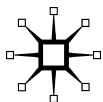


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CHILDHOOD AND NATION

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## CHAPTER 1

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## Introduction: Childhood and Nation

*Zsuzsa Millei and Robert Imre*

At the various intersections of academic disciplines, a rich body of work has been produced about the manifold ways that the notions of childhood and nation interweave. Nation and childhood provide frames of reference for societies, subject formation, actions, and particular morals and ethics. Representations, ideals, and futures associated with nation and childhood intensively shape the everyday realities of people. This fertile theme earned its first concerted exploration with Sharon Stephen's book titled *Children and the Politics of Culture*, published in 1995, and the special issue she edited in the journal of *Childhood* (1997) that examined the relationship between conceptualizations of childhood and projects of nation. Stephen's project was one of the first that theorized childhood as cultural and political constructions and focused on the dynamisms between these two modern inventions: childhood and nation. Her book published 20 years ago provided the initial inspiration for this project.

This book offers multiple entry points to investigate the historical entanglements of nation and childhood in their continuous co-construction and representations, and in the lives of those who make up their associated social categories. Each construct is part hope and part history, is about what we choose to remember or forget, and "as an idea, as a social boundary, or as a social institution—[it] is constantly in flux, requiring continual tending and care" (Shanahan 2007, 418). Another specific aspect of this book is that it delivers multidisciplinary engagements with the use of various methodologies that range from literary studies to postcolonial ethnographies, and from childhood studies to critical pedagogy. The chapter selection brings together an international group of scholars from 10 countries

to address many pressing questions of today through their studies in 20 different countries: How do national agendas related to economic, social, and political problems exploit children and tighten their regulation? How do representations of nations take advantage of ideals of childhood? Why do nations look to children and search for those characteristics of childhood that help them solve environmental and humanitarian issues? In a transnational world, why are children still considered, socialized, and learn to become national citizens foremost? In what ways are national belonging and exclusions related to racial and gendered notions of national ideals?

The broad aim of the book is to engage with these questions and to provide insightful analyses about our complex social reality marked out by the intersections of childhood and nation. It is hoped that the collected studies provide new perspectives and generate astute understandings that challenge taken-for-granted views, routine actions, and rusty imaginations and point to those newly emerging subjectivities and generative sites for actions “that should not be isolated within a narrowly defined field of ‘child research’” (Stephens 1995, 21).

## NATION AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE PROJECT OF “CHILDHOOD AND NATION”

Over the years, the editors have had many discussions with colleagues from a large variety of academic disciplines as well as practitioners in a number of different fields including education and public policy. One major point that continued to be raised was that people around the world were always somehow socialized into a national identity. Effectively, one cannot not be a citizen of a contemporary nation-state, and still have some form of legitimate identity. To be stateless is to be without political power of any kind. For us, this implied that there was prime fodder for a critical examination of what this might mean and what we might be able to do with such an analysis. One way to “start from the beginning” is to examine how the idea of the nation interacts with a lived experience of nationhood, how childhood interacts with the idea of the child and experiences of children, and how these various ideas and experiences interweave each other. In putting together this book, we see the importance of questioning a fundamental assumption: that the “nation” is a cornerstone of the lived experiences of children. It is also important to note that this book is not about nationalism per se, and if people seek to pursue this aspect further, a number of key works are cited in the bibliography to point them in the direction of nationalism studies. Here we are

concerned with a very particular aspect of critical childhood studies, that of the nation-state, ideas of nation and their interactions with childhood, and the lived experiences of children.

If we take for granted the idea that nationalism is an instrumental force, designed to deliver cohesiveness of identity, while still embedding diversity, then we are left with a number of problems about children and childhood. The “ethnic”/“civic” divide, and/or the primordialist versus modern debate in nationalism studies (Armstrong 1982; Breuilly 1996), has been surpassed and superseded by other, more nuanced, debates around power and belonging in a national context. While these debates occur in nationalism studies, even progressive social sciences and humanities are often bound by national discourses and frames of some kind.

On one hand, this is an understandable problem, since the bureaucratic arms of states control our physical movements and dictate policies of all kinds, including the types of foods we eat, what our children must read in schools, and how we can access various forms of media electronically. Such a frame is an inescapable part of the daily lives and activities of people around the world. Policies of governments and political parties establish the rules governing what we can and cannot do universally. As such, being critical of the interaction between the lived realities of childhood and the modern nation-state, we have not “chosen sides” among the numerous dichotomous analyses that present themselves in the social science literature about nationalism: cosmopolitanism versus patriotism, ethnic ties versus civic ties, primordialism versus modernism, nationalism versus universalism, and so on (Connor 1993; Brubaker 1996, 2012). Our purpose here was to gather those analyses that could present a series of views on what nationalist discourse could mean for critical childhood studies.

On the other hand, it is also important to acknowledge the importance of the nation-state as the prime organizing political and social force in the industrial age (Gans 2003). Debates about the role of the state, and the importance of nationalism itself in the breakup of various empires and dynastic political rule, are also about modernizing and delivering materially better lives for citizens (Smith 1986). As such, this book is situated in the midst of these debates and the various analyses in the chapters are a way to further the analyses that began in previous decades.

This can then bring us to questions of legitimacy of national discourses, levels of inclusiveness for children in society and how responses to these national discourses can and do occur, and how debates about “inter-” or “multiculturalism” and different forms of

pluralism take shape. The authors of this book have addressed portions of the debate about childhood and nation.

## THE BIRTH OF NATION AND CHILDHOOD

With the consolidation of modern nation-states and a modern form of nationalism during the nineteenth century, a concomitant modern conception of “the child” and “childhood” emerged associated with notions of freedom from work and duty to learn (Thernborn 1996; Hendrick 1997). The newly formed “social sciences,” such as sociology, also delivered conceptualizations of the nation as a living organism “whose physical and mental health was linked to that of the children, who themselves in a state of flux, were its most crucial components” (Kociumbas 1997, 131). The scientific focus on the national organism’s “inefficiencies” increased concerns regarding children worldwide. The developing nation-states, extension of suffrage to all males and then to females, the universal applicability of law, and the creation of a citizenry that can bear political responsibilities required a population prepared for rights and responsibilities. The founding of the secular government school system and enlisting mothers for the moralization of children had major relevance in this environment since it provided a platform for the formation of future citizenry from children (Hunter 1994). Nikolas Rose (1989) further elaborates:

The educational apparatus would be the means of inculcating the aspirations of citizenship in children—the will, as well as the means, to organise their lives within a project of self-betterment through diligence, application and commitment to work, family and society. (187–188)

These discourses constituted “the child” in relation to citizenship, as a key to national efficiency and facilitated an increased focus on developing the institutional grounds and scientific knowledge for children’s education, welfare, and health during these decades. Scientific disciplines underpinned by Enlightenment notions of progress and reason, such as medicine, biology, child study and emerging developmental psychology, psychoanalysis, and educational sciences, all contributed to meanings of “the child” and the management of childhood to help national progress (Rose 1989; Steedman 1995; Bloch and Popkewitz 2000; Burman 2008, 2013).

By these sciences the prototypical “child” subject from a “Minority World” perspective was depicted as having an interiority filled with

an “essence” of who he or she is (national or otherwise) and who progresses through “advancements.” This notion made the development of children parallel with the development of nations (Burman 2008) as less or more advanced or less or more “primitive” (see also Hopkins in this book). Various problems about how to regulate citizens were also made parallel with how to raise the next generation of citizens (Meredyth and Tyler 1993; Millei 2008). The resulting imaginaries—childhood and nation intertwined—produced normative notions, relations, and images that underlie expectations about the present and future of nations, and characteristics, actions, and ethics for its citizens. Being taken for granted and existing deeply seated, the intertwined ideas of childhood and nation are hard to unravel and critique (see exemptions in postcolonial works of Castañeda 2002; Cannella and Viruru 2004; Burman 2008; Hopkins this volume).

More specifically, particular notions of childhood help in reproducing certain views about nations, for example, that they are democratic. In the Danish and Norwegian contexts, Anne Trine Kjørholt (2007) studied children’s participatory projects and concluded that by facilitating such projects these nations helped to reinforce a view about themselves as democratic by enabling children’s civic participation. In another example, Christopher Drew (2011) examined the discursive constitution of Australian childhoods in Qantas advertising. Drew (2011, 321) explored notions of “freedom,” “race,” “youth,” and “adventure” that typify and (re)affirm “the public consciousness towards Australian childhood identity”; childhood in these advertisements also perform the nation and homeland and re/produce a kind of Australian national identity.

As part of this project on “Childhood and Nation,” Affrica Taylor (2014) explored how discourses and symbols of the young Australian nation were strongly intertwined with images of children and childhood. Taylor (2014) in her analysis of an iconic Australian children’s book, *Dot and the Kangaroo*, examined the ways in which settler children and kangaroos were enlisted into the cultural politics of colonialist nation-building to trouble notions of the Indigenous population as “backward” or “primitive.” “Child as nation” is also at the center of Lucy Hopkins’s chapter in this book. By examining the simultaneous growth and deliberate conflation of concepts of “the child” and the “nation” in Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*, Hopkins highlights how Rushdie troubles and rewrites not only colonialist views of societies as “primitive” or “childish” but also manages to problematize the dominant views of childhood that informs this thinking.



In another chapter in this book, Miaowei Weng, through her analysis of children's narratives in the novel and film *The South*, outlines memories of nation that the generations of Franco's children recall. These memories not only create historical perspectives of the nation but also emotionally charge the democratic elements of current imaginaries. These explorations and critiques continue the agenda Sharon Stephens proposed in her special issue in the *Childhood* journal in 1997, to consider the place of "the child" and "childhood" in the national imaginary.

Mikko Joronen takes the treatment of children under occupied territories as his case to help characterize and test the limits of historical and current forms of government. Joronen's analysis of the regulation, control, and abuse of children and childhood in contemporary Palestine outlines certain attributes and statuses of children and soldiers representing the governmental apparatus at work. Joronen provides a sobering insight into how ingrained institutional racism and violence lead to denying children's status as children and open various and legitimated ways to ill-treat children. His case study not only takes the parallel between the regulation of the child and adult citizen to new, extreme levels but also questions the very nature of society that is taking shape in front of the international community's eyes.

In their relationality, childhood and nation lend and borrow meanings from one another as they dynamically co-construct each other. In this complex relationship some aspects of childhood and endowments of children are highlighted and at the same time occluded. In a similar manner some imaginaries of nation are strengthened and some are forgotten when used in relation to childhood. Trish Lunt, in this book, analyses the ways in which selected books on asylum seekers position children readers as the originators of a more humanitarian approach. She helps us question what aspects of the human that is still present in childhood a hostile Australian national approach misses. Her analysis points to a particular relation between childhood and nation, when adults "look to children to educate us" (Burman 2013, 229). To contrast, Lunt highlights the imaginaries of the "white nation" and its hostile orientations toward the arriving children based on skin color. Erica Burman's (2013) critical appraisal of the standpoint of children as educators helps to think further about "the traces of duplication or replication in . . . transposition[s]" of childhood and nation. It helps to highlight "the suppressions, the clashes, conflicts and indeed contradictions" these constructions hold for each other (Burman 2013, 238).

## NATION, CHILDHOOD, AND THE PRESENT

Stephen's (1997) second agenda in her special issues was to understand the consequences of nationalist discourses and projects for children. Historically, the state's interest in children has always been about a nation's future (Jenks, 1996); however, through these projections children's present is more intensively regulated and managed. For the state, as Harry Hendrick (1997) argues, children represent "investments in future parenthood, economic competitiveness, and a stable democratic order" (46). In debates about the future, childhood stands in the crosscurrent of various competing cultural and political projects that shape children's present realities and experiences (James and James, 2004).

Competing cultural and political projects are formed at the intersections of gender, race, citizenship, culture, religion, and nation, and construct individual subjectivities and projects of nations that cannot be theorized and debated as separate phenomena. The closest entanglement of gender and nation is the question of women's right to decide whether to have children or not and related to that their responsibility in raising the next generation (Yuval-Davis 1998). Three agendas are related to this right: first, maintaining or increasing the population as part of national interest; second, controlling the population to avoid future disaster; and third, controlling the "quality" of next generations informed by eugenicist discourses and based on race and class. Antonia Darder (2006), in her paper titled "Colonized Wombs? Reproduction Rights and Puerto Rican Women," discusses how mother's wombs served as sites of intervention for the government of United States after the Second World War to tackle Puerto Rico's independence attempts. As part of a complex intervention strategy, a Puerto Rican mother's right to give birth was taken away with the forced use of contraceptives and surgical sterilization. In the name of "development" the birth of a new generation of biologically "un-pure" offspring was prevented as part of the suppression of an entire population of Puerto Ricans. In this book and with a heartbreaking account of the killings of Palestinian children, Mikko Joronen similarly argues that the ethno-national backgrounds of the victims provide justification for their differential treatment to Israeli youth and for taking away their status as children.

Various other national projects sought to control the purity of populations by forcefully intervening in children's lives in many parts of the world. Margaret Somerville (2014) recounts the history of the Stolen Generation, the removal of Indigenous children

born from “mixed race” couples in Australia, with a contemporary story of the traditional possum skin cloak and its power to provide a means for reconciliation. As a legacy of Australian colonial history and subsequent white nation policies, the construction of the Australian nation as white remains powerful. Prasanna Srinivasan explores how this legacy and culture regulate children’s everyday life in Australian preschools where being Australian is constructed from a taken-for-granted “white” and “cultureless” position. Srinivasan demonstrates that the fact that children can recognize differences of many kinds does not mean anything outside of a particular context that explains how to categorize that perceived difference. As children use “race” and “color” set against the taken-for-granted construction of being Australian in the preschool, they easily classify each other as “Australian” and “not Australian,” the outsider.

Culture is a “dynamic contested resource” (Yuval-Davis 1998, 23) that is used differently by differently positioned members of a national collectivity, such as policy-makers or educators. Esther Miedema’s chapter in this book explores how different stakeholders construct particular notions of desirable male and female citizenship related to different understandings of the cultural project of nation-building in Mozambique. Miedema accomplishes this task by teasing apart a complex cultural project to show how socialist ideology and colonial, traditional, modernist, familial, and gendered discourses are entwined and performed at multiple scales in the nation to construct gendered citizenship and education’s role in enculturating youth. She argues that Mozambican nation-building marks out the responsibility for a young man to “take care of himself” by being an enterprising individual in the knowledge economy. For a young woman, responsibility falls differently. Girls must take care of the nation by being the “mothers of the nation” and by educating the young with good morals, coupled with only a secondary role to be entrepreneurs and that is only in small-scale and informal markets.

Cultural resources are also used differently in the Irish context, as shown by Marguerita Magennis. Magennis critically evaluates the Irish educational system and associated culture that it is divided on religious grounds. As culture intersects with religion, it produces notions of being Irish. Schools and other spheres where children participate re/produce these ideals through everyday forms of nationalism (Billig 1995). In the context of the two Irelands and to cater for non-Irish migrants and the Roma population, multicultural education aims toward a harmonious future, but this project’s attempts often fall short when they meet the everyday practices of inclusion

and exclusion based on religion and a repeatedly reaffirmed “traditional” national culture.

## NATION AND SPACE

Jouni Häkli (2008) succinctly summarizes the modern idea of nationalism as “rooted in space, concretely and mythically.” Nationalism is a specific form of territoriality that incorporates a struggle over land and a socio-spatial consciousness that links “territory with culture, language, history and memory” (Paasi 1999, 5). Space is, in itself, a socially constructed view of the world that both “reads” and “read through” cultural and historical knowledge (Murdoch 2006). The national space therefore is filled with hegemonic social-spatial relations that produced them through historical struggles and homogenization (Bauman 1992). Discourses of the “nation” draw upon and reinscribe perceptions of social continuity and cohesion to the spatiality of the bordered country. Disrupting this continuity are, for instance, the Indigenous or migrant communities, whose existence patterns the homogeneity of the nation in particular ways to account for differences (Bauman 1992). Homogeneous national spaces are also crisscrossed with geopolitical trajectories and are overlaid with emotional geographies.

Trish Lunt, in her exploration of children’s books that depict the arrival and experiences of “colored” asylum seekers, adds current geopolitical trajectories to the examination of childhood and nation that work against sedimented historical understandings of Australia as a “white nation.” The same way as asylum seeker children are denied entry to the geographical area of Australia and kept in dire circumstances in offshore detention centers, their imaginary of a “new life” emotionally attached to imaginary spaces of Australian land are also broken. In another chapter Bree Akesson explores children’s developing national identities that are inextricably linked to the divided land of Palestine and how, through their familial relations, they learn to love a land where they have never lived and only heard memories of.

Nationalism is underpinned by a view and an acceptance that nations are the inevitable organizers of “our” world (Paasi 1999), that everyone belongs to a nation, and that all have certain beliefs and attachments to these imagined spaces and communities (Billig 1995). The representation of the world as divided into “mutually exclusive spatial entities: the nation-states” is a particular taken-for-granted territorial imagination that has now been challenged by those “views that conceptualize the contemporary world more in terms of flows and connectivity” (Häkli 2008, 6). Reflecting this view, current

studies trouble the assumptions that children develop a homogeneous national imagination, especially those children whose loyalties also fall outside the borders of a nation-state.

For example, Jason Hart (2002, 36) describes, through his fieldwork in a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan, how children's imaginary expresses belonging "with wider, transnational processes as well as with notions of [a] more localized and clearly bounded community." Being the grandchildren of originally dispossessed people living in this camp, children are influenced by three main, institutional sources of nationalism: "Palestinian nationalist movement, the Jordanian state and the Islamist movement" (Hart 2002, 37). Hart's study demonstrates the ways in which children take up, resist, and reshape imaginaries of the nation and form dynamic subjectivities in the complex cultural politics of their daily lives. Adding further complexity to examinations of children's national identity formation through flows and connectivities, Bree Akesson (2015) and Stine Bruland (2012) insert the importance of generational relationships in transnational families that Paula Pustulka, Magdalena Ślusarczyk, and Stella Strzemecka also explore in this book. These studies highlight the complex territorial, spatial, relational, and generational nature of children's learning as continuously becoming trans/national subjects.

### RE/PRODUCING THE NATION

Representations, images, and myths of the nation construct an imagined space of the "homeland" that has a subjective and "felt and cared for center of meaning" (Cresswell, 2004, 38). They describe what is familiar or common sense, the "here," "at home" that forms a part of "our psychology of national attachments...our common sense in its historical context, 'our' beliefs about nationhood, and about the naturalness of belonging to a nation" (Billig 1995, 16). This type of feeling is often divided by social scientists as "patriotism"—love of one's nation—and "nationalism"—an aggressive feeling and cause of war (Snyder 1976; Janowitz 1983). Established nation states routinely reproduce themselves through symbolic resources and forms of nationalism (Billig 1995; Benwell and Dodds 2011). Everyday forms of nationalism include not only those actions and objects that symbolize the nation (Billig 1995) but also everything that "we do" as national subjects under the influence of the state. These actions are particular because they could turn any minute into opportunities for resistance, such as the campaign in favor of bilingual road signs in Wales between 1967 and 1975 (John and Merriman 2009).

Mapping nationalist discourses in children's experiences more broadly, research demonstrates that children (even young as a couple of years old) mobilize particular representations of nation and land for their identifications and use them for the inclusion and exclusion of others (e.g., Coles 1986; Stephens 1995; MacNaughton 2001; Scourfield et al. 2006; Cheney 2007; Woronov, 2007; Beneš 2008; Habashi 2008; Zembylas 2010; Srinivasan, 2014). As discussed before, in these identifications the context is given to recognized difference by constructs of "nation" and "nationality," and their intersections with race, class, gender, religion, language, land, and other cultural markers.

The largest body of work with regard to how children relate to the nation is located in the cognitive developmental paradigm (Scourfield et al. 2006). Martyn Barrett (2007/2013) in his book titled *Children's Knowledge, Beliefs and Feelings about Nations and National Groups* provides a comprehensive review of the existing research in psychology and offers particular child development theories to explain how children grow in the domain of national identification and acquisition of attitudes toward their nation. Barrett conceptualizes national identity as a structural part of a person's identity that is variably "filled with an essence" depending on individual differences and "cross-national variation" that hinge upon "the specific sociohistorical contexts within which children develop" (Oppenheimer and Barrett 2011, 3). In other words, Barrett links the development of national identity *in* children to acquisition of knowledge of and attitudes to the state and to sociohistorical factors that are present in their particular contexts.

While some scholars suggest that we know little about school-aged and younger children's relation to the nation (such as Scourfield et al. 2006), a growing body of work in the social sciences explores the intersections of various dimensions of identity, national subject formation, and spatial and temporal dimensions of nationality in regard to children. The two special issues of the journal of *Global Studies of Childhood* (2014 and 2015) and this book continue this work by providing forums for concerted investigations. Among these studies are those that examine the formation of national subjects from the perspective of the state. This field of research accounts for heterogeneous institutions and elements, such as social policies, the law, institutional arrangements, and discourses. They consider these elements as irreducible to the state and also differentiated from civil society. Different social institutions, such as the family, pre/schools, and media provide important sites for these studies that delineate the complex regulation and re/production of childhood as part of national projects.

Other studies consider the perspective of children as they partake in or learn about national projects that often ascribe to them homogeneous or unified national identities. Through their participation, children re/produce and/or resist these prescribed ways of being. Prasanna Srinivasan discusses the complex and often silenced ways in which young children re/produce the imaginary of the Australian “white nation” and participate in processes of exclusion and inclusion. Her work demonstrates children’s skillful and changing self-positioning as national subjects that often troubles homogeneous notions of what nationality in a context entails. Bree Akesson shows how discourses that produce the nation of Palestine, as attached both to a territory and to symbolical spaces of the “homeland” formed in memories of the past, are handed down to children in families. She also brings examples from interviews with children and family members about how children encounter various signs, objects, symbols, and actions in their everyday lives and how these re/make the nation and divisions associated with them in various, and emotionally charged, ways. Paula Pustulka, Magdalena Ślusarczyk, and Stella Strzemecka provide an insight into the many ways Polish children who live in Norway construct themselves through national, transnational, and global discourses that they encounter through their personal and object relations. Family, peer groups, and cultural constructions all play important parts in their feelings of belonging and the formation of their fluid identities.

In relation to nations, children are frequently labeled as citizens. Notions of children as citizens are rooted in Enlightenment rationality (Wallace 1995). Together with notions that constitute children as “social actors and holders of rights” (Tisdall and Punch 2012, 249), citizenship constructs children as part of the imaginary of nations, as citizens, with particular rights, responsibilities, and relations. Citizenship, nation, and nationality are politically powerful ideas and their use in relation to childhood and children produce powerful effects. However, it is now widely accepted that there is a gap between “the child” and “citizen” (Cheney 2007). This is partly due to the hegemonic relationship between childhood and adulthood, to childhood being conceived of as an apprenticeship to adult citizenship (James and Prout 1990), protectionism, and that children are not recognized in laws and mores despite them reaching particular competencies before they reach “official” adulthood (Archard 1993). Children, however, cannot fully exercise their participatory citizenship rights; if they can, they do so in adult constructed political environments and processes (Kallio and Häkli 2011).

The presence of intense globalizing processes and ubiquitous discourses of global citizenship and the cosmopolitan imaginary bring complexity to how children experience their multiple belongings today. With increasing interconnectedness through technology and the media, the presence of travel in a large number of “Minority World” childhoods, and children’s personal and object relations that extend to the globe play an important part in the formation of their trans/national subjectivities. Globalization, as Doreen Massey (1999, 23, cited in Aminy, 2002) argues,

is a thoroughgoing, world-wide, restructuring of . . . space-times, along particular lines. It is a remaking of those, inherited but always temporary and provisional, spaces, places, cultures which are themselves the hybrid products of previous restructurings.

The context of globalization and mobilities, such as physical, imaginative, and virtual travel, effect transformations in social lives and contribute to the formation of new kinds of transnational or de-bordered social spaces, identities, and relations, often with respect to contemporary forms of governance (see Vertovec and Cohen 2002).

Globalizing processes associated with new forms of uncertainty or “risk” impact upon social organization more generally (Beck 1999, 2002). Within this altered imagination of “space-time” and “society” new perspectives on the local and the universal emerge (Appadurai 1996; Rizvi 2006). Views, conceptualizations, and experiences are brought into interconnected networks of global communication and imagination that pose several problematics for understanding nation and childhood, and nation-centered analysis of policies, provisions, and experiences of childhood. By engaging with this context, Alistair Ross’s empirical investigations offer a glimpse into how youth in various newly joined European Union nations portray their national belonging and how those are being reshaped in everyday circumstances that disregard national borders or gain a global reach.

Some analysts, from philosophical and methodological angles, propose that we have entered a new historical era, a so-called age of cosmopolitanism (Urry 2000, 186). Others argue for the need to overcome “methodological nationalism” (Beck 2002) and for considerations concerning “internal globalization” (Beck 2002, 28) and the emergence of a construction of global publics (Beck 2002; Delanty 2006). Altered socio-spatial relations, mobility and risk, and the emergence of a perception and sense of “world openness” and global publics transform notions of childhood, experiences of children, and



children's ways of understanding the world. The growing number of references to global and cosmopolitan childhoods, and the volume of migrant and stateless children and emerging identities, present important challenges for states and for research and theorization.

Tatjana Zimenkova examines what views of the world, subjectivities, and ethics can be found in Russian curriculum and policy documents and what modes of self-perceptions, loyalties, and responsibilities those suggest to children. She calls for conceptualizations of national citizenship that engage with the so-called age of "cosmopolitanism." Joining her quest to reshape children's sense of national belonging and therefore to effect the future, Trish Lunt argues for embracing a form of humanitarian "hospitality" that lies outside the government's exclusionary practice. While their projects' intention is unquestionable, their and others' examinations in this book still hinge upon particular imaginaries of the world as nation-bound and bordered, and notions of childhood that offer respite and hope in our contemporary contexts of environmental degradation, austerity measures, and worries about the future of humanity. Migration and intercultural studies also suffer from forms of methodological nationalism. This goes to show the embeddedness of modern notions of childhood and nation in our contemporary understandings of societies, the difficulty of their critical appraisal, and the methodological contentions these notions pose for researchers. These are challenges that few social scientists can overcome.

An interesting example of a successful attempt involves the work of Rogers Brubaker and colleagues (2006). In particular, they manage to go beyond what we already know to be true: that nations, ethnicities, and groups labeled as such are social constructions. The problem for us goes much further, since there are shifting contexts in which these groups and group affiliations are created and made legitimate or not, and are often imposed and deployed in ways that have more to do with power than any "organic" affiliation. In *Ethnicity without Groups* (2004), Brubaker challenges these embedded ideas and asks analysts to examine social and political practice rather than imposing analytical categories to label identities, and examine how it is that "groupism" remains, or, in other words, when people occupy the same space, it should not be assumed that "natural" (even opposing) groups are formed based on external identification of persons based on nationality or ethnicity. Similarly, literature around migration, transnational flows, refugee and asylum-seeker movements, and the general movement of people around the planet still take the view of "migration as deviance," and identify people within a national border based on this difference, migrants, independent of the examination of social practices. This means that even though analysts seek to support rights of

groups and individuals, or seek to uphold national and transnational agreements that categorically better the lives of people moving from place to place, the movements from one political jurisdiction to another is still examined as a case of deviance from a taken-for-granted norm where migrants' lives are examined as a minority (often oppositional) group to the mainstream. Rather than viewing multiplicity and diversity as a "natural" and/or "organic" condition of both nation-states and populations, contemporary discourse around migration places the migratory patterns of groups and individuals into a structure that views them as "problem people" to nations and treats them as such.

In turning a critical eye to the ways that childhood and nation are groupings of people themselves, the intersection of those two categories marks the beginning of the experiences we examine here, and as such we have tried to put together a series of analyses that might help to trouble the fundamental assumptions associated with those. We hope that the chapters in this book help illuminate some of these issues, problems, and contentions, and provide an impetus for further critical work.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

We have divided the book into two components. One part addresses the broader idea of the "nation" and how its plural form as various national myths, representations, nation forming projects, and their resistances, for example, function. The other part deals with what we have termed "subject formation." In the first part of the book the chapters analyze various formulations of childhood and nation and how they operate in creating the boundaries for human beings. In the second part of the book we grouped together those chapters that deal more with subject formation in terms of both bordered national territory and forms of de-bordered transnationalisms experienced in the relevant childhoods in question. These are necessarily somewhat artificial divisions, as the chapters all overlap in their concerns. The following summaries of the individual chapters will help readers to develop their own research that takes further the agendas that we have set here, as well as position the overall project of the book in the innovative territory in which it belongs.

Chapter 2 focuses on the resonance of nationalistic language in children's everyday narratives exchanged in early childhood settings. "Children as national subjects" is a concept that is less explored especially within Australian early childhood settings, with a few exceptions. Prasanna Srinivasan uses some of these narratives to introduce "race"-based nationalism in children's voices. Through these narratives, the chapter highlights how the ownership of national identity is not available for all children, and its impact on the identities of those children who are

“brown.” The chapter draws upon postcolonial and critical race theories to engage with and challenge these discourses, and to outline some of the counter discourses that can be made available for these educators.

Ideas of childhood and the child have long been central to the imagining of the nation: tropes of immaturity, growth, and development that underpin notions of childhood are co-opted into the service of the nation. The third chapter by Lucy Hopkins explores the ways that discourses of nationalism and nationhood make use of the discursive figure of the child in the process of naturalizing and justifying a range of dividing practices through an analysis of Salman Rushdie’s novel, *Midnight’s Children*. The chapter examines how the child subject in the novel is conflated with the nation in order to parody and therefore problematize the naturalization of linear narratives of progress that underpin both dominant discourses of national development and child development. The use of a specified, localized child *as* the nation enables a reworking of the child figure’s place in the conceptualization of the relationships between nation and citizen, colonizer and colonized, and the home and the world.

Miaowei Weng’s chapter examines childhood narratives as national allegories of Spain under the Franco regime as well as during the democratic transition. It revisits Adelaida García Morales’s 1981 novella *The South* and Víctor Erice’s 1983 film by the same title and historicizes them in the contexts of early Francoism as well as the transition period. It explores the political timing of these two productions and the allegorical means by which they render the reflections on the Francoist nation reconfiguration project as well as on the relevance of the historical past to present and future democratic Spain.

Chapter 5 by Trish Lunt considers the ways in which Australian picture books about asylum seekers (2004–2009) situate readers as either distanced from or involved in the action of the text. When readers are invited to become agential subjects within a text, the prompts for ethical and hospitable action are more demanding. Texts for children are instruments of socialization and therefore often mirror public discourse. Tensions of humanitarian hospitality are especially important in relation to the contemporary Australian political terrain in which asylum is denied and national borders are purposely constructed to exclude the displaced. It is evident in the spatial codings of the analyzed picture books that their sympathies lie outside government positions of exclusionary practice. The ways in which cultural consciousness is embedded in texts for children are revealed in these texts in ways that situate child readers as progenitors of a more humanitarian (future) society.

After decades of occupation and military order, a complex set of exceptional practices, regulations, orders, laws, and overlapping/

offsetting clauses has become normalized as a part of the everyday life in the Palestinian territories. In order to understand how this cavalcade of exceptions produces a widespread, systematic, and institutionalized ill-treatment of Palestinian children today, the sixth chapter by Mikko Joronen focuses on three questions in particular. First, the ways that the security apparatus of the state of Israel keeps its strategic functions operative through the culture of impunity and acceptance, which together allow the loose functioning of the security apparatus. Second, the different Israeli security apparatus that frames Palestinian children as part of the wider security threat. Finally, how Palestinian children are governed through the production of the fear of violence and death, which he approaches in terms of thanatopolitical securitization.

The Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland have become “multicultural nations” over recent years. In chapter 7 Marguerita Magennis examines these changes and the way they have reinvigorated considerations about the significance of national identity especially in terms of relationships to nonnationals. The presence of nonnationals also accentuate the fact that debating about national identity is not so much about discovering the truth regarding the past, but about understanding the future a nation hopes to shape.

Growing up under occupation, Palestinian children are developing identities that are inextricably linked to the territories of the divided land of Israel and Palestine. Drawing from qualitative research with Palestinian children and families living in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, Bree Akesson in chapter 8 explores the relationship between territoriality and the national identities of Palestinian children and families. Chapter 9 focuses on young people’s narratives in constructing their sense of identities with their country, and how these are used to distinguish themselves as a generation distinct from their parents and grandparents. Alistair Ross includes a study of 13–19-year-olds in 12 European countries that were formerly in the communist bloc, and have since joined (or are joining) the European Union.

Chapter 10 engages with the question of how current national and global discourses shape perceptions of childhood/youth, young people’s lived experiences, and their roles as citizens. Building on a qualitative multi-method study that explored participants’ perspectives on the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education, Esther Miedema draws on feminist scholars’ work to analyze how policy-makers and educators perceived moral fragmentation of society due to “modern” phenomena, such as the multicultural character of cities and an aggressive media. In chapter 11 three researchers collaborate as members of the Transfam project *Doing Family in a Transnational Context* (2013–2016) to examine dimensions of self-identification among Polish

migrant children in Norway. The arguments are linked to the childhood/mobility nexus and foreground children's voices and agency in mobility/migration scholarship, as well as take into account the particularities of the Polish framings of family and ethnic identities.

The orientation toward global issues emerges as an integral part of educational practices and policies in many countries. Often curricula and educational materials produce a harmonious picture of responsible citizens, easily switching between different loyalties and obligations and profiting from globalization processes. This picture is challenged by questions of nation-state interests, citizens' responsibilities, and loyalties. The final chapter by Tatjana Zimenkova elaborates empirically on the questions of and troubles what modes of self-perceptions, loyalties, and responsibilities the Russian curricula and educational programs suggest to the learner with the depiction of global issues.

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