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Researching Education in the Age of Transnational Migration: Towards a New Research Agenda¹ La recherche en éducation à l'ère des migrations transnationales : vers un nouveau programme de recherche

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Abstract

This paper is offered as work in progress to stimulate our thinking about the changing nature of comparative and international education in the age of transnational migration. It seems clear that the shifting paradigm of transnationalism has challenged the rigid, territorial nationalism, the understanding of borders and national identities. It is making cultural boundaries and identities porous, hybrid, and dialogic. In this paper I emphasize how comparative and international education has to be rethought in the context of transnational migration as a multidirectional process where diverse identities, forms of attachment and belonging inscribe the experiences of people as they move across geographical, cultural, national, and linguistic boundaries. I call for a more expansive definition and mission of comparative and international education in exploring the impact of transnational migration on the identity, culture, and integration of immigrant populations spanning across several nations simultaneously.

Résumé

Cet article est proposé comme un travail en cours afin de stimuler notre réflexion sur la nature changeante de l'éducation comparée et internationale à l'ère des migrations transnationales. Il semble clair que le paradigme évolutif du transnationalisme a remis en question le nationalisme rigide et territorial, la compréhension des frontières et des identités nationales et qu'il rend poreuses, hybrides et dialogiques les frontières identitaires et culturelles. Dans cet article, j'insiste sur la façon dont l'éducation comparée et internationale doit être repensée dans le contexte de la migration transnationale comme un processus multidirectionnel où les identités diverses, les formes d'attachement et d'appartenance marquent les expériences des gens quand ils traversent des frontières géographiques, culturelles, nationales et linguistiques. Je recommande l'emploi d'une définition et d'une mission plus larges de l'éducation comparée et internationale en explorant l'impact des migrations transnationales sur l'identité, la culture et l'intégration de populations immigrées chevauchant simultanément plusieurs nations.

Key words: transnationalism; transnational migration; comparative education; curriculum; transnational higher education; lifelong learning; Canada

Mots clés : transnationalisme; migration transnationale; éducation comparée; programme d'études; éducation postsecondaire transnationale; éducation permanente

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Introduction

Before I start the talk, I would like to formally acknowledge that CIESC-SCÉCI is proud to hold its conference at the University of British Columbia. CIESC-SCÉCI acknowledges that UBC is situated on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the xwməθkwəyəm (Musqueam) People. This land has always been a place of learning for the Musqueam people, who for millennia have passed on in their culture, history, and traditions from one generation to the next on this site.

I would also like to acknowledge that the Comparative and International Education Society of Canada (CIESC) / Société canadienne d'éducation comparée et internationale (SCÉCI) has a rich history of over 50 years in promoting comparative and international studies in Canadian education since its founding in 1967. As a founding member organization of the World Council of Comparative Educations Societies (WCCES), CIESC-SCÉCI continues to play an active role on the international stage in the governance of this organization. It was truly a great honour and pleasure for me to serve as its president over last two years. In 2017, the Society celebrated its 50th anniversary with a panel of CIESC-SCÉCI past presidents who helped us look back at our history and envision forward (DePass et al., 2017). Collectively, the panelists reflected on how CIESC-SCÉCI has evolved over the years with a strong focus on issues of social justice, equity, diversity, international development, indigenous education, etc. From this panel we also learned how CIESC-SCÉCI has expanded its horizons to include scholars from different areas, including anthropology, history, linguistics, philosophy, and sociology, adding to and enriching the multidisciplinary nature of our society.

My talk today will focus on another important part of our history—immigration, which defines what Canada is as a nation. As a result of increasing transnational migration, Canada is becoming increasingly ethno-culturally diverse. When immigrants arrive in their host society, they need educational programs to help them navigate the complex paths that citizenship entails and to upgrade their language, knowledge, and skills to fully participate in the host society or community. Without any doubt, the resulting demographic, social, and cultural changes as a result of transnational migration pose important challenges as well as opportunities for new development in education. This paper is offered as work in progress to stimulate our thinking about the changing nature of comparative and international education in the age of transnational migration.

This talk is organized into four parts. It begins with an overview of Canada's immigration past and present. Then, it examines transnationalism as a shifting paradigm in migration studies. Next, it explores education in the age of transnational migration focusing on the curriculum of Canadian public school, higher education, and lifelong learning. Finally, it ends with a discussion of possibly a new research agenda for infusing transnationalism into comparative and international education.

Canada's Immigration Past and Present

Canada's history, since its birth as a nation 150 years ago, is one of immigration, nation-building, and contested racial and ethnic relations (Guo & Wong, 2018). The driving forces behind immigration are social, political, economic, and demographic. Prior to Confederation in 1867, there was a free-entry period for immigrants in Canada. In the late 19th century, massive immigration was used as a strategy to develop Western Canada, and served the economic and demographic interests of the country. When the first coherent immigration policy was introduced in 1896, Canada becomes formally recognized as an immigration society. Immigration has functioned as a means of cultural domination and social control. In deciding which immigrant groups are most desirable and admissible, the state sets parameters for the social, cultural, and

symbolic boundaries of the nation, as manifested in historically racist Canadian immigration policies. Right after WWI, ethnocentrism and racism were the underpinnings in the creation of prohibited classes of people who were deemed undesirable because of their perceived inability to integrate into Canadian society. It was not until after WWII that Canada's immigration policy slowly started to become non-racist, at least in terms of its language. However, the political discourse was still very exclusionary and racist. In post-WWII Canada, the economic boom was one factor in bringing to end a fifty-year period of an overtly ethnocentric and racist immigration policy. By 1967, the Canadian government established an overtly non-racist immigration policy through regulations that established three basic classes of immigrants (i.e., independent immigrants, family class, and refugees) that operate until the present day. Some of the tenets of an immigration society include: (1) employ a principled framework to regulate admission; (2) generate programs to facilitate the integration and settlement of immigrants; (3) entitle immigrants to all rights, including the right to permanent residency and citizenship; and (4) see immigration and immigrants as society-building assets and central to national identity (Fleras, 2018).

As the globalization of migration intensifies, Canada has joined an international competition for the most talented, skillful, and resourceful workers to help ameliorate its labour shortages and the effects of its aging population. Since the mid-1990s, Canada has shifted to a knowledge-based economy and subsequently its immigrant selection practices have placed more weight on education and skills, favouring economic immigrants over family-class immigrants and refugees. This strategy is based on the assumption that economic immigrants bring more human capital than family-class immigrants and refugees, and are therefore more valuable and desirable. When newcomers arrive in Canada, many of them face multifaceted barriers in transition into the host society, with language and employment as the most frequently cited barriers. For example, despite the fact that immigrants bring significant human capital resources to the Canadian labour force, research has shown that many highly educated immigrant professionals experienced deskilling and devaluation of their prior learning and work experience upon arrival (Guo, 2009, 2013a, 2013b). One troubling aspect of the deskilling experience is the precarious nature of work and learning for immigrants, characterized by part-time employment, low wages, job insecurity, high risk of poor health, and limited social benefits and statutory entitlements (Guo, 2013a; Liu, 2019). As a consequence, many have suffered unemployment and underemployment, poor economic performance, and downward social mobility. Recent immigrants' negative experience in Canada can be attributed to a triple glass effect, including a glass gate, glass door, and glass ceiling, which may converge to create multiple structural barriers and affect immigrants' new working lives at different stages of their integration and transition processes (Guo, 2013b).

A Shifting Paradigm of Transnationalism

With the development of modern transportation and advanced communication technologies, migration has shifted from inter-national to trans-national, as "multiple, circular and return migrations, rather than a singular great journey from one sedentary space to another, occur across transnational spaces" (Lie, 1995, p. 304). In this view, migrants can no longer be characterized as "uprooted," people who are expected to make a sharp and definitive break from their homelands (Schiller, Basch, & Szanton Blanc, 1995). Instead, their daily lives depend on "multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (p. 48). As such, a relatively recent term transnational migration describes the multiple and circular migration across transnational spaces of migrants who maintain close contact with their countries of origin (Guo, 2010). As Lie (1995)

notes, "transnationalism" makes it possible for imagined diaspora communities to subvert old conceptions of unidirectional migrant passage and replace them with understandings centred on images of unending sojourn across different lands.

Transnationalism is not a new concept per se. According to Kivisto (2001), the earliest articulation of transnationalism was by cultural anthropologists (i.e., Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Szanton Blanc). In its debut in the early 1990s it offered a novel analytical approach to understanding contemporary migration. Sociologist Alejandro Portes is most responsible for popularizing and expanding the use of transnationalism (Portes, 1999, 2003; Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999). Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999) propose three criteria for identifying a transnational phenomenon: the process involves a significant proportion of persons in the relevant universe; the activities of interest possess certain stability and resilience over time; and the content of these activities is not captured by some pre-existing concept. When analyzing transnationalism, individuals and their support networks are regarded as the proper units of analysis. According to Portes et al., a study that begins with the history and activities of individuals is "the most efficient way of learning about the institutional underpinnings of transnationalism and its structural effects" (p. 220). Contemporary grassroots transnational activities have developed in reaction to government policies—and to the condition of dependent capitalism foisted on weaker countries—to circumvent the permanent subordination of immigrants and their families. At the grassroots level, Portes (1999) points out elsewhere, transnationalism offers an economic alternative to immigrant's low-wage dead-end employment situation, gives them political voice, and allows them to reaffirm their own self-worth.

Transitional activities can be categorized into three types: economic, political, and sociocultural (Portes et al., 1999). The main goals of each type are different. To be more specific, transnational economic entrepreneurs are interested in mobilizing their contacts across borders in search of suppliers, capital, and markets; transnational political activities aim to foster political power and influence in sending or receiving countries; and sociocultural transnationalism is oriented towards the reinforcement of a national identity abroad or the collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods. Another useful distinction is made between transnationalism "from above" and "from below," initiated respectively by powerful states and corporations, and by grassroots immigrants and their home country counterparts. In commenting on the fear that transnational activities will slow down the process of assimilation in immigrant host nations, Portes (1999) maintains that transnational activities can actually facilitate successful adaptation by providing opportunities for economic mobility and for a vital and purposeful group life. He also points out that the overall bearing of transnational activities on sending countries is positive, both economically and politically. Migrant remittances and business investments promote economic growth, and political activism is most likely to align with the forces of change in promoting democracy and reducing corruption and violation of human rights at home. Portes (2003) further argues that transnationalism provides "an alternative path of socioeconomic and political adaptation to the host society not envisioned by traditional models of assimilation" (p. 887).

The idea of transnationalism challenges the rigid, territorial nationalism that defines the modern nation-state. The concept of transnationalism, in contradistinction to the bounded imaginaries of nationhood, provides with a framework that posits a significant shift in the understanding of borders and national identities, thereby raising contentious questions about cohesiveness of "host" societies, identitive solidarity, and orthodox assimilation theories (Vertovec, 2004). For example, conventional notions in social science theory have conceived nation-states as territories with borders, characterized by linguistic, cultural, and ethnic

homogeneity. Moreover, social scientists working with the paradigm of "structural functionalism" have repeatedly conceptualized immigrant population, ethnic groups or cultures as discreet, "bounded units" who live in one place and bear a "unique and readily identifiable culture" (Schiller, Basch, & Blanz-Szanton, 1992, p. 6). Culture, has thus been considered as unitary, static, and territorialized, "reproducing the image of the social world divided into bounded, culturally specific units, typical of nationalist thinking" (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 305). These forms of imagining national cultures as bounded categories have in turn reified certain dominant power relations and hierarchies of race or ethnicity as "natural" corollaries of national cultures rather than as historical effects of inequality and often violence (Maitra, 2015). Scholars suggest that transnationalism is making cultural boundaries and identities porous, hybrid, and dialogic. The transnationalism framework posits migrant population as fluid, with multiple identities that are grounded both in their societies of origin and settlement simultaneously. In this view, identity itself in this framework gets refracted as a constant negotiation between divergent power relations and social hierarchies. The corollary that emerges from this critical transnational perspective is that transmigrants do not remain tied to the common sense hegemonic practices, habits, racial, and ethnic categories that pervade a particular nation-state. On the contrary, because of their navigation through various class backgrounds and racial and ethnic positionings, transmigrants selectively assimilate, incorporate, and develop their own notions about categories of identity by creating new cultures and social spaces (Schiller, Basch, & Blanz-Szanton, 1992). Thus transnational identity formation denotes that "identity is not singular but plural and always evolving" (Wong & Satzewich, 2006, p. 12), thereby posing challenges to state policies and attempts to institutionalize migrant citizenship within readily identifiable and static paradigms of cultural identities.

Researching Education in the Age of Transnationalism

The shifting paradigm of transnationalism has led to the emergence of new research protocols exploring the impact of transnational migration on the identity, culture, and integration of immigrant populations spanning across several nations simultaneously. A relatively understudied area in this context is the intersections between transnational migration and education. Only a small handful of scholars have attempted to tease out the connections between the two (Ali, 2009; Bickmore, 2014; Ghosh & Abdi, 2013; Guo & Maitra, 2017; Skerrett, 2015). Currently, it is estimated that one in four children across the globe has transnational life experiences (Skerrett, 2015). The vast number of transnational children and youth have sensitized scholars about the need to fundamentally transform school curricula, especially in western countries, from their totalizing, monolithic, and dominant emphasis on singular national identities, by actively incorporating transnational perspectives (Ghosh & Abdi, 2013). This is especially true in the Canadian context where the school classrooms today have a wealth of diverse experiences brought on by the processes of transnationalism (Ali, 2009). Yet, the official, public school curriculum in Canada continues to largely fail to embrace this experiential knowledge of both teachers and students (Bickmore, 2014). For example, despite the fact that 50 to 60% of children in many Toronto schools are transnational Filipino-Canadians, there is a striking lack of Filipino content and culturally responsive pedagogy in schools (Kelly, 2015). In the following section, I will revisit Canadian public school curriculum in the context of transnational migration with a goal to assess the challenges and opportunities for education.

Confronting a Nationalistic Approach in Canadian School Curriculum

The "curricular imagination" in Canada is said to be mediated by a nationalistic discourse that propagates a "myth of cultural homogeneity" through its emphasis on common language, history and culture (Hall, 1992). Such a nationalistic discourse functions as a vehicle for "ideological assimilation and homogenization" (Kanu, 2003, p. 71). Its role is to neutralize values, norms, and behaviours that are perceived as "different" from the dominant norm of the nation and to make individuals "fit into a single set of imaginaries about national citizenship" (Kanu, 2003, p. 71). In particular, Canadian national history is conceptualized in school curriculum as essentially homogenized and assimilationist. For instance, in exploring the curriculum to which a growing population of transnational youth in Canada is exposed, Ali (2009) argues that current Ontario Social Studies school curriculum especially in lower grades focus on teaching a homogenous ideal of nationalism and Canada's role in world affairs. As corrective measures, she advocates for the inclusion of areas like international political-economic relations, or international laws that can "validate the students' Canadian identity and affiliation, but will also open up generative possibilities for their multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-national identities and affiliations" (p. 239). Furthermore, Bickmore (2014), analyzing nationalistic discourses in relation to citizenship education, imparted as part of Social Science, History, Civics, or Language Arts, maintains that officially, the curriculum of citizenship education may in some provinces advocate for multiple and diverse sources and viewpoints in light of the growing diversity and transnationality of Canadian population. However, the curriculum-in-practice fails to inspire critical awareness of social injustices experienced by different groups or to provide for a nuanced reading of hierarchical power relations dominant in the society. Bickmore (2014) very aptly concludes that even though "transnational issues and perspectives are included more than in previous years, some Canadian school curricula may reinforce ignorance and stereotypes about other nations and peoples and about the causes and effects of global problems such as war" (p. 266–267).

As a primary site of identity formation for people, Canadian education has to replicate the transnational movements of people that remain inscribed by inequalities of power relationships and structural violence. Thus, school curricula have to be put in conversation with the wider ramifications of transnational migration today and the distinctive webs of knowledge formation that is necessitated by transnationalism, rather than reinforce the limited perspectives of national territorial fixities and bounded cultural domains. As an alternative to the dominant, nationalistic, and assimilationist orientation of the Canadian official curriculum, Guo and Maitra (2017) therefore propose a transnational curriculum.

First, such a framework, by validating and incorporating multiple perspectives based on historical, cultural, and geographical diversity, would broaden the knowledge base of students and provide them with opportunities to engage with alternative narratives of history, science, language, or literature. Second, a transnational framework would align curriculum with the shifting ideas of culture and identity. By going beyond the "border-centered" (Kim & Slapac, 2015) conceptualization of nation, identity, and culture, such a framework would move the curriculum from a "mere celebration of differences" and binaries of "us" and "them" to an understanding of how within transnational social spaces, migrants despite their mobile identities, can still remain implicated within unequal power relations based on gender, race, ethnicity, class and can occupy "a range of dominating and dominated positions" (Lightman, 2016, p. 3). In the Canadian curriculum context, such understanding of mobile identities would create among students "an openness to others ... so as to be able to imagine oneself as another, to take up new belongings, and to move across cultural, linguistic, religious, ethnic, racial spaces of interaction and

boundaries" (Hébert, Wilkinson, & Ali, 2008, p. 51). Moreover, going beyond the current apolitical and normalized notions of race, culture, or ethnicity in the curriculum, a transnational framework would allow a democratic space for students to reflect on discrimination, stereotyping, and social injustices.

Infusing Transnationalism into Transnational Higher Education

Over the last two decades or so there has been an emerging body of literature on transnational higher education (TNHE). But what exactly is TNHE? Often used interchangeably with cross-border, offshore, and borderless education, transnational higher education is described as "the mobility of an education program or higher education institution (HEI)/provider between countries" (Knight, 2016, p. 36). Some of the most common forms of transnational higher education include international branch campuses, twinning, joint/double/multiple (JDM) degree programs, franchised universities, and online and distance education. Knight distinguishes TNHE from international education that focuses on the mobility of students. According to Knight, the nuanced and nebulous distinction between the two is that TNHE programs move to the students in their home countries while students move to foreign countries in international education. As the TNHE vocabulary has mushroomed and its forms have expanded, there has been a mass confusion about what TNHE actually means. Knight (2016) proposes a common framework by developing primary categories, identifying key elements, and providing concise definitions, with an intention of providing an analytical tool.

Australia, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States are the major players in transnational higher education (Wilkins, 2016). Most recently, non-anglophone countries such as China also entered this market (He, 2016; Huang, 2003; Yang, 2008). Since data are not available on a global basis, it is almost impossible to know exactly how many students are enrolled in transnational higher education program worldwide (Wilkins, 2016). Wilkins identifies some of the potential benefits of TNHE as improved skills levels, increased innovation, reduced brain drain, lower unemployment, higher gross domestic product, and reduced currency outflows as a result of fewer nationals studying abroad.

With the exponential development of TNHE, a new thematic field of research has emerged within higher education. Kosmützky and Putty (2016) conducted an evaluative overview of research development under four key terms (transnational, offshore, cross-border, and borderless higher education) and found close to 2,000 publications since the mid-1990s. Among them, over one third or 640 publications appeared in academic journals such as the *Journal of Studies in International Education*. They claim that this research field has reached maturity by the early 2000s within 10 years. They identified six thematic field of research, including overview and trends, quality assurance and regulation, teaching and learning, institutional and management perspectives, governance and policy, and student choice and student mobility. Some focus more on developments in program and institutional/provider mobility in the cross-border context, while others explore learning and teaching, and student mobility in the traditional internationalization context (Kosmützky & Putty, 2016).

At this stage, there is tremendous fuzziness to the term. For example, it is not clear how different or similar transnational higher education is from the internationalization of higher education. We need better conceptual and theoretical delineations of similarities and differences of the two. Furthermore, the term transnational higher education still lacks conceptual foundation. In the existing literature many people use the term to provide a contextual background for their studies. It is surprising to find that very few studies are actually informed theoretically by the

concept of transnationalism. It would be beneficial to infuse transnationalism into future studies of transnational higher education so that it can better inform us conceptually about TNHE students' transnational identities and transcultural learning experiences. At the moment, TNHE has been discussed as a marketing strategy. A strong emphasis has been placed on program branding, image management activities, and marketing.

Towards Transnational Lifelong Learning for Recognitive Justice

In delineating lifelong learning, Jarvis (2006) argues that humanity remains an unfinished project that requires all human beings to unceasingly continue learning throughout their lives. In this view, learning is intrinsic to living; being and becoming lie at the heart of our thinking about learning; learning is the driving force of social change. For immigrants, the move to a new country means that they need assistance with language, employment, housing, education, health, counselling, legal and social services. They experience tremendous changes and disjunctural situations that provide an impetus to substantial learning. In this context, learning for immigrants becomes part of the being, living, and becoming that Jarvis speaks about.

Unfortunately, the right conditions and opportunities for learning are often absent. Learning through work is an important dimension of lifelong learning (Fenwick, 2003). Unfortunately, immigrants are deprived of this opportunity due to lack of access to the labour market. Despite the fact that they bring significant human capital resources to Canada, research shows that unemployment and underemployment are major barriers facing immigrants (Guo, 2013b). Another challenge closely associated with lifelong learning is the devaluation and denigration of immigrants' prior learning and work experience. The notion of credential recognition is closely linked to the lifelong learning tradition of Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR), which involves the recognition of a combination of formal, non-formal, and informal learning (Simosko, 2012, p. 5). Despite the fact that skilled immigrants bring significant human capital resources to Canada, a number of studies demonstrate that highly educated immigrant professionals experience deskilling and devaluation of their prior learning and work experience after immigrating to Canada (Guo, 2010, 2015; Li, 2008; Maitra, 2015; Shan, 2009a, 2009b). Some immigrants experience major shifts from prior occupations in sciences, engineering, business, and management to relatively low-skilled positions in sales, services, and manufacturing. Deskilling affects skilled immigrant workers, and prevents them from reaping the full benefit of their skills. Even when knowledge and skills are legitimized as valid, the skills and work experiences of internationally trained professionals are often treated with suspicion, or considered inferior. You may ask why is that? Often it is the "colour" of the skill associated with immigrants' skin colour rather than the skill itself which causes the deskilling and devaluation (Guo, 2015).

With regard to its role in facilitating immigrants' adaptation in the new host society, unfortunately lifelong learning has failed to respond positively to integrating cultural difference and diversity into educational environment (Guo, 2010). On the contrary, it is implicated in the denial of opportunities for immigrants to learn by failing to improve their access to the labour market. By treating difference as deficit and deficiency, lifelong learning denigrates and devalues immigrant's prior learning and work experience. The racialized experience of immigrants, particularly those from developing countries, demonstrates how racial and sociocultural differences have been used to entrench social inequality in immigrants' transitions. Rather than facilitating immigrant's adaptation, lifelong learning has become a serious barrier and a gatekeeper, and by extension a means of social control and subordination. Through processes of deskilling and reskilling, lifelong learning has become a vehicle to colonizing immigrants into the

dominant norms and values of the host society (Maitra & Guo, 2019). The soberness of the issue requires us to consider a paradigm shift in recognizing and accepting differences as valid and valuable expressions of the human experience. Following Nancy Fraser's call to develop a critical theory of recognition, I propose *transnational lifelong learning for recognitive justice and inclusive citizenship* (or *transnational lifelong learning* for short) (Guo, 2010).

Fraser (2000) explains that claims for the recognition have become the "paradigmatic form of political conflict" since the late 20th century (Fraser, 2008, p. 188). Treating recognition as a matter of social status, she argues that the struggle for recognition means "examining institutionalized patterns of cultural value for the effects on the relative standing of social actors" (Fraser, 2000, p. 113). To be misrecognised, according to Fraser, is to be denied the status of a full partner in social interaction, which constitutes a form of institutionalized subordination and a serious violation of justice. In this view, redressing misrecognition should aim at overcoming subordination, replacing institutionalized value patterns that impede parity of participation with ones that foster it. To achieve this goal, Fraser suggests developing a critical theory of recognition that can coherently combine two analytically distinct kinds of remedy, redistribution and recognition, which will redress socioeconomic injustice as well as cultural or symbolic injustice. Failing to do so will merely perpetuate cultural imperialism and disadvantage groups whose experience, culture, and socialized capacities are different from those of privileged groups (Fraser 2000, 2008; Honneth 2008; Young 1995, 2008).

Transnational lifelong learning is built on Fraser's critical notion of recognition. It holds that individuals should not only be free to choose where to live and work, but that they should be able to do so as bearers of substantial rights to those benefits and services that they need in order to participate as equal and autonomous members in whatever society or location they choose to join (Jordan & Düvell, 2003). Also, following Iris Marion Young (2008), this framework emphasizes that granting equal rights to disempowered migrants is insufficient to ensure equal status because the ideal of a culturally neutral state cannot be achieved. Instead, it advocates minority group rights such as language assistance and other subsidies to help migrants overcome obstacles to integrating into the host society. Furthermore, it questions the claim that a universality of citizenship transcends particularity and difference. Consistent with Young's (1995) "differentiated citizenship" and Will Kymlicka's (2008) "multicultural citizenship," this framework proposes "pluralist citizenship" as an alternative form of citizenship that recognizes migrant's multiple attachments to specific traditions, values, languages, and other cultural practices and that, furthermore, fosters plural ways of belonging. Transnational lifelong learning rejects the deficit model of lifelong learning that seeks to assimilate immigrants to the dominant social, cultural, and educational norms of the host society. Alternatively, it proposes to build an inclusive education that acknowledges and affirms cultural difference and diversity as positive and desirable assets. These assets are seen as a means of ensuring the participation of individuals from socially and culturally differentiated groups in social, political, and educational institutions. It challenges Eurocentric perspectives, standards, and values, and accepts presently marginalized knowledges as valid and valuable expressions of the human experience. It is important to note, however, that this shift to transnational lifelong learning does not mean abandoning our interest in material conditions and distributive matters. Since immigrants represent a bivalent collectivity who suffer both socioeconomic maldistribution and cultural misrecognition, an ideal remedy requires both redistribution and recognition.

Conclusion: Towards a New Research Agenda

In this talk I am revisiting education in the age of transnational migration, with an attempt to tease out the connections between transnational migration and education. It seems clear that the shifting paradigm of transnationalism has challenged the rigid, territorial nationalism, the understanding of borders and national identities. It is making cultural boundaries and identities porous, hybrid, and dialogic. In this paper I emphasize how comparative and international education has to be rethought in the context of transnational migration as a multidirectional process where diverse identities, forms of attachment and belonging inscribe the experiences of people as they move across geographical, cultural, national, and linguistic boundaries. I call for a more expansive definition and mission of comparative and international education exploring the impact of transnational migration on the identity, culture, and integration of immigrant populations spanning across several nations simultaneously. This requires a new research agenda exploring the impact of transnational migration on comparative and international education that would integrate transnational knowledges and perspectives into the existing education system. The new research agenda should address the following questions:

- What is the impact of transnational migration on comparative and international education?
- What are the challenges and opportunities for comparative and international education?
- How can comparative and international education best facilitate transmigrants' adaptation in a new society?
- How should states and communities work together to develop more coordinated education policies and practices in assisting transmigrants with their adaptation?
- What is the relationship between transnational migration, identity, and education?
- Is comparative and international education border-centred? If so, how do we go beyond that?
- What are the future directions for comparative and international education in the age of transnational migration?

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