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## **Keeping doors open: transnational families and curricular nationalism.**

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### **Abstract**

This paper reviews sociological literature to explore the challenge transnational populations pose for nation-based curriculum, and vice versa. With increasing access to dual citizenship and temporary migration, more people are living transnational lifestyles. This poses new challenges in raising the transnational child.

Transnationalism has emerged 'bottom-up' from individualised choices and circumstances rather than 'top-down' through institutional strategy. As a result, education sectors are yet to respond with a reoriented curriculum that can accommodate polycentric lives. This paper adapts Beck's critique of methodological nationalism and proposes a parallel concept in the curricular nationalism underpinning much official curriculum. It then reviews literature reporting on three curricular experiments that seek to cultivate citizenships above and beyond the nation. While such transcendent designs on citizenship unsettle curricular nationalism, they fail to address the specificities of transnational child's memberships both here and there. The pedagogic principle of 'connectedness' is retooled as a pragmatic way forward.

**Keywords:** transnationalism, curriculum, mobility, nation, citizenship

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## Introduction

more and more people are living in two or more national spaces. .. for them there is more, not less - more and new spaces of experience, more languages, more traditions, uncertainties and clashes of culture in one's biography, leading, in turn to the reworking, retelling and revision of identity and vision, both of the past and the future ... in order to understand these more fluid life-forms, these *transnational realities*, we have to overcome methodological nationalism. (Beck, 2004, p. 144)

... practices of mobility are shaped by the material reality of the national order of things and that the national order of things also lends meaning to mobility in collective and individual narratives. At the same time, the experiences of mobility – and the associated emplacement and displacement – exceed their co-optation by national(ist) common sense. (Dzenovska, 2013, p, 205)

As Beck indicates in the first quote, people are increasingly on the move in search of better life opportunities, be they students, migrants, temporary residents, or contracted workers, and this empirical trend demands fresh thinking above and beyond the scale of the nation. In the second quote, Dzenovska argues that conceptually, the nation must still be a necessary part of such thinking, but is no longer sufficient in itself. The array of citizenships, residence categories and visa conditions offered by a growing number of nations (Howard, 2005) enable people to move more readily across national borders, and reside elsewhere temporarily. Such mobility often involves young families. The last decade has also witnessed an alarming growth in the numbers of displaced refugees and asylum seekers (UNHCR (The UN Refugee Agency), 2016). Again, many travel with children or as unaccompanied children themselves, seeking viable lives elsewhere by illegal means if necessary, and with 'dizzying possibility and terrifying risks' (Elliott & Urry, 2010, p. ix). This paper considers how the child's experience of transnational mobility will be mediated by the institution of schooling and its historical logic of curricular nationalism, then how this could be otherwise.

Different groups move under tailored 'regimes of mobility' (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013), which accord them different rights, impose different conditions, and offer different receptions. Regardless of the circumstances, population movements weave a relational link between the particular 'here' and 'there', which ultimately changes the naturalised order of both places, 'undermining endogenous social structures' (Urry, 2000, p. 1). Each place becomes implicated in the other's unfolding stories, and 'the throwntogetherness of place demands negotiation' (Massey, 2005, p. 141). This paper is interested in how local schools might incorporate and accommodate the transnationally mobile child in the narratives valorised in school curriculum.

Population movements often meet with opposition. Recent decades have witnessed a resurgence of reactive nationalist sentiments and 'wilful, politically motivated nostalgia'

(Robertson, 1992, p. 148) that is suspicious of the divided loyalties of dual citizens. Escalating flows of refugees are testing the limits of humanitarian compassion and cultural inclusivity in wealthy host nations, fuelling populist, xenophobic movements. Anxieties around this 'new set of political and social uncertainties' (Inglis, 2007, p. 186) mobilise less liberal ideas about the exclusive nature of citizenship and reanimate traditional notions of national sovereignty. These counterforces can make dual citizenship or multiple membership more controversial. How is such unresolved and catalytic entanglement reflected, mitigated or countered in the school curriculum?

Education systems have typically been designed to reflect and reproduce national culture (Alexander, 2001). As a result they have been slow to address the different educational demands of temporary migration and transnational life worlds. Migration scholars argue that education systems 'need to respond with new ways of conceptualizing citizenship and belonging' (Castles, 2009, p. 59) to better accommodate polycentric lives. This paper reflects on the challenge transnational populations pose for typically nation-based curricula, and vice versa, the challenge that nation-based curriculum poses for transnational populations. In essence, the argument is that the historical default of 'curricular nationalism' becomes an unsustainable and inadequate institutional response given the growing transnational population passing through schools, and that an explicit and generative pedagogical principle of 'connectedness' could dignify children's various lifeworlds in their schooling. With this kind of conscious effort all students might recognise themselves in the worldview constructed and legitimated in official curricular knowledge.

The paper proceeds in five steps. In the first section I scan international literature to build a picture of transnationalism as a growing but elusive empirical phenomenon that has precipitated a paradigmatic shift in migration studies. The second section considers accounts of the extra work involved in raising a transnational child (as captured in Beck's 'more', and Dzenovska's 'exceed' in the opening quotes). In the third section I highlight the challenge that the empirical swell in transnational lifestyles poses to 'methodological nationalism'. I then apply a parallel critique to the nationalist framing of much official school curriculum. In the fourth section I briefly explore three curricular experiments that seek to foster forms of citizenship that transcend the nation: the Australian Curriculum's cross-curricular priorities in Asia literacy; efforts towards 'Europeanization' of curricula in EU member states; and the International Baccalaureate's signature claim of fostering 'international-mindedness'. My conclusion reflects on how such up-scaled versions of citizenship might unsettle curricular nationalism to some degree, yet fail to address the transnational child's multiple and particular memberships here and there. I adapt the pedagogical principle of connectedness as a pragmatic and purposeful feature of classroom practice that could intentionally dignify, represent and accommodate more transnational populations.

### **Transnationalism as an empirical phenomenon**

The adjective 'transnational' is gaining popularity where 'international' then 'global' had served in the past. I argue that it is important to retain its distinctive meaning of not just moving between, but also being locally embedded and simultaneously belonging in more than one society. Under this definition, transnationalism offers 'a strategy of survival and betterment' (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013, p. 7), through 'a process by which migrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement' (p.8).

There has been attention paid to the relative advantage of some transnational groups. For example, Ong (1999) coined the term 'flexible citizenship' to describe the tactics of elite Chinese business families in their multiple-passport lifestyles. Sklair (2001) documented the transnational capitalist class, and their dominance in the sphere of global corporate business. Analysis of Canadian data (Bloemraad, 2004) similarly suggested that those with 'higher human capital' (p. 389) are more likely to pursue formal dual citizenship. Nevertheless, transnational lifestyles, strategy and aspirations are by no means restricted to wealthy cosmopolitans. Mau's (2010) concept of 'transnationalism from below' highlights the everyday nature of cross-border interactions and behaviours which, in their cumulative effect, produce the social phenomenon of transnationalism. Mau (2010) explains transnationalism through broader social theory of individualization, highlighting the growing capacity of, or need for, individuals to improvise biographies whereby 'border-crossing becomes a part of the individual's repertoire' (p. 24).

I now find myself a transnational 'border artiste' (Beck, 2007, pp. 696-697), having recently relocated from Australia to the UK on a long term working visa. I wake to two news bulletins, one 'here' and one 'there', both essential, neither sufficient in itself. I live mindfully in two time zones, knowing when my family 'there' are awake. I am registered to vote twice, still 'there' but also 'here'. I hold bank accounts in different currencies and maintain two homes. There will be much going back and forth. I live in a state of ongoing calculation of opportunity for my own biography. There is considerable stress involved in coming and going (Dzenovska, 2013), and dealing with the bureaucratic demands of 'flexible citizenship' (Ong, 1999). However, I am acutely aware that as a white, educated Anglophone, well insulated from risk, I have the privilege of 'spatial autonomy' (Weiss, 2005, p. 714) that many are denied.

Others live much more precarious transnational lives, 'slipping under the border, using the border, setting the border, bridging the border etc.' (Beck, 2007, p. 696). These less privileged border artistes move and reside while exposed to the contingencies of official prevarication over who qualifies for entry, unofficial racism, and more insidious forms of social exclusion. Alongside accounts of the brewing constitutional crisis surrounding dual citizenship entitlements of elected members in Australia, the media regularly report on the criminal underpayment of temporary workers held to ransom by their visa conditions (Williams, 2017), and members of government cruelly pillory 'economic refugees' escaping the Syrian war for 'seeking economic advantage' (Doherty, B., 2017). This motive equally

describes my biographical strategy, but where I travel on my own terms, these others travel with much higher stakes under much harsher terms.

Many national jurisdictions have made legislative adjustments to increase access to dual citizenships (Schachter, 2015; Hansen & Weil, 2002; Howard, 2005) or enable temporary migration (Castles, 2000). As an example, in 2002 Australia eased regulations to allow 'born and bred' Australian citizens to acquire another citizenship. The growing tolerance of dual citizenship allows access to legal status, rights and entitlements through pathways of naturalisation, international marriage/partnering, ancestry, or birth to a citizen parent (Schachter, 2015). Ong (2006) describes further 'mutations of citizenship' (p.499) in the differentiated entitlements offered by the neoliberal state to attract human capital as knowledge worker or cheap domestic labour.

While there is widespread consensus that more people are living transnational lives, there is a dearth of comprehensive statistics monitoring the phenomenon. The capacity for a citizen of one country to enter the next as a citizen there as well is troubling any measurement of migration more generally. Schachter speculates that 'one would expect to find more dual nationals in large immigration receiving countries' (p. 47). In Australia, Millbank (2000, p. 8) accordingly estimated that 'up to a quarter of the population were dual citizens, or entitled to take out dual citizenship'. In this way, transnationalism constitutes a growing and significant empirical phenomenon. Though difficult to quantify, it has significant potential to reconfigure social scripts on how lives might be lived.

As a result of these new entanglements, 'the greatest change in immigration patterns ... in the last decade or so is the change in emphasis from permanent to temporary migration' (Phillips & Klapdor, 2010, p. 11). Migration studies have accordingly undergone a paradigm shift to foreground transnationalism (Vertovec, 2001). This lens 'takes the multi-sitedness of migrants seriously' (Faist et al., 2013, p. 1) and orients to processes of 'transnationalization' (p.10). Migration studies typically focus on the adult worker at the heart of this trend, but the mobility of those individuals equally implicates their families.

### **Raising the transnational child**

Orellana et al. (2001, p. 588) argue that children constitute an 'important reason why families move across national borders and sustain transnational ties' and that orthodox developmental approaches to childhood fail to understand its social construction(s) according to circumstances, ideologies and aspirations. More fluid conditions such as the easing of restrictions on dual citizenship encourage families to imagine more agile transnational futures for their children. To enable such options, transnationalism demands extra work in raising the transnational child to belong both here and there, to develop multiple loyalties, and to infuse different cultural heritages (Levitt, 2009). In early work on globalization, Appadurai (1996, p.5) flagged the additional 'quotidian' work of the imagination required from ordinary families, and the additional work in 'striving to reproduce the family-as-microcosm of culture' (p.45). These authors, in their own

vocabularies, are describing Beck's 'more'. Raising the transnational child demands more than integration into the host nation.

Most obviously, transnationalism demands attention to how social spaces are textured by languages (Blommaert, 2013). Proficiency in relevant community languages and/or the dominant lingua franca becomes the definitive resource underpinning transnational lifestyles (Warriner, 2017). If a language is not inherited as a mother tongue through immersion in its everyday use, proficiency involves substantial and conscious educational effort. For this reason, families often pursue educational strategies beyond regular schooling to promote multilingual proficiency for children. At one extreme, wealthy parents may place their children overseas to pursue schooling in English (Carlson et al. 2017; Huang & Yeoh, 2005). At the other extreme, low-skilled migrants with limited resources may enroll their children in community-based after-hours 'ethnic schools' to achieve literacy in their heritage language. I would argue that these extremes are at heart the same family strategy to equip the child with mobile linguistic resources (Blommaert, 2010) for transnational futures.

For Vertovec (2009, p. 64) the complexity in raising the transnational child is more than the sum of its parts: 'When socialization and family life take place across two or more settings ... ever more complex processes and components arise in building the personal repertoires of habitus'. By habitus, Vertovec is alluding to the deep socialisation into particular dispositions and internalised habits for being and acting (Bourdieu, 1977). Where such dispositions are typically produced through immersive socialisation over time, Vertovec's point is that the double life of the transnational complicates these processes. In the same vein, Pries (2004, p. 17) describes the 'ambiguous strategy of simultaneously striving for inclusion while maintaining differences' behind 'pluri-local', 'de-centred' or 'polycentric' belonging. In the effort to keep doors open both here and there, transnational childhoods reveal a more complex nexus of moral forces and 'asymmetries' (Carling, 2008). While these families work to cultivate 'double grounding' (Guarnizo & Smith, 1998, p. 10), schooling can either help or hinder in this process.

### **The methodological nationalism of school curriculum**

Beck (2007) coined the term 'methodological nationalism' to capture his critique of social science's habit of mind that would limit explanations of social inequalities to just those processes that occur within the confines of the nation-state. Beck argued that such bordered or 'nation-as-a-container' defaults are now redundant and inadequate given how contemporary social inequality is increasingly produced under transnational conditions and contingencies. Beck further argues that all settled categories, concepts and frames of reference in past sociology have become problematic, and need to be revisited.

The critique of methodological nationalism could equally apply to much schooling. I suggest that a parallel concept of 'curricular nationalism' helps to highlight the habitual and unquestioned national framing that constrains how schooling might be conceived and

conducted. A heuristic conflation of nation, language, and culture serves as the default logic underpinning the vast majority of schooling systems and curricula. This is understandable given the role that official curriculum has played in imparting and reproducing the 'mythscape' (Bell, 2003) of national narratives and national identities during the nation-building work of the twentieth century (Yates & Grumet, 2011).

Under the curricular nationalism of the twentieth century, both official and hidden school curricula cultivated a common national identity. In terms of the official curriculum, Anderson's (2006) historical analysis of the nation as an imagined political community argued that the spread of mass schooling fostering literacy and national literatures in the official print-language created 'official nationalisms' (p. 93) that papered over diversity. In terms of the hidden curriculum, Billig's (1995) concept of 'banal nationalism' described the everyday privileging of the nation in schools' unremarkable daily routines, symbols and assumptions: 'a dialectic of collective remembering and forgetting, and of imagination and unimaginative repetition ... as school pupils daily pledge their allegiance to the national flag' (p. 10). Billig argued that the limp flag in the background achieved subtle 'enhabiting' (p. 69) that naturalised and engrained the commonsensical homogeneity of the modernist nation. Apple similarly highlighted the 'compulsory patriotism' (2004, p. 168) woven into US school curriculum. More generally, Popkewitz (2000) drew attention to how curricular reforms within the nation seek to fabricate the citizen and 'nation-ness' (p.8). He highlighted the creation of new memories and forgetting practices as curricula make and remake national imaginaries over time.

The work of the school curriculum to instil the national imaginary becomes more obvious in literature reporting moments of national re-imagining, or border re-alignment. For example, Coulby (2000) reviewed curricular change in the wake of political transitions in Europe following the fall of the Berlin Wall. His analysis of history, second language and arts curricula revealed the protocols behind 'state-controlled knowledge' in regard to their reconstruction of ethnic, linguistic and religious identities, and historic animosities. Mao (2008) similarly traced Taiwan's series of curricular reforms that sought to adjust and reorient the curriculum to produce new versions of nation-hood. Scholarship in post-Soviet countries documents how school curriculum became a major lever for steering social change. For example, Rapoport (2012) traced the urgent revival and military spirit of patriotic histories and de-Russification in newly independent Baltic nations, and Asanova (2007) contrasted the curricular selections in literature textbooks used in Kazakhstan's Soviet and post-Soviet phases.

These accounts exemplify how, under the common logic of curricular nationalism, the school curriculum has served the homogeneously imagined nation-state in diverse settings. Each curriculum offers a politically accessible and responsive device to reinforce or adjust the legitimated imaginary as circumstances change. The next section draws on existing literature to explore whether that responsivity might include the capacity to accommodate the polycentricity and 'double-grounding' of transnational childhoods.



## Unsettling curricular nationalism

I now turn to briefly consider three curricular experiments that have sought to loosen the grip of curricular nationalism by invoking and resourcing differently scaled identities in the official curriculum. The cases are: the Australian Curriculum, in particular its cross-curricular priorities; the cultivation of 'Europeanization' in European Union member states' curriculum; and the International Baccalaureate's principle of 'international-mindedness'. The first offers the case of a rare opportunity to design a fresh school curriculum for the twenty-first century. The second offers examples of an ongoing experiment in forging newly scaled identities as 'more' in addition to the national frame of reference. The third is the historical prototype of a curriculum designed to nurture subjectivities and citizenship that exceed the nation.

With careful consultation from 2009 on, Australia has progressively developed and implemented a national curriculum<sup>ii</sup> to replace eight different state and territory curricula. This process sparked much public debate particularly around the history curriculum and its version of the nation's narrative. On one hand, the new Australian Curriculum was thus exposed to the usual political struggles of curricular nationalism in its formulation (Doherty, 2014). On the other hand, the curriculum looks beyond the nation by incorporating three 'cross-curriculum priorities' designed to cultivate differently oriented identities: one to recognise and celebrate Indigenous knowledges; one to cultivate Australia's engagement with Asia; and a third to orient to sustainability<sup>iii</sup>. These cross-curricular priorities legitimate and resource differently scaled identities – the member of the Indigenous community within the nation, the member of a larger Asian region, and the globally conscious citizen – in addition to membership of the nation (Doherty, in press).

By design, the learning attached to these priorities is expected to happen within other curricular strands, treated as and where relevant in those fields. There is no formal assessment attached to the cross-curriculum priorities as such. This low definition status indicates that these 'priorities' are aspirational, invoked more as good ideas to augment the usual disciplinary curriculum where possible. To add to its marginalisation, the rationale for the 'Asian literacy' priority has attracted critique in terms of its rather narrow, instrumental framing and poor teacher preparation (Halse et al., 2013). This minimal investment contrasts with earlier, much better resourced attempts by previous Federal governments to establish and resource the teaching of Asian languages in state curricula (Henderson, 2015).

Despite their rather faint presence in the curriculum, these priorities have attracted ongoing criticism from conservatives and been accused of ideological bias undermining national identity (for example, Berg, 2012). A change to a conservative federal government immediately prompted a review of the curriculum (Donnelly & Wiltshire, 2014), following which the remit of the cross-curricular priorities and their weak claim to curricular time were further reduced. The nation, the celebratory narrative of its British heritage and the logic of curricular nationalism were restored to centre stage, and any aspects oriented to post- or trans-national citizenships were reduced and further diluted.

In sum, Australia had the opportunity to re-think curriculum for the more entangled conditions and multiple memberships of the new century. Instead, this curricular experiment has served to demonstrate the resilience and political power of curricular nationalism. The design for 'more' was contentious even though the range of memberships could be conceived as nesting (Indigenous minority, within the national, within the regional, within the global) without displacing or blurring boundaries, and in the nation's economic interests. There has been no attempt to create curricular space to address the particularities of students' dual citizenships, except in rarefied elite settings. There is a small, scattered sector of high fee international schools such as the International French School of Sydney<sup>iv</sup> which perhaps meet the needs of wealthy transnational families. Such an option is not readily available to the growing proportion of Australians who live transnational lives.

In Europe, there have been curricular experiments in fostering 'Europeanization' while protecting the rights of the constituent nations and their cultural diversity. The literature gives mixed reports on how successful these efforts have been. Haus (2009) compared the different degrees of Europeanization evident in the French and the pre-Brexit English national curricula, the former being more amenable to the idea, the latter more reluctant. By this account, French children were introduced to the idea of their place in an interconnected Europe and the EU from primary school through the history and geography curricula. In contrast, 'the English national curriculum barely mentions the EU' (p. 922). Etzioni (2013) was more critical of the EU nations' attempts to coordinate education policies, arguing that the policies (like the Australian effort) were more economically driven and did 'little to strengthen European identity or community' (p. 320). Etzioni further argued that a 'foundation of shared moral values and affective bonds' (p. 316) still needed to be built through education to achieve any ethos of community in the EU project ( see also Gillies and Mifsud, 2016). Michaels and Stevick (2009) reviewed civics curricula in Slovakia and Estonia and their construction of new Europeans in post-socialist states, alongside and in tension with the recovery of nationalist identities. They described the 'tensions between renewed exclusive nationalist and inclusive democratic European approaches' (p. 226). By their account these tensions were resolved by reconstructing 'Europe', and editing incongruent events out of national histories.

Together such accounts of curricular efforts to nurture Europeanized identities suggest that adding supra-national membership to augment national citizenship is harder than it might seem, and ultimately uneven in its enactment. The ideal is compromised and reinterpreted through the filter of nations' economic interests and political interests. Each national setting is shown to exert its own terms and conditions on hosting the supra-national identity. Protecting and progressing national interests and national identity through the school curriculum still remains core business. The literature is yet to question how the curriculum might accommodate and address other more particular needs of dual citizens, even though Europe with its freedoms of movement would justify such effort.

As the third case, the International Baccalaureate (IB) suite of programs provides a rare example of curriculum that is not anchored in curricular nationalism. It was established during the 1960s in the UN community hosted in Geneva (Hill, 2002) as a curricular experiment in cultivating internationalist ideals (Tarc, 2009) and has steadily recruited schools over time. There has recently been a marked uptake in the United States despite a nationalist backlash (Bunnell, 2009). The IB's signature claim is its endeavour to foster 'international-mindedness' through attention to multilingualism, global citizenship, and the open-minded intercultural stance of the cosmopolitan. Its current charter highlights the complex changes and challenges of contemporary times:

Sharp distinctions between the "local", "national" and "global" are blurring in the face of emerging institutions and technologies that transcend modern nation states. New challenges that are not defined by traditional boundaries call for students to develop the agility and imagination they need for living productively in a complex world. (International Baccalaureate Organization, 2015, p. 6)

This stance aligns with Beck's critique of methodological nationalism in principle. How it is interpreted and enacted in practice is another matter. Tarc's (2009) history of IB programs concluded that this vision is typically 'short-circuited' (p. 3) with contradictions emerging between the consumption of the IB, and its declared values. Like the Australian cross-curriculum priorities, international-mindedness is intended to be infused and carried through other curricular content while not formally assessed in itself. As a global curriculum now offered in approximately 6000 programs across the continents (International Baccalaureate Organization, 2016), the IB programs ultimately rely on locally embedded schools and systems to host them, thus they are inevitably glocalised in their enactment (Doherty, 2013). In practice this means that any curricular enactment of international-mindedness will be filtered through the variable resources and diverse interpretations of the teachers (Doherty & Li, 2011), with unpredictable or diluted impact (Hayden & Wong, 1997; Hinrichs, 2003). A recent study by Sriprakash, Singh and Jing (2014) involving interviews with parents, teachers and students plus classroom observations in a sample of IB schools in China, Australia and India, reported uneven, diverse and critical readings of what counted as 'international-mindedness' across the different settings. The authors concluded that 'IB schools are sites of contestation where the conceptualisation and implementation of international mindedness is mediated through national and school contexts' (p. 78).

The global citizenship imagined and projected by the International Baccalaureate offers a sustained experiment in unsettling and de-centring curricular nationalism. The empirical literature to date however suggests that in practice, curricular nationalism still permeates and dominates practice. Even if international-mindedness were successfully transmitted as designed, a transcendent, cosmopolitan subjectivity open to difference is not the same thing as the double-grounded-ness of the transnational.

The three curricular experiments profiled above, and their parallels elsewhere, have attempted to complicate the cultural politics informing curriculum. Their projects contribute to the work of 'configuring and reconfiguring of curriculum today, and the issues of nation and global context, of political change, of new identity and cognitive demands this world has now generated' (Yates & Grumet, 2011, p. 7). However, such reconfigurations do not address the transnational child's multiple memberships in terms of the specificities and potential dissonances in belonging simultaneously both here and there. If we insist on careful definitions, being global, or member of some supra-national region is not the same as being transnational. In this way the emergence of transnational life worlds challenges the established commonsense of mutually exclusive nation-states built into much curricular design. Curricular nationalism similarly poses a challenge for the transnational family who therein will not find the 'more' they need to raise the transnational child.

### **A pragmatic way forward**

This paper has argued that the growing proportion of people living transnational lives, and the potential for more people to do so, pose a challenge for many education systems in terms of troubling their default logic of curricular nationalism. While transnationalism as an empirical phenomenon has shifted the paradigm in migration studies, education systems are yet to come to terms with the 'double-grounding' (Guarnizo & Smith, 2008, p. 10) and 'multi-sitedness' (Faist et al., 2013, p.1) of new constituencies, their lived entanglements with far flung places, and the impact of these entanglements on local narratives. The resilience of nostalgic politics, protecting and promoting curricular nationalism, similarly poses a challenge to transnational families, and fails to help them in the additional work involved in raising transnational children. While curricular nationalism may have served the nation-state and its imagined community well in the past, it is no longer an adequate institutional response to new demographic conditions, and 'the national, cultural or linguistic pluralisms that transnational and transcultural children bring to classrooms' (Guo & Maitra, 2017, p. 85).

Moreover, if the politics of curricular nationalism is allowed to reproduce nostalgic versions of the nation in reaction to the presence of transnational populations, thereby erasing the latter's presence and contributions, then the curriculum is wilfully making trouble. A moralised counterargument might construct a zero-sum equation, to argue that the transnational citizen contributes less, and therefore such accommodation would unfairly detract from the claim and needs of more deserving locally embedded citizens. Such critique of 'travelling light' (Baumann, 2000, p. 13) has emerged in studies of mobile elites (Elliott & Urry, 2010). Calhoun (2002) similarly warns against the 'thin identities' (p.148) and opportunistic solidarities of the mobile cosmopolitan. Regardless of how we might judge the biographic strategies of some, it would be wrong to subsume all transnationals under this description. It would also be wrong to allow the slippage that would apply such a judgemental lens to the transnational child, and deny them the right to an education in which they can recognise and affirm their lifeworlds.

The paper reviewed three contemporary curricular experiments that have sought to add more dimensions to curricular citizenships. The research literature around these experiments pointed to the resilience of curricular nationalism as the ruling filter, and the failure of more generic, transcendent citizenships to address the grounded particularities of how transnationals' belong both 'here' and 'there'.

For both transnationally mobile and locally anchored children, much of life happens through the social institutions of school and family<sup>v</sup>. School becomes a crucial site of intersection and encounter between nationally bound populations and transnational populations, and constitutes a large part of the local social fabric that the transnational child will experience. However the diversity of transnational entanglements can make curricular responses to the many particularities difficult if not impossible: the devil is in the detail, so to speak. How might curriculum be re-imagined to accommodate, legitimate and support the particular polycentrism of transnational childhoods? How might education systems begin to imagine and construct a post-national curriculum?

Where others argue for a 'cosmopolitan curriculum' (Rizvi & Beech, 2017), or a 'critical transnational curriculum' (Bajaj & Bartlett, 2017), I propose that official curriculum and its enactment harness the less ambitious, but perhaps more powerful, pedagogic principle of 'connectedness' as an immediate and pragmatic way forward. In their research program around pedagogic quality and school reform, Newmann and Associates (1996) explicated a principle of 'connectedness' to argue that learning should have value beyond merely satisfying the arbitrary requirements of school achievement. Rather, knowledge 'of interest to the students, peers and the public at large' (Newmann & Archbald, 1992, p. 76) should be produced through 'substantive conversation' to achieve 'authentic outcomes'.

This research was further elaborated in the Queensland School Reform Longitudinal Study (School of Education University of Queensland, 2001) which identified another underlying dimension to productive pedagogies in 'the recognition of difference' (1.7.3). Under their definition, this dimension attends to 'cultural knowledges', 'representative participation', 'narrative', 'group identity' and 'citizenship'. The evaluation of pedagogic practice across approximately 2000 classrooms sampled between 1998 and 2000 in Queensland identified relatively low levels of 'connectedness' and 'recognition of difference'. In other words, these powerful, and productive potentials are underutilized in everyday pedagogic practice. Further work by Gore and colleagues (for example, Bowe & Gore, 2017) have developed these foci as important aspects of high quality pedagogy. Under the broad dimension of 'significance', these authors include 'background knowledge', 'cultural knowledge', 'knowledge integration', 'inclusivity', 'connectedness' and 'narrative' (p.7). By embedding these criteria in a rigorously tested process for teachers' professional development, the work of this team suggest that connectedness and the associated elements are pedagogic variables that could be consciously explored and exploited.

This cumulative research provides the conceptual tools to think about how school knowledge might pragmatically reach out and connect to student's diverse lifeworlds in

everyday classroom practice. Pursuing this pedagogic principle as a regular feature of classroom life would also connect the different lifeworlds of all students sharing the local class. It could expose and celebrate both sameness and difference in children's lifeworlds. It suggests a routine or iterative process of thoughtful, substantive enquiry and dialogue that could habitually test and purposefully breach the limits of curricular nationalism in the face of growing student diversity. In the polycentric classroom, the presence of transnationals is of local relevance and value – 'they' and 'their' experiences belong and contribute to the local 'us'; 'their' multiple memberships augment and connect all of 'us' to settings beyond the nation, and these families contribute to the 'throwntogetherness' of the contemporary social fabric 'here' as well as 'there'. As a pedagogic routine, connectedness dialogues could normalise the mobility of some, and enrich the learning of all. This might sound idealistic and aspirational, but no more so than the cross-curricular priorities of Australia, the Europeanization project, and the international-mindedness of the International Baccalaureate.

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<sup>i</sup> This is displayed in the current parliamentary crisis in Australia as more members of parliament discover their entitlement to dual citizenship, which constitutionally disqualifies them from public office.

<sup>ii</sup> Curriculum documents are available at <http://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/>

<sup>iii</sup> See <https://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/f-10-curriculum/cross-curriculum-priorities/>

<sup>iv</sup> See <http://www.condorcet.com.au/>

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<sup>v</sup> This was evidenced in the reports and images of children gathering at the makeshift school, when the Calais refugee camp known as the Jungle was dismantled on 28 October, 2016 (see <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/09/26/europe/calais-camp-dismantled-hollande>).