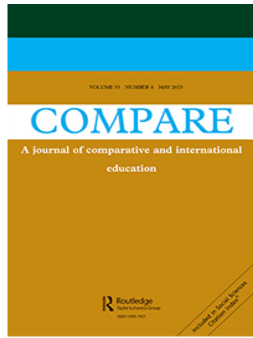

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccom20

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To cite this article: P. A. Danaher (2023) Mobilising effective schooling provision to support innovative education for occupationally mobile families and their children, Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 53:4, 549-566, DOI: 10.1080/03057925.2021.1941770

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2021.1941770

Published online: 30 Jun 2021.

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COMPARE, 2023
VOL. 53, NO. 4, 549–566
https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2021.1941770

Mobilising effective schooling provision to support innovative education for occupationally mobile families and their children

P. A. Danaher

School of Education, University of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba, Australia; School of Education and the Arts, Central Queensland University, Rockhampton, Australia; University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Toowoomba; Division of Tropical Environments and Societies, James Cook University, Townsville, Australia

ABSTRACT
Occupationally mobile families exist in multiple forms globally. While these families contribute significantly to the socioeconomic life of the locations that they traverse, sometimes their mobilities generate hostility in those locations. This hostility in the form of an anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology creates corresponding difficulties for the schooling options and outcomes of the children of these mobile families. This paper explores the educational applications and implications of the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology as experienced by occupationally mobile families globally, and investigates also several successful schooling approaches for their children. The analysis identifies effective forms of schooling provision implemented in specific ways in these distinctive learning contexts. The author posits that 'innovative' in relation to the education of occupationally mobile communities is enacted in the historically constructed and materially grounded mobilities of each community, and 'works' and 'makes sense' only when conceptualised with references to those mobilities.

KEYWORDS
Anti-nomadism; innovative education; occupationally mobile families; schooling provision; sedentarism

Introduction

The educational dimension of contemporary mobilities exhibits varied forms, and has multiple intentions and effects. One distinctive strand of this dimension is centred on the schooling provision for the assorted groups known collectively as 'occupationally mobile communities' (Danaher, Kenny, and Remy Leder 2009; Danaher, Moriarty, and Danaher 2009). Despite their considerable diversity, these groups share a dependence on specialised patterns of mobility in order to earn their livelihoods. Examples of these groups range from nomadic herders and pastoralists to Roma and Gypsy Travellers to bargees and itinerant farmworkers to circus and fairground proprietors and workers. These occupationally mobile groups live and

CONTACT P. A. Danaher patrick.danaher@usq.edu.au School of Education, University of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba, Australia

This article has been corrected with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

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work in every continent in the world, and accordingly demonstrate highly developed cultural, economic, linguistic, political and social variability.

An equivalent variability attends the different approaches taken to providing schooling for the children of these groups (Danaher 2000; Danaher, Kenny, and Remy Leder 2009; Danaher, Moriarty, and Danaher 2009). Some children attend specialised mobile schools established exclusively for their communities; others work for home tutors who travel with their families and them; and others receive distance and online education provision. As is elaborated below, while some of these programmes of schooling are effective and innovative, all of them derive from a fundamental disjuncture between the particular forms of mobility experienced by the group on the one hand and formal schooling that is predicated on children's being located in fixed residences on the other hand.

This paper is divided into the following three sections:

(1) The defining features and the global variability of contemporary occupationally mobile communities, and the nature of the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology framing these communities;
(2) The interplay between this diversity and ideology and occupationally mobile families and children; and
(3) The possibilities of defining innovative educational approaches for these families and children.

I argue that effective schooling provision in relation to occupationally mobile families and their children go against the grain – of the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology (Danaher and Henderson 2011; Danaher, Moriarty, and Danaher 2004; McVeigh 1997). Moreover, 'innovative' in the context of this provision 'works' and 'makes sense' only when conceptualised with reference to the historically constructed and materially grounded mobilities of each occupationally mobile community. At the same time, it is possible to develop authentically innovative schooling provision and practices when those mobilities are placed at the centre of educational policy and provision for these groups.

Occupationally mobile communities and families: diversity confronting the hostile anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology

This section of the paper presents an overview of the highly diverse contexts and environments in which occupationally mobile communities earn their livelihoods, and in which the families who constitute those communities seek and receive schooling provision for their children. From this perspective, 'communities' is intended as an encompassing expression that includes individual families and their children.

Occupationally mobile communities exhibit highly diverse patterns and structures of mobility globally. One strand of such communities is clustered around nomadic pastoralists whose work entails travelling with, and caring for, different species of animals (Commission on Nomadic Peoples 2008; Salzman 2004). These nomadic pastoralists range from cattle herders in Ethiopia (Wild 2018), Namibia (Möller 2019) and Nigeria (Adeoye 2019) to Somali pastoralists caring for camels in northern Kenya (Guliye et al. 2007) to sheep shearers in South Africa (de Jongh and Steyn 2006) to goat herders in

Uganda (Muwanika et al. 2018) to groups who traverse the high altitude grasslands of eastern Tibet (Tan 2018). They also exhibit multiple political organisations and social structures, both historically and currently (Kradin, Bondarenko, and Barfield 2015).

Another category of occupationally mobile communities consists of seasonal workers who travel and work, sometimes individually and sometimes in groups of varying sizes, to provide the manual and semi-automated labour that is crucial to specific agricultural industries. A major group in this category are migrant workers who travel from Central and South America to pick fruit and provide other labour on United States farms (Holmes 2013; Loza 2016). There are equivalents of these communities in many other countries, including foreign workers in Canadian agriculture (Hennebry, McLaughlin, and Preibisch 2016; Preibisch and Hermoso Santamaría 2016), Syrian workers in Lebanon (Habib et al. 2016) and workers from a large number of countries in the Mediterranean (Corrado, de Castro, and Perrotta 2017). As a category of occupational mobility, seasonal workers generally have limited agency and currency, exemplified by their wages being consistently underpaid (Cibborn and Wright 2018) and/or by their being undocumented and hence potentially subject to exploitation with little or no legal recourse (Rijken 2015), and even to various forms of abuse, including 'slave-like conditions' (Shantz 2015, 233) in some cases.

A different category of occupationally mobile communities is centred on the owners and workers, their families and their children who provide itinerant forms of entertainment. These entertainment types include carnivals (Batty, Desyllas, and Duxbury 2003), circuses (Davis 2002; Natt et al. 2019), fairgrounds and showgrounds (Miskell 2012; Philips 2012; Walker 2015) and travelling shows (Abbott and Seroff 2007), and within these types there are considerable variations. For example, two distinct categories of circuses are those with and without animals (Hammarstrom 2008; Schwalm 2007; Toulmin 2018; Wilson 2015). Furthermore, fairgrounds vary in longevity and size (Trowell 2017), as well as in the character of the meanings that they evoke among the people who visit them (Kyle and Chick 2007). Fairgrounds exhibit also considerable international diversity with regard to business models, cultural histories and social structures, ranging from Italian attractionists (Gobbo 2015) to Venezuelan *parques de atracciones* (Anteliz and Danaher 2000; Anteliz, Danaher, and Danaher 2001).

From a different perspective, occupational mobility displays a complex relationship with particular Indigenous communities that traditionally engaged in certain forms of mobility. Again the empirical reality is complexity and diversity that belie analytical efforts that are intended to enhance explanatory clarity but that risk homogenisation and even stereotyping. Accordingly, there are individuals and groups within communities such as Gypsy Travellers in Great Britain (McCaffery 2009) and in Scotland (Shubin 2011a, 2011b), Roma in continental Europe (van Baar 2018; Yildiz and De Genova 2018), First Nations peoples in Canada (Snyder and Wilson 2015) and in the United States of America (Cresswell 2008), as well as globally (Aikau and Corntassel 2014), and Indigenous Australians (Standfield 2018) who engage or have engaged in specific forms of residential mobility for purposes sometimes related to cultural practices, and sometimes to occupational needs, and sometimes to both.

These distinctive forms of mobility demonstrate an explicitly politicised and multiply positioned dimension, exemplified here with examples taken from constructions of Indigenous Australians' varied mobilities. For instance, Taylor identified the '... propensity for frequent mobility over the short-term' exhibited by Indigenous Australians as being '...

the one demographic variable where hard data and understanding are grossly deficient' (1996, iv). 20 years later, Dockery (2016) proposed a counter narrative to what Taylor (1996, iv) propounded as '... this dilemma ...' by claiming that '... key models of human mobility across several disciplines can be considered as specific cases of a broader conceptualisation of mobility in terms of its contribution to wellbeing', and that '... this wellbeing perspective offers important advantages for the formulation of policy ..., ... particularly in regard to policy relating to highly mobile, indigenous peoples', such as those in Australia. By contrast, Prout (2008) asserted baldly that, also in Australia, 'Because of distinct motivations, frequencies, and spatialization, Indigenous mobility practices in many rural and remote areas unsettle conventional Western frameworks of government service delivery, which assume relative sedentarisation' (i).

This same politicisation and multiple positioning of particular enactments of mobility are manifested in the competing discourses attendant on the phenomenon whereby occupational mobility crosses over with lifestyle, encapsulated in the New (Age) Travellers. Kiddle (1999, 66) articulated precisely the diverse motivations of these individuals and groups who assume a nomadic lifestyle in the United Kingdom:

> For some a travelling life was a deliberate and positive choice, a desire to do things differently, a reaction against materialism, a 'green' statement. For others it was forced – a broken relationship, a flight from abuse, a social or economic rejection by the wider society. For some it was a complete alienation from a system which they felt had failed them.

The forms of occupation in which these New (Age) Travellers engage are as varied as their forms of mobility, and as widely ranging as the degree of approbation and empathy, or alternatively disapproval and even hostility, that they evoke. The more positive construction of these mobile communities was distilled by Kiddle (1999) in the preceding paragraph; the less positive construction was encapsulated powerfully by Fox (2018, 3–4) as follows:

> You'd often see them begging in the centers of small cities, drinking, perhaps the more enterprising of them trying to earn a few quid doing street performances, selling woven bracelets, or giving henna tattoos to teenage German tourists. Substance abuse, homelessness, poverty, and trouble with the law were rife among members of the community. In the minds of mainstream society, they were simply a bunch of dropouts in need of a shower. But if you knew how to read the aesthetics of postwar British pop culture, their based-up army boots, their piercings, and the unnameable green-brown-grey hue of their clothes signalled that they were among the remaining members of what was once a vibrant subculture.

The variability amongst occupationally mobile families encompasses the occupational types, economic sustainability and social structures attendant on particular communities, a dynamism that is influenced also by wider changes to contemporary work practices related to technological developments and globalisation. At the same time, these diverse occupationally mobile communities often share a positioning as being 'other' in relation to mainstream occupations predicated on fixed residence. This othered positioning is elaborated below through the lens of contemporary anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology.

The anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology

It is clear from the preceding discussion that, far from being politically neutral, occupational mobilities are actually implicated in deeply embedded discourses of differentiation

and patterns of power. In particular, many of the occupationally mobile communities portrayed in the previous section of the paper have been subject for centuries, even millennia, to the enactment of the ideology known as anti-nomadism/sedentarism.

From that perspective, Malkki (1992, 279) noted '[t]he pathologization of uprootedness in the national order of things'. Danaher and Henderson (2011, 64) deployed the term 'etiology' '... to denote the settled/itinerant's binary's status as a pathology', as well as to evoke the '... considerable evidence of the ancient lineage and the continued longevity of this binary, ...'. More specifically, McVeigh (1997) strove to engage in what he called '[t]heorising sedentarism', whereby 'the roots of anti-nomadism' (7) could be made explicit (see also Danaher and Henderson 2011). He defined sedentarism as '... that system of ideas and practices which serves to normalise and reproduce sedentary modes of existence and pathologise and repress nomadic modes of existence' (9). He elaborated this definition by asserting the pervasive power of this ideology over all mobile communities:

> It is wrong to use notions which reproduce the dichotomy between 'good' Travellers (ethnic, exotic, romantic, free) and bad travellers (non-ethnic, dispossessed and debased sedentaries, subcultures of poverty). In fact, the suggested dichotomy between the construction of the romanticised 'Raggle Taggle Gypsy' and the pathologised 'itinerant' is a false one. Both simultaneously inform contemporary ideas about, and the treatment of, *all* nomadic peoples. (15; *emphasis in original*)

McVeigh (1997) explained how, prior to the Neolithic revolution and the attendant development of agriculture beginning around 10,000 years ago, all human communities were nomadic (see also Danaher and Henderson 2011). Agricultural practices needed permanent settlements in order to be managed and regulated efficiently, with prosperous towns and cities developing along coastlines and rivers. This phenomenon of fixed residence was facilitated considerably by the industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries, when machine-based manufacturing prompted urbanisation. As Danaher and Henderson (2011, 65) observed, 'Although these two revolutions occurred millennia apart from each other, their combined impact was to normalize permanent residence and consequently to pathologize mobility ...'.

The characteristics and principles of the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology have been articulated extensively. Danaher, Moriarty, and Danaher (2004) referred to '... the key elements of sedentarism ...' as being '... (essentialisation, pathologisation and naturalisation)' (48), and they argued that:

> ... sedentarism moves beyond a casual and informal prejudice against nomadic lifestyles (though it might incorporate such prejudice) into a more institutionally authorised and formalised system of ideas and practices. As such, it should be possible to discern sedentarist dispositions being communicated across a wide range of social structures and cultural contexts: media representations, educational curricula, government policies, policing measures, children's namecalling and so forth. (49)

The essence of the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology was synthesised evocatively by Rana (2018):

> Mobility sways between the binaries of civilization, progress and modernity on the one hand and rootlessness, savagery and criminalization on the other. In the west mobility has been a cursed enterprise ever since Biblical times and posits itself as a counterculture. In the east, especially in India, mobility was entwined with caste and the associated rules of purity and pollution. The act of mobility upsets and unsettles the logic of structure, border, territory, or

> sovereignty and nationalism . . .. However, in many cases the ability to be mobile is treated as an alternative lifestyle and seen as a mark of status and therefore respected.

Building on the final sentence in Rana's (2018) quoted statement above, part of the complexity of anti-nomadism/sedentarism lies in the fact that its ideological apparatus is sometimes hidden from view and critique through its mobilisation of seemingly positive feelings and thoughts, such as exoticism and romanticism, related to particular occupationally mobile communities. For example, sensations of nostalgia are often associated with Australian shows (Broome and Jackomos 1998). Similarly, Toninato (2018) contrasted '. . . romantic literary images of nomadic "Gypsies" and entrenched fictional views of Romani nomadism, . . .' with '. . . self-representations of Romani authors' that Toninato asserted contributed directly to '. . . the counter-hegemonic relationship between hetero-representations and self-representations of nomadism, . . .'. Yet, despite these instances of exoticism and romanticism, their fundamental effect was to perpetuate the ideological othering of occupationally mobile communities. For example, and again drawing on European Roma to exemplify the argument, James and Smith (2017, 186) linked this othering with the sustainability of capitalism: '. . . existing EU [European Union] approaches to anti-Gypsyism . . . are based in discourses of racism and anti-nomadism . . .. The paper argues for . . . the commonality of . . . [the Roma's] experience with other socially excluded groups that do not conform to the requirements of contemporary neoliberal capitalism'.

From a broader perspective, the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology has proven to be remarkably resilient over centuries and resistant to efforts to ameliorate it. A central reason that this is so is that this ideology constitutes a distinctive manifestation of the crucial '. . . relation between human mobilities and immobilities, and the unequal power relations which unevenly distribute motility, the potential for mobility' (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006, 15). Moreover, this ideology generates particular forms of the relationship '. . . between "materialities" and "mobilities". . .' (10) posited by Hannam et al., and explored also by Brooks and Waters (2018) in relation to education (a connection that is elaborated in the next section of this paper).

The demystification and sometimes the contestation of the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology have been facilitated by ongoing analysis of the politicisation of the material and physical spaces through which occupationally mobile communities move in itineraries with varying degrees of regularity, size and structure. Drakakis-Smith (2007) wrote persuasively of nomadism in terms of being '. . . a moving myth' (463) whereby '. . . policy, practice and service delivery . . . has served to shape the Gypsy/Traveller *habitus* and to keep some families mobile and excluded either by force or assumption which is subsequently built into policy' (482; *emphasis in original*). This politicised mythologising links in turn with the proposition that mobility is '. . . fundamentally discursively constructed' (Frello 2008, 25), requiring an equally fundamentally discursive deconstruction of '. . . how distinctions between movement and stasis inform political and cultural struggle' (25). These discursive constructions and attempted deconstructions were certainly evident in how Shubin and Swanson (2010) wrote about Scottish Gypsy Travellers in a way that resonated more broadly with other categories of occupationally and/or ethnically mobile communities. Building on this resonance, they distilled aptly and powerfully the fundamental admixture between mobility and marginalisation by identifying '. . . the discursive constructions of movement in the context of

institutionalised power and ... the spatial ordering of Gypsy Travellers' lives, whose marginality has been legitimised by laws, ideologically sustained and reproduced in policy documents' (919).

The anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology exercises profound influence over several related areas of public policy that have generally negative effects on occupationally mobile communities. For example, James and Southern (2019, 324) recounted '... the impact of planning policies on accommodation provision for Gypsies and Travellers in England and subsequently how their exclusion manifests due to the sedentarist binary definition of nomadism embedded within that policy'. Likewise, and specifically in relation to '... the politics of mobility regulation in the context of Indigenous Australians and state housing policy' (646), Sarah and Green (2018) argued that:

> ... state practices that ignore or attempt to regulate the spatial/population mobilities of mobile cultures have questionable efficacy, and can further entrench the marginal status of mobile cultures. They also show how mobile cultures challenge sedentarist policy parameters that insist on fixity in household tenure and composition. These observed struggles with respect to cultural identity and movement regulation constitute important empirical challenges to the nomadic metaphysics within the mobility turn. (646)

Finally in this section of the paper, Grzymala-Kazlowska (2018) presented a different distinction 'between the "sedentarist" and the mobility perspectives' (632), gleaned from her ethnographic and autobiographical research with Polish migrants in the United Kingdom. This account positioned everyday phenomena, such as '... performing gender; daily practices; spirituality; leisure activities; attachment to nature; [and] material objects and technology ...' (632), as '... anchors ...' that can both perpetuate and disrupt the challenges facing this specific occupationally mobile community.

This section of the paper has identified specific elements of the historical genealogy and the contemporary manifestations of the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology. Like the occupationally mobile communities that it constructs and positions in particular ways, this ideology is highly complex and diverse. Also like those communities, this ideology generates discrimination and marginalisation that traverse the boundaries of geographical location, historical period and domain of social life. The next section explores in greater depth those effects in relation to the educational experiences and outcomes of occupationally mobile communities.

The effects of anti-nomadism/sedentarism on schooling

Fundamentally, the complex and powerful relationship between anti-nomadism/sedentarism, on the one hand, and schooling options for children in occupationally mobile communities, on the other hand, derives from the disjuncture in spatial and temporal rhythms and structures between occupational mobility and conventional schooling. The former is predicated on regular, albeit diverse, forms of physical movement around geographical areas of varying size, while the latter requires fixed and place-dependent attendance, whether at a school or at home studying via distance or online education. This disjuncture was synthesised effectively by Evans (1998, xii), specifically in relation to Australian show children but more broadly with reference to the children of occupationally mobile families:

> Contemporary societies and their attendant bureaucracies and services assume that people have a place, an address where they can be contacted, monitored and 'served'. Usually children go to the local school and their registration and attendance are monitored to ensure that they receive their rightful amount of schooling. Show children occupy or traverse a territory rather than a place .... Children are expected to be at school during school hours. How can they do this if their parents and homes move, sometimes hundreds of kilometres every couple of weeks?

Certainly for the Australian show community, prior to the establishment of a specialised programme for them by the Brisbane School of Distance Education (Danaher 1998), their schooling options for their children were stark, even educationally impoverished:

- ... sending their children to local schools along the show circuits
- sending their children to boarding schools
- not sending their children to local or boarding schools but instead teaching them correspondence lessons on the show circuits
- coming off the show circuits and finding alternative employment for the duration of their children's education so that the children could attend local schools
- remaining on the show circuits and sending their children to live with relatives and attend local schools
- not sending their children to school at all. (Danaher 2001, 255)

At the same time, this ideologically constructed disjuncture between occupational mobility and conventional schooling assumes diverse and multiple forms. For instance, Baca (2004) summarised the educational prospects of the children of migrant farmworkers in the United States as follows: 'The migrant workers and their families who harvest our nation's food can certainly be counted among the most vulnerable' (ix). In addition:

> Migrant children are first and foremost affected by the poverty and health problems related to low wages, poor living conditions, and transience. In the course of a school year, many migrant children relocate from their home bases, or sending schools, to districts with different curricula, credit accrual, and testing requirements. (ix)

This fundamental disconnection between the contradictory requirements of occupational mobility and place-dependent schooling in the context of migrant farmworker families in the United States prompted Cárdenas and Cárdenas to elaborate what they called the 'Theory of Incompatibilities' (Cárdenas and Blandina 1995) to signify this crevasse between community need and public policy. Nearly a decade later, Cárdenas (2004) explained how these educational incompatibilities remained and were sustained by systemic incomprehension and inflexibility, asserting starkly that 'Too many success stories occur in spite of the education, not because of it' (240).

Relatedly, Gobbo (2017) conducted extensive research with:

> ... the Italian occupational minority of the fairground and circus people, whose intensely mobile way of life impacts on their children's school attendance and learning, and on the schools' capacity to elaborate effective educational paths also able to valorize those people's cultural diversity.

Moreover, Vanderbeck (2005) observed how '... the discursive construction of Traveller childhood within contemporary Britain ...' entailed '... an emphasis on the ways in which

state educational discourse constructs young Travellers as needing greater involvement with the "mainstream" education system' (71). Furthermore, '... children's rights discourses are often employed to construct Traveller parents as obstacles to their children's development and well-being, and ... these discourses can be used to legitimise various exertions of power (such as legal measures to prosecute parents)' (71).

Part of the complexity pertaining to the educational effects of anti-nomadism/sedentarism lies in the considerable diversity of forms of mobility among and within different occupationally mobile communities. For example, Myers (2018) contended baldly '... that Gypsy students in primary and secondary education in the UK are marginalised because of ambiguous understandings of their "mobility"', that '... the association between Gypsy ethnicity and nomadism is itself questionable and may be better understood in more nuanced terms reflecting the relationship between identity and "mobility"', and '... that "mobility" is understood to define Gypsy difference in a way that excludes students'.

Similarly, a generally sympathetic rendition of nomadic pastoralists' traditional lifestyle nevertheless highlighted the essence of the fissure between that lifestyle and conventional schooling provision: in relation to livestock herd migration in northern Kenya, '... the barriers to schooling ... include an insufficient number of schools, *nomadism* and communal conflicts' (Mburu 2017, 545; *emphasis in original*). Moreover, that fissure was quantifiable, with '... about a 26% probability of failure to attend [school] among the children of livestock migrating households'. A variation on this account, in the context of transhumant pastoralists in western India, analysed '... Education for All as an ideological notion, reflecting values that contradict those of nomadic groups, ...', and contended '... that the value positions underlying this notion need to be articulated and further contextualised if it is not simply to reflect existing, and exclusive, hegemonies' (Dyer 2001, 315). Or again in relation to nomadic pastoralists in western India:

> Policy strategies currently undervalue 'education' as situated learning with a crucial role in pastoralist livelihood sustainability, recognition of which is essential to considering how such 'education' can interface with institutional arrangements and tackling the delegitimisation of pastoralism by hegemonic, place-based schooling. (Dyer 2012, 259)

More broadly, in her authoritative book *Livelihoods and Learning: Education for All and the Marginalisation of Mobile Pastoralists*, Dyer (2014) highlighted that innovative approaches to the education of occupationally mobile communities, as encapsulated in the experiences of the nomadic pastoralist Rabari of India, can develop and be sustained, but that such innovations need to work with rather than against the contexts in which the communities live, learn and work. Examples of effective innovations in these contexts included systems of tracking pupils, curricula developed with full awareness of the pupils' lifeworlds and mobile provision of teaching to the pupils. What these innovations had in common was the capacity to align with and thereby to value the pupils' and their families' mobile lifestyles, and hence to shake off the bonds of constraint and control exerted by the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology.

Towards innovative education for occupationally mobile families and their children

Despite the pervasive and seemingly invincible ideology of anti-nomadism/sedentarism, including its globally deleterious effects on the schooling experiences and outcomes of the children of occupationally mobile communities, there is considerable evidence of educational counter narratives to these effects. In particular, there are striking – and highly diverse – examples of schooling provision for the children of these communities that demonstrate educational adaptability and inventiveness, and that exhibit the characteristics of innovative education.

This analysis of innovative education for occupationally mobile families and their children needs to be read against the previously presented typology of '. . . the four principal forms of provision – assimilation, integration, segregation [also called "specialization"], and lobbying' (Danaher, Moriarty, and Danaher 2009, 8). With caveats duly noted, including recognising that specific manifestations of provision might display the features of more than one form, and acknowledging that 'lobbying' reflected a political function rather than an educational structure, it is useful to note that 'assimilation' denoted itinerant children being included in 'mainstream' or 'regular' classes, 'integration' signified specialist support staff members working with the itinerant children in such 'mainstream' or 'regular' systems, and 'segregation' or 'specialization' referred to separate provision delivered specifically for the itinerant children. Crucially, no single form of provision is automatically or necessarily more innovative than any other. For example, there is a continuing debate between advocates of 'integration' and supporters of 'specialization' for learners with specific individual educational needs (Danaher and Danaher 2000, 2009). Instead, the capacity for innovation lies with devising effective educational provision that is consonant with the distinctive contexts in which the occupationally mobile families and their children are situated.

For instance, in relation to Italian fairground and circus communities, Gobbo (2017) highlighted three distinct educational projects '. . . that mean to positively answer the mismatch between the mobility of the attractionist students and the schooling curricula, the annual teaching schedule and the attendance requirements'. All these three dimensions are fundamental to the logics of schooling provision, and hence are complicit with the ideological disjuncture elaborated above between such provision and the distinguishing features of occupationally mobile communities.

Furthermore, Kenny (1997) drew on more than two decades of teaching Irish Traveller children to theorise their interactions with the Irish state, represented by the schooling system, in terms of ethnicity and resistance, which in turn prompted Kenny to express guarded optimism regarding the potentially innovative possibilities of Irish Traveller education:

> The positive [potential] indicates the validity of, and the need for[,] a visionary sociology and pedagogy if the intervention of official educators in the domain of Travellers is to be emancipatory rather than invasive. Recent developments among Travellers as a group indicate that such education for children will find a supportive context in an increasingly self aware and proud Traveller community. The loops in the discursive domain of Travellers continue to ensure feedback through the strands, and the routes of resistance are kept clear for the journey forward.

Similarly, an edited book entitled *Traveller Education: Accounts of Good Practice* (Tyler 2005a) traversed the gamut of issues facing occupationally mobile families and their children in the United Kingdom, including specific levels of provision such as early childhood education and successive key stages of primary and secondary schooling, incorporating strategies to promote literacy and other curriculum areas, and addressing whole school planning and self-reviews. Tyler's foreword to the book (2005b, xi) highlighted the fluidity of the Travellers' patterns of mobility and the centrality of context in educators' engaging meaningfully with those patterns:

> . . . the situation regarding Traveller groups is not constant. As one group settles, so another brings new requirements. So there can never be one correct approach to the education of Traveller children . . . .What this book aims to do is to pose the correct questions and then begin to examine some of the answers. It is up to practitioners themselves, at whatever level, to explore their own good practice and for us together to begin to right the educational wrongs levelled for generations against Traveller families.

Also in the United Kingdom, Derrington and Kendall (2004) focused on the experiences of 44 English Gypsy Traveller and Irish Traveller children in English secondary schools. The authors navigated several issues framing those experiences, ranging from relationships between primary and secondary schools and the mediating role of Traveller Education (Support) Services (see also Danaher, Coombes, and Kiddle 2007) to instances of cultural dissonance and racism to influences on Traveller children's attrition from and retention at school. The authors also emphasised the situated character of their findings and recommendations:

> The key message here is that engagement in secondary education can be precarious, whether a Traveller child lives in a house or on the roadside. This study provides insights into perceptions and experiences of the students and their parents, which may help to further our understanding of this complex issue. (174)

Again in the United Kingdom, O'Hanlon and Holmes (2004) used a 12-month action research project with managers and advisory support teachers from 12 English Traveller Education Support Services to develop evidence-based case studies of successful approaches to issues such as early childhood education, literacy education, Traveller children's school attendance, and promoting equality and inclusion for those children. The strategies distilled by the authors were highly diverse: some, such as those clustered around building enduring and trusting relationships, exhibited similarities across the different occupationally mobile communities, while others were varied according to whether the mobile community consisted of English Gypsy Travellers, Irish Travellers, New (Age) Travellers, or fairground and circus families.

Likewise, six years later, O'Hanlon (2010) recorded the positive impact of '. . . increasingly supportive legislation . . . [on] Gypsy/Traveller numbers in schools and other educational institutions' in the United Kingdom. She highlighted also a phenomenon that is crucial for occupationally mobile communities to experience genuinely innovative education: '. . . Travellers are doing what they always have done and still do, and that is taking control for themselves and choosing what specific educational opportunities on offer will benefit them [and their children]'.

Moving from the United Kingdom to the Middle East, Chatty (2006) presented a nuanced account of the complex interactions between the Harasiis, a small community of nomadic

pastoralists caring for camels and goats in Oman, and several Ministries in the Omani Government against the backdrop of the late Sultan Qaboos bin Said's drive to modernise Oman. The community's proposals for a mobile school gave way to the establishment of a residential school for boys and to the provision of day schooling for girls. Significantly, Chatty interpreted the residential school as '… an ongoing and partially successful venture' (228), and she attributed that partial success to the need for compromise related to such questions as the school's location, and school hours and days of attendance: 'The protracted period of negotiations meant that multiple voices were heard' (228).

In Iran, Shahbazi (2006), a member of the Qashqa'i nomadic pastoralist community living in Fars province in Iran, examined the similarly complex interactions between that community and Iranian state officials. From that perspective, the establishment of specialised tent schools travelled from place to place and of a dedicated boarding high school was intended to assimilate the Qashqa'i into Iranian culture, but, owing largely to the teachers who staffed the schools, this assimilationist agenda was counteracted by teaching practices that aligned much more closely with Qashqa'i cultural practices.

These examples can certainly be read as partial and incomplete, and thereby as encapsulating the same characteristics of the broader project of equitable and transformative education for these communities. At the same time, each example contains seeds that can be nourished to support longer-term and more significant educational change.

More widely, these varied strategies 'work' and 'make sense' precisely because they are situated in the historically constructed and materially grounded mobilities of each occupationally mobile community. Those specialised mobilities are different from many other kinds of mobilities; they exhibit as well significant variations within and across distinct occupationally mobile communities. It is these same differences and variations that constitute the contexts in which innovative education for occupationally mobile families and their children is located, and that render also such education complex and needing to demonstrate system-wide and classroom-specific adaptability and innovativeness. Or to make this point in another way, with 'pastoralists' synthesising the situation for other occupationally mobile communities: 'Achieving political commitment to addressing the scale and extent of pastoralists' education deprivation is not unimaginable, but contingent on significant reappraisal of mobility as a livelihood strategy and of the legitimacy of pastoralism as a sustainable contemporary livelihood' (Dyer 2013, 601).

Conclusion

In 2013, an editorial in this journal emphasised the complex interplay between education and different kinds of mobilities, as well as highlighting the dynamism of the scholarly field attending this interplay: 'Rethinking the role of education in relation to new movements, flows and networks, and new forms of diversity and identity[,] has become central to educational discourse, in both policy and research' (Arnot, Schneider, and Welply 2013, 567).

Five years later, Dyer (2018) provocatively conceptualised educational inclusion '… as a border regime' that has previously – and ironically – excluded many mobile pastoralists. In response, Dyer urged '[a] re-appraisal of scholarly boundaries … to support the interdisciplinary effort needed to place mobile pastoralists among those who count first'.

On the one hand, the preceding discussion has been designed to constitute a distinctive contribution to the continuing project of reimagining education, migration and mobilities.

On the other hand, the account presented here is intended as part of a growing counter narrative to the educational exclusion of mobile pastoralists and other occupationally mobile communities.

More specifically, the understandings gleaned from this account include the politicised dimension of education policy-making and schooling provision that needs to be read against statist manoeuvres to construct particular forms of occupational mobilities as being dangerous, deficit and deviant in comparison with the norms and values of fixed residence, and hence as being problematic with regard to providing equitable and empowering educational opportunities. These manoeuvres illustrate starkly the continued effects of the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology and the associated political and structural conditions that intrude powerfully into the educational domain, and that serve to complicate and contest the learning aspirations and the teaching strategies of the occupationally mobile pupils, their families and their teachers.

At the same time, the evidence-based strategies that have been explored here as mobilising effective schooling provision for the innovative education of occupationally mobile families and their contribute other kinds of new understandings of the complexity and diversity of contemporary mobilities. These additional understandings build on the distinctive affordances related to the positive and productive applications of current mobilities in ways that resonate with the specific contexts in which occupationally mobile communities learn, work and live. In these ways, educationally genuine and sound counter narratives to the debilitating impact of the anti-nomadic/sedentarist ideology can be developed and applied, thereby contributing new understandings of 'mobilities' and 'place-based schooling' alike. In the process, there is continuing hope that these new understandings can indeed challenge the foundations and effects of this ideology, and sustain a transforming and socially just vision of Education for All, including for occupationally mobile learners.

Acknowledgments

The author is grateful for Eng. Emilio A. Anteliz's and Dr. Deborah L. Mulligan's helpful encouragement in writing this paper. Funding for previous research about this topic was provided by Central Queensland University, Australia. The paper was written during a period of study leave funded generously by the University of Southern Queensland, Australia. The paper was strengthened considerably by the insightful feedback of three anonymous peer reviewers and of Dr Bronwyn Wong. Finally, Emeritus Professor Sheila Trahar has been an encouraging and facilitative journal editor.

For Phyllida Nina Coombes, For everything, and without whom this would not have been possible.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

ORCID

P. A. Danaher http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2289-7774

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