sees within the normative expectations of the local, generational order. In conclusion: Stuart Hall's notion of identity and in particular his analytical lens of the identity-political positionings of the decentered subject can be used to complement the approaches used in transnational research on educational mobility (see also Dahinden 2012). Hall's approach makes it possible to think about 'identity pro-

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[15] For example, Supik (2005, p. 68) criticizes that because Hall's concepts and theoretical approaches reference the nation state they lag behind transnationalization research and its goal to work against a methodological nationalism.

cesses' that are relevant for transnational research on educational mobility (Carling and Erdal 2014, p. 9) without falling back on essentializing constructions of identity (see also Anthias 2008).

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