

Sara Forsberg

Going places

Local settings and global horizons in young people's
education and work trajectories



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

Dissertation presented at Uppsala University to be publicly examined in University Hall Room IV, Biskopsgatan 3, Uppsala, Friday, 18 May 2018 at 10:15 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The examination will be conducted in English. Faculty examiner: Associate Professor Johanna Waters (University of Oxford, Fellow of Kellogg College, Oxford).

Abstract

Forsberg, S. 2018. Going places. Local settings and global horizons in young people's education and work trajectories. *Geographica* 18. 108 pp. Uppsala: Department of Social and Economic Geography. ISBN 978-91-506-2689-6.

The recent trend for mass higher education and a growing policy focus on a knowledge-driven economy has created the expectation that everyone can enter a fulfilling and rewarding career. However, young people often experience discrepancies between expectations of social mobility and local or national labour market opportunities. This thesis draws on Bourdieu's family of concepts of field, capital and habitus to analyse how young people's different education and work trajectories are conceived, validated and realised across different socio-spatial contexts.

An interview-based study of how supranational organisations for education mediate and shape normative values of education revealed that a global agenda of education is embedded in a complex geography ranging from the individual to the global level. Within this, orders of dominance between nation-states are reinforced in the formulation and allocation of problems and solutions.

In a field study in Thiruvananthapuram, the state capital in Kerala, India, young people's dispositions towards mobility in the transition from education to work were analysed. The results revealed that young people's future aspirations are shaped in a profound way by Kerala's history of in- and out-migration. The study also identified differences within the middle class, where transnational capital distinguishes rather than unifies 'Indian youth'.

A similar study on how young people in a sparsely populated area in northern Sweden negotiate their future education and work alternatives showed that the geographical marginality of the region influences perceptions of the future in divergent and sometimes contradictory ways. In a follow-up study of the wider region, individual-level registry data were used to explore post-graduation mobility in the five northern counties in Sweden. The results showed that grades, levels of education and choice of occupation or education type all impact the mobility of young adults within the highly-educated segment of the population, and in particular the choice of whether to stay or leave the home region.

Overall, this thesis shows how young people's ambitions and trajectories are embedded in different socio-spatial contexts that enable them to adapt to, resist or benefit to varying degrees from global discourses of 'successful adulthood'.

Sara Forsberg, Department of Social and Economic Geography, Box 513, Uppsala University, SE-75120 Uppsala, Sweden.

© Sara Forsberg 2018

ISSN 0431-2023

ISBN 978-91-506-2689-6

urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-347063 (<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-347063>)

To Håkan, Assar and Elmer

Photo, Picture 1: Anshul Gupta

Photo, Picture 2: Susanne Stenbacka

Map 1–2: Janne Margrethe Karlsson

Acknowledgements

This research has taken me to northern Sweden, southern India and Paris – places where I met courageous people who have shared their experiences with me and patiently agreed to answer my questions. I am so grateful to everyone who took part in this study. I would particularly like to mention Maria in Kalix, Kumar in Thiruvananthapuram and Malin in Paris for engaging with the studies and for assisting me. Your help has been invaluable.

There are two people who have been with me from start to end, my supervisors Brett Christophers and Danielle Ekman Ladru. I have learned so much from both of you! You gave me freedom to explore my areas of interest and provided me with clear guidance. Thank you Brett, for carefully reading my texts and for intellectually challenging and stimulating discussions which pushed my ideas forward and helped me develop my texts and arguments. You also patiently proofread texts and always offered valuable advice. Danielle, thank you for your insightful thoughts on my texts and for always reminding me to ‘go back to the data’. Your critical comments and discussions developed my understanding of particular issues and their relation to the bigger picture in texts and in study design. Thanks to you both for all the support you have given me throughout these years!

I would also like to thank the reading group members, Susanne Stenbacka, Anders Malmberg and Tom Mels, for careful reading and valuable comments on the thesis manuscript.

One of the articles in the thesis is co-written with Marcus Mohall. I really appreciated working together with you and I am grateful for enriching discussions and smooth cooperation.

I am also really fortunate to have friends and colleagues read and comment on my texts at different stages of my work. Thank you Andreas Alm Fjellborg, Chiara Valli, Jan Amcoff, John Östh, Marcus Mohall, Melissa Kelly, Sara Westin, Tina Mathisen and Patricia Yocie Hierofani. I feel lucky to have my friend Hans Aldskogius as an engaged reader who always has insightful thoughts. I would also like to thank John Guy Perrem for engaging with a

number of my texts and for all his help with improving my English. The maps in this thesis were prepared by Janne Margrethe Karlsson, thank you for this wonderful contribution. To Anshul Gupta and Susanne Stenbacka, thank you for enriching the thesis with photos. I would also like to express my gratitude to the late Staffan Öhrling for his help in preparing for my field work in Kerala.

I collectively thank the Department of Social and Economic Geography. My appreciation to the former head of department Aida Aragao-Lagergren for your encouragement and assistance. Thank you also to the present head of department and former director of studies Susanne Stenbacka for fruitful discussions and support throughout the years. To the current director of studies David Jansson, thank you for your engagement in the PhD programme. I would also like to express my gratitude to the late Jan Öhman who encouraged me to apply to the PhD program. Thank you also to Karin Beckman, Lena Dahlborg, Madeleine Bergkvist and Pamela Tipmanoworn for helping me out with all kinds of practical issues. I could continue to make a long list of colleagues at the department who supported, inspired and encouraged my work in different ways. To spare the reader, I will merely say to everyone, a warm thank you!

My field work would not have been possible without scholarship funds from the Anna-Maria Lundins Stipendiefond/Smålands Nation and the Kempe stipend from Norrlands nation. Thank you also to the Swedish Institute in Paris for housing me during field work.

When I started my PhD I was really fortunate to be part of a cohort of brilliant and friendly people. Thank you for sharing the PhD experience with me Andreas Alm Fjellborg, Chiara Valli, Janne Margrethe Karlsson, Johanna Jokkinen, Magdalena Cedering and Marat Murzabekov. I would also like to thank the 'oldies' who showed us the way. I am especially thinking about Anna-Klara Lindeborg, Ann Rodenstedt, Hele Kiimann, Sara Johansson, Sofie Joose, Jon Loit, Melissa Kelly and Pepijn Olders. Thank you also to all other present and former PhD students and post-docs for laughs, discussions and friendly chats around the coffee table!

I have also been lucky to have had two spectacular officemates, Cecilia Bygdell and Janne Margrethe Karlsson. Thank you for all the friendly chats and for putting up with my messiness. Thank you also Janne for our friendship and for being such a great support in all the ups and downs in life. Thank you also Tina Mathisen for the great experience of working together and for always having a nice word on the way.

I would especially like to thank three people that have been a big part of my PhD experience, Andreas Alm Fjellborg, Chiara Valli and John Guy Perrem. You guys made everyday life as a PhD student enjoyable. Thank you for laughs, talks, dinners and for all the great and fun times spent together. You are truly the best!

I now turn to the people that have been there all along. My wonderful friends Jakob, Jenny, Karin, Rocio, Sebastian, and Stefan and your families, thank you for always being there for me and for all your encouragement. Thank you also my very best friend Katarina for patiently reading my texts and for your rock-solid support.

Thank you mamma and pappa for all the care and support that you always give me. I am not really sure how this thesis would have been finished without the practical help from you, especially during the final year. Thank you also to the best big brother in the world – Andreas – your curiosity about people and society has always inspired me. You and your wonderful family – Kalia, Brisa, Matilda – have provided me with so much care and support. Thank you also to Siv and Lasse for all your encouragement.

Finally, I would like to thank ‘my boys’! It is an impossible task to summarise what you Håkan have meant to me in this process. You have read and commented on my texts, more than once, and our discussions have encouraged and inspired my work. You are my source of eternal optimism and I cannot believe how lucky I am to have you as my partner in life. And Assar and Elmer, thank you for ‘keeping it real’ and for being my very own superheroes.

Edstuga and Uppsala March 2018

List of Papers

This thesis is based on the following papers, which are referred to in the text by their respective Roman numeral:

- I. Forsberg, S. Setting the global agenda of education: Cooperation and tension within the global education policy field. Manuscript submitted to international academic journal.
- II. Forsberg, S. (2017). Educated to be global: Transnational horizons of middle-class students in Kerala. *Environment and Planning A*, 49(9): 2099-2115
- III. Forsberg, S. (2017). 'The right to immobility' and the uneven distribution of spatial capital: Negotiating youth transitions in northern Sweden. *Social & Cultural Geography*.
- IV. Forsberg, S. and Mohall, M. Young adults' mobility patterns in the transition from higher education to work in northern Sweden. Manuscript.

Reprints are made with permission from the respective publishers.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	15
Aim and research questions	18
Outline of the thesis	19
2. Research context	21
A global agenda of education	22
Motives for going abroad to study.....	26
Place attachment and geographical reach.....	28
Migration patterns in rural areas	32
Final remarks on the research context.....	35
3. Theoretical points of departure	37
A global education policy field.....	38
Different forms of symbolic capital.....	41
Educational capital	43
Spatial capital	44
Transnational capital	46
Habitus	47
Local gender relations	48
Final remarks on theory	51
4. Methodology	52
The selection of four cases	53
Field work in Paris, Thiruvananthapuram and Kalix	59
Interviews	61
Staff members at the OECD and UNESCO	62
Middle-class students in Kerala	64
Students in Kalix	66
Coding and analysing registry data.....	68
Final remarks on methodology	70
5. Summary of the work in Papers I-IV	71
Paper I.....	71
Paper II	73
Paper III	75
Paper IV.....	77

6. Conclusion	79
Globalisation, individualisation and the nation-state	80
Trajectories and place.....	83
A diversified middle-class: Social position and geographical reach.....	85
Gender ambiguity.....	88
Moving forward.....	91
Bibliography.....	93
Appendix	103

1. Introduction

Young people grow up in different socio-economic contexts, both in terms of family resources and in relation to national or local settings. Their everyday lives most often involve meeting friends and people in their immediate surroundings, taking part in local social activities, going to school or work and looking out on a landscape engraved with socio-economic structures of housing, labour markets and infrastructure. The images of the world presented to young people are also influenced by a range of expressions from elsewhere, through travel and social contacts reaching well beyond the local community. Alternative lifestyles are communicated through social media, TV, magazines and newspapers and commercial messages. These different inputs contain knowledges that inform young people's career choices and reinforce or challenge normative values of progression and success that shape young people's perceptions of different 'adulthoods'. This thesis sets out to explore how young people's education and work trajectories are conceived, validated and realised. In doing so, it highlights a tension between global-reaching ideas of progression and differentiated local contexts.

The recent development of mass higher education and the policy focus on a knowledge-driven economy has created a feeling that everyone has the 'opportunity' to enter a fulfilling and rewarding career. However, youth unemployment is increasing globally and young people are to varying degrees experiencing discrepancies between future expectations of social mobility and local or national labour market opportunities (ILO 2016). Previous research has uncovered difficulties associated with young people's transition from education to work that involve several elements of uncertainty (Beck 1992; Jeffrey 2010a; Lundahl et al 2017).

Policymakers, reformers and politicians cite the close association between education credentials and social mobility (Grubb and Lazerson 2006). As part of education and labour market 'matching processes', policymakers point to the need for mobile and flexible workers (Urry 2007). Young people are expected to be mobile and adapt to changing labour market conditions. This entails social

mobility in terms of changing profession, but also geographical mobility in terms of going where training and jobs are located, which is generally in cities.

Young people's mobility strategies are also a way to stand out in competition with others on national or international labour markets. Students from middle-class families invest in an education abroad to gain a competitive advantage (see e.g. Brooks and Waters 2011; Börjesson 2005; Findlay et al. 2012). The destination countries are foremost the US, UK, Australia and Canada, and the students mainly originate from China, India and Korea. The number of international students is continuing to rise. In 2010, the OECD and UNESCO estimated that there were between 3.6 and 4.1 million international students (Börjesson 2017).

Nevertheless, a large majority of the world's youth population does not engage in international migration. In fact, international students only account for a few per cent of the total number of students enrolled in higher education. Young people either stay in the location where they grew up or move shorter or longer distances within their home country. These different strategies are not necessarily valued in the same way. The value of people who stay in or leave their home region can be measured in terms of 'objective' measures such as income, education and social relations. It can also be valued in terms of dominant normative values of mobility, where 'stayers' and 'leavers' are attributed different qualities depending on the socio-spatial context. In this thesis, value formation is not viewed as pre-defined or absolute, but as an ongoing struggle to determine the value of people's or institutions' resources. This understanding is informed by Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of symbolic capital, habitus and field (Bourdieu 1990). The thesis explores three main sets of issues affecting young people's education trajectories in different ways.

First, global ideas of progression from the perspective of supranational organisations of education are considered. The literature on internationalisation of higher education reports a shift whereby education policy no longer is confined to nation-state politics (Ball 2012; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). This is expressed through the marketisation of higher education, but also by the work of international organisations for education such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the World Bank and the European Union (EU) (Lingard and Rawolle 2011). The supranational organisations

measure and compare global data, transfer best practices and promote normative values of education (Barnett and Finnemore 1999; Bradford 2008). However, before policies are printed and become concrete, data are discussed and compromises reached. This stage in policy is crucial for understanding 'in whose interest' the global agenda of education is shaped. Previous studies have shown that geographical knowledges embedded in ideas of progression are not simply 'ideas', but are closely intertwined in materialities of socio-economic restructuring (Mitchell 2006). This thesis explores the role of supranational organisations in shaping education policies which affect the lives of young people.

Second, young people's future aspirations are considered. The focus on horizons underlines a phenomenological point of departure in examining what education and work opportunities become visible and eligible. Horizons may appear as more or less attainable and range from pure fantasy to precise knowledges of how to reach different education and labour markets. This thesis examines the future horizons of young people in upper-secondary school in a sparsely populated municipality, Kalix in northern Sweden, and in Thiruvananthapuram, an urban area in Kerala, southern India. The former setting exemplifies a rural-urban divide in a high-income context in northern Europe, while the latter setting illustrates intranational and international migration into and out of one of the world's largest and fastest growing economies, India, with relatively low income per capita. It is not the aspirations themselves that are of primary interest, but rather how they arise differently for different people and why.

Another aspect of young people's future aspirations is how they rationalise their plans for the future based on awareness of their own social and geographical position (Harvey 1973; Mills 1959), which underlines the close relation between where they perceive themselves to be and where they plan to go. Using examples from diverse contexts enables analysis of similarities and differences across space and reveals tensions between global-reaching ideas of progression and local differentiated contexts.

Third, the relationship between young people's education trajectories and subsequent migration patterns are considered, based on quantitative analysis of registry data for the five northernmost counties in Sweden. Drawing on individual and family data enables discussion of structural patterns and consideration of differences within social groups. It also offers an intraregional perspective that addresses the broader issue of a growing gap between rural and

urban areas. Previous studies of this kind have generally been qualitative and have focused on the immediate transition from upper-secondary school to higher education or work. Studying post-graduation mobility by using registry data is a way to trace where different education trajectories lead.

The overall premise of the thesis, in short, is that both education policy discourse and young adults' different aspirations vis-à-vis education and mobility outcomes need to be understood in the context of progression, structures of social reproduction, cultural hegemonies and economic orders of dominance. Studying education in relation to mobility and geographical reach is a response to a previous call for research addressing young people's geographies in relation to broader processes of socio-economic restructuring (Holt and Holloway 2006; Dolby and Rizivi 2008; Katz 2004; Philo 2000). This thesis provides examples from northern Sweden, southern India and the OECD's and UNESCO's headquarters in France, studies the geographies of education, questions general assumptions about mobility and progression, looks for contradictions and patterns in aspirations and outcomes and thereby unpacks the multi-faceted meaning of 'someone going places'.

Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis was to explore and interpret how young people's different education and work trajectories become conceived, validated and realised across different socio-spatial contexts. This was done by focusing on geographical reach and mobility. The analyses undertaken explored these matters from three different perspectives, namely: i) the influence of global organisations, ii) young people's aspirations and iii) the outcome of young people's education and mobility trajectories. The work was based on cases drawing on data from Sweden, India and France and mainly consisted of interviews, but also registry data analysis. The theoretical point of departure derived from Bourdieu's idea of a symbolic economy where the orders of dominance in society are analysed as ongoing struggles of positional advantage. The thesis sought to improve understanding of geographies of education by identifying contradictions, similarities and interdependencies within and between social groups, but also in relation to different scales and sites. The following research questions were formulated:

- How do staff members at the OECD and UNESCO mediate a global agenda of education, especially as regards geographical knowledges of youth trajectories and progression?
- How do young people in different socio-spatial settings perceive future education and work alternatives, particularly in relation to staying in or leaving their home region?
- To what extent do different higher education trajectories affect young adults' inclinations to stay in or leave their home region in sparsely populated areas?

Outline of the thesis

This is an article-based thesis that draws on four empirical studies carried out between 2012 and 2017. The studies are presented in detail in Papers I-IV, which are included as an appendix to this thesis. This cover essay situates the work in Papers I-IV in a wider study context, summarises the results and discusses the main contributions.

This introductory chapter sets the scene for the research by introducing the research problem and defining the aim and research questions. Chapter 2 situates the studies within a wider field of existing research. Chapter 3 elaborates upon the theoretical points of departure for the work. Chapter 4 explains the methods used and justifies the methodological choices. It also presents the study cases in more detail. Chapter 5 provides a summary of the results obtained in Papers I-IV and Chapter 6 discusses the main findings and contributions of the thesis.

Papers I-IV contribute to the overarching aim in complementary ways (Table 1). Paper I is based on interviews with staff members of the OECD and UNESCO and addresses the first research question. It examines political interests that guide the organisations' work, since young people's lives are not only 'situated' but also closely connected to wider issues of socio-economic restructurings and global politics.

Papers II and III are similar in study design, since they both build on interviews with students in upper-secondary school, and both address research question two. They compare social differentiation within the broadly defined middle class, focusing on what makes certain future alternatives visible, desirable and attainable, and to whom. The two different study cases, Kalix and

Thiruvananthapuram, make it possible to compare young people's perceptions across socio-economic and geographic contexts.

Paper IV, which is co-authored with Marcus Mohall, addresses the third research question. It considers post-education mobility patterns within the highly educated population in the five northern counties in Sweden.

Table 1. Overview of the work in Papers I-IV, the research question addressed, the study location and the methods

Paper	Research question	Study location	Methods
I	How do staff members at the OECD and UNESCO mediate a global agenda of education, especially as regards geographical knowledges of youth trajectories and progression?	Paris, France	Interviews with staff members at OECD and UNESCO headquarters
II	How do young people in different socio-spatial settings perceive future education and work alternatives, particularly in relation to staying in or leaving their home region?	Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, Southern India	Interviews with young people aged 17-19 in higher secondary school
III	Same as above	Kalix, Norrbotten county, northern Sweden	Interviews with young people aged 17-19 in upper-secondary school
IV	To what extent do different higher education trajectories impact young adults' inclinations to stay in or leave their home region in sparsely populated areas?	The five northern counties in Sweden	Registry data analysis of the highly educated population born in 1977 in northern Sweden.

The overarching contribution of the thesis is to show how young people's different education and work trajectories are conceived, validated and realised across different socio-geographical contexts, by focusing on geographical reach and mobility.

2. Research context

This chapter situates the research questions within the broader literature and relates the strands of research in the thesis to a wider context. The focus of the thesis is on education and work trajectories, which are part of a broader set of questions that concern social reproduction, knowledge-economy formation (Thiem 2009), the changing nature of citizenship (Ong 1999) and territorialisation through state-society relations (Halls 1981; Mitchell 2006).

A recurring theme in the literature dealing with these kinds of questions is how education systems go hand-in-hand with the formation of nation-states (Green 1997). In other words, education was – and still is – closely associated with citizenship formation. However, recent studies describe a shift in power where education policy is no longer territorially bound with nation-states (Lingard and Rawolle 2011). Kenway and Fitzclarence (1993) argue that economic globalisation and the information revolution involve radical changes in the very nature of the learning process, promoting a new commodification and a dislocation of learning from its traditional institutional locations. This is expressed through national education systems growing more like each other, increased student and staff mobility, widespread policy borrowing and international dimensions of curricula at secondary and higher levels. Within higher education particularly, researchers question whether it is reasonable to draw political or conceptual boundaries between national and international inequalities (Beck 2004, p. 149). Other researchers point out the close connection of nation-states to globalisation, where the state is both a regulator and market-maker (Ball 2012).

In this thesis, local, national and global interrelations are studied in relation to four different socio-spatial contexts. Two of the papers engage directly with processes of ‘internationalisation of education’: Paper I explores the influence of supranational organisations on education policy and Paper II engages with young people’s transnational strategies. The thesis also examines the uneven influence of internationalisation of education in different settings. By drawing attention to different sites of analysis it seeks to shed

light on a variety of scales of influence that can be equally important in understanding young people's education strategies.

This chapter frames the research questions by discussing four broad strands of research that to a varying degree relate to the case studies described in Papers I-IV in terms of methodology, theory and empirical data. First, it describes the emergence of a global agenda of education by focusing on the influence of supranational organisations and highlighting the need for contextual and multi-level analysis of policy. Second, international student mobility is examined, specifically highlighting three different aspects of young people's motives for going abroad. Third, the influence of socio-spatial context on young people's anticipated futures and geographical reach is studied, drawing on the concepts of mobility and immobility. Fourth, the literature on migration in sparsely populated areas is reviewed, with particular attention to the need for an intraregional understanding of areas broadly defined as 'rural' and to previous research showing the benefits of understanding internal migration patterns in relation to social theory. The chapter concludes by positioning the thesis within some of the main strands of literature within different fields and how these overlap and complement one another.

A global agenda of education

This section reviews the literature examining the work of supranational organisations for education, in particular the OECD and UNESCO, in order to clarify the role of these organisations, the ways they operate and how they influence nation-states and other agents within the field of education. The description draws inspiration from two other areas of research, namely institutional literature that reflects on different ways to 'contextualise' the policy process and geography studies that in different settings specifically address normative values associated with youth policies.

Rizvi and Lingard (2010, p. 14) suggest that "[t]he discourses that frame policy texts are no longer located simply in the national space but increasingly emanate from international and supranational organizations". These include intergovernmental organisations such as the OECD, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and UN, as well as regional intergovernmental organisations such as the EU and global non-government organisations (NGOs) such as the International Association of Universities (IAU) (Barnett and

Finnemore 1999, p. 705). The work of these organisations involves classifying, fixing meanings, diffusing norms and shaping forward thinking (Barnett and Finnemore 1999, p. 711; Jacobsson 2008, p. 208). Although their formal power is limited, the supranational organisations have been described as executors of ‘soft power’, where they generate shared understandings that influence policy exchange and institutional reforms (Bradford, 2008, p.136). The OECD has no authority to implement policy from above, but can “operate as deft, interstitial actor, utilizing techniques such as mediation, peer pressure, orchestration, evaluation, suasion, and exhortation to ‘move’ policy norms” (Theodore and Peck 2012, p. 22).

During the 1960s and 1970s, intergovernmental organisations discussed education policies with emphasis on democracy and quality and viewed education and income equality as closely intertwined. In the 1980s, organisations such as the OECD started to approach education as a resource on a global competitive market (Brooks and Waters 2011). Rizvi and Lingard (2010, p. 72) nuance this understanding by pointing out that this “does not mean that the social values of equality and democracy have been abandoned, but rather that they have been re-articulated, subordinated to dominant economic concerns”. What was previously promoted as a common good was replaced “by calls for flexibility and responsiveness to the needs of the labourmarket” (Brooks and Waters 2011, p 26).

UNESCO has a formal mandate in higher education and has been involved in the measurement and monitoring of national education systems. In relation to higher education specifically, a key influence in recent years has been the ‘world ranking’ of universities. These rankings serve a rhetoric that provides legitimacy for higher education organisations. Wedlin (2011, p.203) writes that “rankings provide an external assessment of organizational reputation [higher education institutions] and worth, and generate influential images of the positional status of schools to an external audience”.

The OECD is another influential agent when it comes to developing goals and measurements that offer comparability of nation-states and education institutions. Most nation-states take the OECD’s recommendations seriously, for example some countries have installed ‘international divisions’ that deal specifically with questions of global education indicators and measurements of progression (Rizivi and Lingard 2010).

Previous studies on the policies of supranational organisations have focused on implementation and ‘translation’ of policy in different contexts by comparing what is happening on the ground

with steering documents (Theodore and Peck 2012; Peck and Theodore 2015). Alternatively, they have studied the meaning and political interests embedded in policy documents through textual analysis (Barnett and Finnemore 1999). Another stream of research is devoted to historical overviews of the organisations (Mundy 1999, 2007). These studies show that the organisations are embedded in neo-liberal politics, but also that political interests differ depending on the context of the policy (economic or social focus) and the context of implementation.

The literature presented in this section originates from various fields within social science and builds on different theoretical approaches, such as institutional theories (Suddaby and Viale 2011), scale and literature on the ideology of neoliberalism (Theodore and Peck 2012), critical theories of international relations (Mahanon and McBride 2009) and social theory of fields (Lingard et al. 2005; Rizvi and Lingard 2010; Wedlin 2011). Geographers have contributed to policy research by drawing on multi-scale analysis and placing the emphasis on contextualising education policy (Purcell 2011).

Policy is usually synonymous with decisions and often takes the form of a text or a written document. Several of the studies cited above have focused on analysing documents produced by the supranational organisations. This thesis applies a broader definition of policy as a process that includes agenda setting and work on production of policy texts. In the words of Ball (1994, p. 10), “[p]olicy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enhanced as well as what is intended”. To recognise the different stages of policy formulation, it is necessary to be open to applying different methods to study policy. Paper I builds on *institutional work*, which is a way to conceptualise and understand the role of actors within organisations (Wedlin 2011). Staff members within supranational organisations are embedded in the organisational context, but are still actively involved in maintaining and/or altering the institutions (Clegg et al. 2006). Experts who work for these organisations must make different compromises and personal sacrifices before policy formulations end up in print.

In the late 1970s a new rhetoric emerged within the official discourse of international agencies with concepts such as “the global child” and “the world’s children” (Aitkin 2001, p. 11). Researchers have shown how these concepts have been used for different political interests that reflect broader shifts within the goals of organisations and authorities. Analyses of this rhetoric and change of policy were relevant to this thesis, since it sought to explore

normative values embedded in concepts articulated by organisations, governments or local authorities. Mitchell (2007) identifies a new turn for these concepts after Martha Nussbaum's (1994) paper 'Patriotism and cosmopolitanism'. What was intended as a philosophical academic essay about young people and global citizenship and global humanity was recaptured in political statements as an "idea and practice of cosmopolitanism" associated with globalisation (Mitchell 2007, p. 708). Furthermore, Mitchell identifies interlinkages between the expansion of liberal 'cosmopolitan' freedoms and the reinforcement of market freedoms.

In a different research context, Raco (2009) identifies a shift in the British welfare state towards aspirational citizenship in urban policy where people in deprived areas are being encouraged to 'dream higher'. The geographical imaginations in these policies are accompanied by the rolling out of a 'new localism' in welfare states. Raco (2009, p. 441) writes: "In existential terms this local focus is seen as being more in touch with citizens and therefore more effective in changing cultures and aspirations". Raco (2009, p. 443) further concludes that "much of the work on the rise of neo-liberalism focuses, primarily, on the re-shaping of state institutions and governance structures and much less on debates over citizenship and philosophical conceptions of human nature, what this consists of and how it can be (re)produced". What is interesting to note is how geographical knowledges are embedded in perceptions of young people's education and work trajectories. 'Politics of aspiration' is studied in this thesis from both a top-down and bottom-up perspective (Brooks and Waters 2011).

Previous research on the emergence of a global policy field of education is mainly occupied with understanding the relationship between the individual organisations and their policies, or the internal structure and history of the individual organisations. Meanwhile, literature on the internationalisation of education often refers to the influence of supranational organisations as a unit. The present thesis adds to this strand of research by focusing on interdependencies within a wider field of supranational organisations. Furthermore, the study on the OECD and UNESCO focuses particularly on the effects of geographical knowledges embedded in the organisations' policies on young people's trajectories and progression (Paper I).

Motives for going abroad to study

Research on student mobility is multifaceted and has contributed to socio-spatial understandings of how education relates to national politics, gender inequalities and socio-spatial differentiation. Student mobility highlights processes of internationalisation of education from a bottom-up perspective. Although the proportion of young people going abroad to study is quite small, the comparatively large number of international students plays a significant economic role on education markets (Börjesson 2017). Young people's motives for going abroad are summarised in this section in relation to personal motives, family expectations and socio-spatial contexts.

Going abroad to study is part of young people's identity formation. There is a close connection between research on international student mobility and studies on youth transitions, either in terms of going abroad as a ritual of becoming an adult (Tse and Waters 2013) or as a prolongation of youth (Waters et al. 2011). In her study of young New Zealanders' 'Overseas Experience', Haverig (2011) uses Rose's theory of 'governance through freedom' to understand how young people perceived 'going away' as a necessity to feel later that living in New Zealand was a 'free choice'. Moving away from home, even going abroad, has been advanced in other studies as an inherent part of young adults' freedom and the "project of their selves" (Haverig, 2011, p. 119).

When more people enter higher education, going abroad to study is also a way to stand out in competition with others. In a study by Findlay et al. (2012), UK students viewed their choice to go abroad as a way to 'be different' from 'stay-at-home' students (p. 126). Waters and Brooks (2011) conducted an extensive interview study of 85 individuals who had completed a degree abroad or were seriously considering going abroad. They found that although young people claim that they want to be different by going abroad, they still want a familiar destination, for example a destination that is familiar to them through film and television.

Going abroad to study is a chance to enter top education institutions that are internationally recognised and bring symbolic capital closely associated with identity formation (Findlay et al. 2012). In a study by Waters (2006), Hong Kong and Chinese students cited education credentials as the main motive for studies abroad. These students were orientated towards career development, learning English and adopting certain social skills deemed important on a competitive labour market. Going abroad to study may also be a strategy to 'avoid failure' in the highly

competitive national education system (Brooks and Waters 2009; Xiang and Shen 2009; Findlay et al. 2012; Sancho 2017).

Personal reasons for going abroad to study are closely related to family expectations and social class formation, which is the second set of motives addressed here. In a study by Ong (1999) of privileged families living in Hong Kong, sending children abroad was a way to open up economic opportunities for the whole family and to gain citizenship in another country. Going abroad for education purposes is a way to maintain or improve the social status of families and young people (Findlay et al. 2012; Waters 2006; Xiang and Shen 2009). While investing in education abroad is not necessarily a first step in entering an international career, it is often a way to gain a positional advantage in the national or regional context.

In southern India for example, Sancho (2017) detected a dominant middle-class culture of education, which promotes a competitive, economic and status-based conception of aspiration that plays a central role in the reproduction of inequalities between the established and emergent middle classes. However, that study also found that the students in India who go abroad to study cannot be reduced to a privileged middle class, since it is also a strategy for those who hope to achieve the social status of being middle class. Language was found to be a main obstacle for young men who planned to go to Australia to study, even more so than money. English is an important indicator of middle class formation. However, students from suburban or rural regions of southern India are primarily educated in the state language Malayalam, so going abroad is a way for those aspiring to be middle class to “catch up and accumulate forms of cultural capital which they had failed to acquire during the years of schooling” (Sancho 2017, p. 52).

In relation to class formation, students' motives also have to be set in relation to the wider processes of internationalisation of education referred to previously in this section as regards competition between higher education institutions on global markets, standardised ideas of progression and, not least, cultural orders of dominance embedded in languages. In a study of international students based on data from 2010, Börjesson (2017) identified different language relations in between sending and receiving countries, where English as a ‘global language’ partly explains why most international students choose to go to the US, the UK and Australia. That study also underlined the dominant position of the US and UK in academic rankings, which reproduces their exceptional position on a global education market. This takes

us to the last aspect of young people's motives for going abroad, which addresses the various implications of 'internationalisation of education' and differing ability to resist pressures of globalisation (Brooks and Waters 2011).

Finally, young people's motives for going abroad are closely associated with the socio-geographical context. This is evident not least in the literature on class formation in different places, as illustrated previously through Sancho's work in southern India. Furthermore, Holloway et al. (2012) draw on the case of Kazakhstan and highlight the importance of a contextual understanding of student mobility, since in Kazakhstan the state plays an important role ensuring that a wide range of middle-class students can study abroad. This makes it an alternative for a broader social group. The choice to go abroad is then explained partly by students' patriotic sentiments and a will to drive the nation forward.

Previous research shows how the individual, the family and the socio-spatial context shape young people's trajectories. The contribution of this thesis to that body of research is to deepen our understanding of how these different dimensions interplay in different socio-spatial contexts. The validation of different mobility strategies was emphasised by including students planning to go abroad and students planning to migrate within the region or nationally. Furthermore, the alternative of going away to study was examined in relation to the alternative of staying in the home region. Several studies in the Indian context on education have focused particularly on men (Jeffery 2010b; Sancho 2017), so by including women in the study, a different kind of gender analysis is possible. The Kerala study (Paper II) and the Kalix study (Paper III) present two interesting cases where the 'need to be mobile' (Eriksson 2017) and normative values of cosmopolitanism are explored and questioned from two different perspectives.

Place attachment and geographical reach

Aspirations refer to understandings of how future trajectories become visible and eligible, are influenced by individual experiences and those of the family and are embedded in socio-economic and cultural circumstances (Ball et al. 2002). Geographers have connected young people's aspirations with the particular place in which they grow up, both in quantitative studies of neighbourhood effects on socio-economic careers (see e.g. Andersson 2001;

Bergsten 2010) and in qualitative interview studies of place and identity. Those studies that directly address education and work trajectories are relevant to the studies in this thesis on young people's perceived attachment to place, the influence of local and regional labour markets and geographical reach.

Young people face several transitions: between education and work, between education and higher education and between education and uncertainty. In fact, transition is not always a suitable way of describing young people's time between education and work, since it might involve a permanent state of uncertainty. The transition between education and work is also closely associated with a transition from youth to adulthood, which is rarely a clear-cut process (Jeffrey 2010a).

The pressure that young people feel to 'succeed' in the eyes of the family and the community is not a new phenomenon, but youth transitions have become inevitably bound up with notions of what constitutes education and an educated person (Crivello 2011). The normative values of higher education also affect those who pursue alternative trajectories of vocational programmes (Olofsson and Panican, 2008) or who drop out of school without graduating (Lundhal et al. 2017). Even well-qualified graduates are not guaranteed access to secure and well-paid jobs (Horschelmann 2008). In a study by Jeffrey (2010b), middle-class young men in northern India spent a lot of their time 'waiting' for employment. In that case, this time of waiting became political action with public demonstrations and formation of a political party.

Several of the studies that link place to aspiration draw inspiration from the classic study by Willis (1977), which identifies a culture of masculinity under-pinning resistance to schooling within a British community. Following that work, McDowell (2003) interviewed young men in Sheffield and Cambridge in their final year of compulsory schooling and concluded that their perceptions of future opportunities were closely related to labour market restructurings. That study also underlines the gendered nature of local labour markets and youth transitions and the gender stereotypes with perceptions of working-class young men as lazy, irresponsible, and failing in school, an image that complicates the lives of young men (McDowell 2008). Bright's (2011) ethnographic study of young people's education aspirations in a former coal mining district in northern England instead explores a locally situated notion of a counter-aspiration where young people position themselves as a contrast to dominant models of 'being educated'.

Allen and Hollingsworth (2013) explore the specific relationship between labour market restructurings, place and mobility. In a comparison of three socially and economically deprived areas in the UK, they show that Nottingham's "geographical proximity to the capital and its employment opportunities shape the aspirations of the young people in this locale, producing a sense of mobility and possibility in the narratives" (p. 510). By contrast, the local labour market and local history in Stoke-on-Trent create feelings of loss and immobility, which affect students' aspirations negatively. The habitus of these students is shaped by parents and friends who have chosen and value similar paths, but also relates to what is conceivable for "people from around here" (ibid., p. 501). Allen and Hollingsworth (2013, p. 513) introduce the concept of "place-specific habitus", which aims to capture how social class and place come together to shape people's aspirations and capacity for mobility.

Another concept that has been implemented to describe the relationship between place and a horizon of possibility is the notion of reach, which was developed by, amongst others, Buttimer (1980). She wrote extensively about knowledges associated with the lifeworld, which also include an 'actual reach' that involves the surroundings, an 'attainable reach' that is closely associated with people's future dreams and expectations and a 'restorable reach' of memories from past experiences. She underlines that reach differs between different people and may provide a point of departure to study place identity:

[..] for any individual the home and the reach of one's thought and imagination may be quite distinct from the home and reach of one's social affiliations which may again be distinct from the actual physical location of physical home and reach (Rose, 1977). These distinctions are not just abstractions: if they are actually mapped within the lived-space time horizons of any individual or group they could provide some clues into what constitutes place identity (Buttimer 1980, p. 171)

Thulin and Wilhelmson (2014) draw on the concept of reach to explore how young people's use of the internet broadens potential action spaces. Amongst other things, they highlight the role of social media in bringing 'insider information' on places. The internet also makes it possible for young people and adults to find jobs in a broad geographical area and to widen the geographical scope of the search and thereby include more 'opportunities'.

In a 'global world', distance has become less constraining due to the internet, television and social media (Beech 2014; Brooks and

Waters 2011), opportunities to travel (Frändberg, 2008) and social networks reaching beyond the immediate surroundings (Carlson 2013; Green and White 2007). Researchers are now seeking to understand how cultures diffuse through new technology, with young people usually being the first to meet problems and possibilities. Technology can provide opportunities to distribute subversive information, for resistance and for alliances between grass-root movements. It is not considered to be imposed on young people, but rather related to the “waves of modernization from below” (Willis 2003, p. 390). Developments in technology and increased opportunities within communications are making it possible to create a new sense of belonging and new youth cultures outside the local community. On the other hand, researchers such as Katz (2004), in her comparative work of lower middle-class families in New York and children in a Sudanese village, have shown that increased flows of information, goods and people also create feelings of social and geographical distance.

This thesis contributes to, and elaborates upon, research on young people’s education and work trajectories by studying the recognised value of mobility in different socio-spatial contexts. The analyses of Kalix and Kerala were performed using a relational approach that recognises the unequal power geometries which are such a significant part of mobility systems, whereby the mobility of some comes at the expense of the immobility of others (Bissell and Fuller 2011). The ‘idealisation of movement’, or its transformation into a fetish, depends upon the exclusion of others who are already positioned as “not free in the same way” (Ahmed 2004, p. 152). The value embedded in mobility is not a matter of course, however. Cresswell’s (1999) work shows that mobility has to be understood in relation to specific contexts in which mobility or immobility takes place, such that what is an expression of domination in one context may be an act of resistance in another. Another important aspect of mobility is that “there is never any absolute immobility, but only mobilities which we mistake for immobility, what could be called relative immobility” (Adey 2006, p. 83). While recognising that ‘immobility’ is not a term that captures the meaning of someone who stays in their home region, in this thesis it fills a theoretical purpose in terms of ‘relative immobility’, as also seen in other studies (see e.g. Allen and Hollingworth 2013; Carling 2002; Waters and Leung 2013). According to Sheller and Urry (2006, p. 211), ‘It is not a question of privileging a “mobile subjectivity”, but rather of tracking the power and politics of discourses and practices of

mobility in creating both movement and stasis'. Finally, it should be pointed out that a relational approach does not assume that all kinds of mobility in all places are equally interrelated or of equal importance to one another. However, as education systems and discourses of mobility are becoming more similar in different parts of the world, young people's different needs and desires to be mobile are bound to become more decisive.

The different writings on mobility and immobility are relevant in relation to questions of international student mobility or experience of place, but in this thesis are also explored in relation to intraregional differences in mobility strategies. Having addressed qualitative studies based on text analysis and interviews, the next section discusses patterns of mobility, with particular focus on rural areas.

Migration patterns in rural areas

Studies on rural migration show that young people in rural areas who are planning to continue to higher education sometimes feel more or less required to move away from their home town to access education institutions and labour markets (Cairns 2014, p. 237; Stockdale and Catney 2014). In the Swedish context, the majority of work on young people's education trajectories in rural areas has been qualitative and has focused on young people's aspirations to move away or stay in rural areas (Kåks 2007, Svensson 1996; Waara 1996). These studies highlight differences in men's and women's aspirations to migrate (Rauhut and Littke 2016). Girls are described as more orientated towards urban areas, whereas boys are perceived to be more 'attached' to rural local communities (Dahlström 1996). However, some qualitative studies focus more on gender ambiguity in rural areas, where women and men can both adapt and challenge local gender contracts (Forsberg and Stenbacka 2017).

The social stratification process mainly determines whether young people will continue to higher education or not, but studies within the sociology of education also show differences in how recruitment to different types of courses and programmes reflects students' social background. In a study by Börjesson (2003), the Swedish field of higher education is explored with geometric data analysis. It shows that social reproduction within the higher education system is not only hierarchical in terms of grades, length of education and status of a profession, but also reveals vertical polarities in terms of families' differing possession of economic and

cultural capital. For example, children of doctors and university professors are likely to be recruited to different programmes and courses than children of business leaders and lawyers. The field of higher education is also gendered, with more women studying to become teachers and men being over-represented in technical programmes. Börjesson's (2003) study does not consider young people's home region or place of residence after finishing higher education, but rather highlights differences within the highly educated population, which is rarely explored in register data analysis.

A survey of rural return migration of graduates in Switzerland shows that return migrants are influenced by socio-familial backgrounds and professional biographies (Rérat 2014). Family situation, such as having a partner or not, also affects decisions to return to the home region. Based on register data and logistic regression analysis, Bjerke and Mellander (2017) examine the location choices of university graduates in Sweden in relation to place of origin and destination. The population is based on the year of graduation, 2001, and examines where the students live five and ten years after graduation. The results indicate that having children is positively correlated with people who move back to their home region. In the Irish context, a study by Stockdale and Catney (2014) of urban to rural migration shows that graduates sometimes develop education trajectories that lead back to local labour markets.

In a survey in 2002 that covered the five Nordic countries, young people were asked questions about their decision to move and attachment to place (Malmberg et al. 2005). The survey focused on areas of work, housing situation, social relations and leisure activities, using questions with fixed alternatives. In accordance with previous research, the study shows that young people with higher education are more mobile. It also makes the interesting finding that social networks, which are often cited in relation to place attachment, can reach beyond the local community and therefore influence people to be mobile. Niedomysl (2008) also studies people's mobility patterns, but with the focus on 'place attractiveness'. His survey draws on open-ended questions and, in contrast to Malmberg et al. (2005), he shows that occupational aspects have a great impact on people's choice to migrate. A conclusion is that research on people's preferences for location is sensitive to the ways in which the questions are formulated, especially since people's reasons to stay in or move from their home region are the result of interwoven motives.

Rye (2006), meanwhile, explores the link between social and geographical mobility in a study of young people's rural to urban

migration in the mountains in Norway. He follows a cohort born in 1966 for a 30-year period and shows that people from upper-class backgrounds are not only most likely to move, but also benefit more economically from mobility than non-movers from a similar social background. The difference between low-income movers and stayers is much smaller.

Based on the literature, theories applied to explain young people's migration to and from rural areas can be divided into two main traditions, applying economic theory or a life-cycle perspective. Studies drawing on economic theory, in particular human capital theory, view people's motives for moving as a calculated act based on estimates of economic losses and gains (Bjerke and Mellander 2017; Sjaastad 1962). Studies applying a life-cycle perspective reveal how mobility and immobility patterns follow people's life course and are affected by 'life events' such as having children, marriage and retirement (Fischer and Malmberg 2001). This form of biographical analysis has been developed as an alternative to economic theories of migration (Halfacree 2004), but the life-cycle perspective is not well-suited to studying alternative life-course patterns (Dannefer 2003) or explaining moves in response to job opportunities (Geist and McManus 2008, p. 285).

However, some studies combine a life-cycle perspective with analysis of social class (e.g. R erat 2014; Rye 2006; 2011). The decision to continue to higher education is then explored in relation to the habitus of social groups, where for some social groups it appears 'natural' to continue to university (Carins 2014). The importance of people's socio-economic backgrounds in relation to mobility and immobility is well established within the literature on short-distance migration, for example between neighbourhoods in urban areas. In fact, in a study of geographical mobility in the US, Geist and McManus (2008) highlight an unfortunate divide in research where residential mobility is assumed to be motivated by families' socio-economic background, while long-distance migration tends to be explained by economic gains from the move. Focusing on preferences without considering social theory of uneven distribution of resources risks overlooking structural differences embedded in the choices that become eligible to different people.

Previous studies agree that people with a higher education degree are more mobile in general. Departing from a Bourdieusian perspective, Paper IV contributes to previous research by exploring differentiated strategies of staying in or leaving the home region

(northern Sweden) within the highly educated population, and how that mobility is related to vertical and horizontal social differences.

Final remarks on the research context

The literature within geography has begun to make a real contribution to understanding education through multi-level analysis, recognition of socio-geographical contexts and analysis of aspiration, strategies and outcomes of mobility. This chapter adopted a broad perspective on 'internationalisation of education' in terms of increased mobility of policy and people and embedded in processes of globalisation and ideologies of neoliberalisation. How and where these global flows and political interest are made visible, experienced and implemented is, however, an empirical question that needs to be approached both from a top-down and a bottom-up perspective (Brooks and Waters 2011).

The supranational organisations have been identified as agents that influence normative values of education and standardise measures of progression. However, different organisations are often put under the same umbrella as contributors to an 'internationalisation of education'. Paper I sought to contribute to previous research by examining interdependencies and differences between supranational organisations. Policy studies often draw on text document analysis, whereas in Paper I interviews were conducted with staff members to understand how recommendations emerge and are altered before they are published.

The literature on student mobility within geography has in a persuasive way engaged with power embedded in mobility and how it is closely associated with social distinction. Paper II took its starting point in the socio-spatial context to study individuals' and families' motives for going abroad. A similar approach was applied in Paper III, which examined place attachment and (im)mobility. It also examined relations between gender, labour market restructurings and young people's perceived alternatives to stay in or leave their home region.

Quantitative studies based on register data analysis usually focus on broad categories of 'stayers' or 'leavers' in 'rural' and 'urban' areas. The results then become unambiguous when university graduates move from rural to urban areas. Paper IV extended this research issue by studying differences within the highly educated group and in relation to intraregional differences. It complemented previous studies

on economic theories of migration and life-cycle analysis by assessing the need for rural studies to engage with social class analysis.

While framing the research questions, a few concepts were introduced, for example policy as processes, how young people's reach can be explored as actual, attainable and restorable and how immobility relates to mobility. The concepts of field, habitus and symbolic capital are also mentioned throughout the chapter in relation to global rankings, place identity, young people's motives for going abroad and middle class formation. Chapter 3 continues to explore these concepts, which served as important methodological and theoretical points of departure for the work in Papers I-IV.

3. Theoretical points of departure

This chapter presents the theoretical points of departure that structured data collection and analysis. The overarching theoretical framework for the thesis was the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Drawing on a single theoretical framework facilitated analytical conversation between the papers. The theory was deemed suitable for three main reasons; i) The epistemology of the theory underlines that social queries should be addressed from various levels of analysis. ii) The research questions concern issues of social distinction, which are at the core of the theory's explanatory approach. iii) The theory has been successfully applied in a range of closely related studies examining transnational strategies (Börjesson 2005; Findlay et al. 2012; Waters 2006), local symbolic economies (Allen and Hollingsworth 2013; Jeffrey et al. 2008) and migration (Rérat 2014; Rye 2006; 2011).

Key concepts such as global education policy field, symbolic capital and habitus are described in detail in this chapter. Although the descriptions are divided into different subsections, the strength of Bourdieu's family of concepts lies in how they relate to one another. This does not mean that they all need to be mobilised simultaneously, but rather that they are part of the same 'system of thinking' that provides theoretical anchoring, regardless of whether one or two of the concepts or the whole family is invoked.

The work of Bourdieu bridges a dualistic social ontology and sidesteps the agent/structure divide and dualities of 'spontaneity and social constraint', 'freedom and necessity' and 'choice and obligation' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 23). Similarly to Durkheim, Bourdieu discusses classification systems and principles that help people orientate in the world (Broady 1997, p. 247). An important difference between the two is that Bourdieu, while still emphasising the role of the collective, perceives individuals as thinking subjects. Class is constantly negotiated, 'without forsaking the gains of the objectivist phase: groups, such as social classes, are always in the process of being made. They are not given in "social reality"' (Bourdieu 1989, p. 18).

Another important aspect focused upon in this chapter is how Bourdieu's relational approach and 'bridging of dualities' take account of the intertwined relations of social and physical space that are fundamental for a geographical understanding. This is an underlying common theme in Papers I-IV, which explore place attachment, mobility, spatial hierarchies, proximity and distance in relation to Bourdieu's theories of social space. The merging of perspectives is never without friction. Harvey (2001, p. 282) writes: "I have long espoused the view that the insertion of space (let alone tangible geographies) into any social theory (including that of Marx) is always deeply disruptive of its central propositions and derivations". The widening of spatial conceptions was approached in diverse ways in this thesis, depending on the study context. The separate analyses presented in Papers I-IV provided different insights.

This chapter moves between the theoretical points of departure for the thesis and more specific concepts. Bourdieu's concepts are not pre-defined, but are given explanatory force in relation to empirics (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). The study contexts and the collected data influenced how Bourdieu's family of concepts was utilised in this thesis, as discussed below in subsections covering the global education policy field, educational capital, spatial capital and transnational capital.

A global education policy field

Field is the main concept examined in Paper I and is a natural point of departure for introducing Bourdieu's family of concepts. A field is defined as a system of relations between positions (Broady 1997). It is the social playing field where agents or institutions compete for a positional advantage. What that advantage might be and what is recognised as valuable depends on the specific field. A field holds a certain level of autonomy, where the social sphere substantially differs from the 'outside world'. In other words, it embodies a doxa of accepted social rules and conduct that are only familiar to the initiated.

Bourdieu identified a field of power by studying elite schools in France and their connections to the political and administrative power (Bourdieu 1996), the French academic world (Bourdieu 1988) and the genesis of the literary field (Bourdieu 2006). Although Bourdieu focused on a national French context, other researchers have successfully applied the concept on a global scale as regards, for example, internationalisation of law (Dezalay and Garth 1996),

international banks (Lebaron 2008) and transnational regional fields of social sciences (Heilbron 2014). Börjesson (2017) builds on the concept of field when studying international students, but prefers to speak about a 'global space of higher education'. Space in this regard is closely associated with Bourdieu's ideas of 'social space' in which actors and agents take positions and struggle for competitive advantage. The concept of the field relates social position to a hierarchal structure, but also to horizontal polarities.

The OECD defines normative values of education in relation to questions of employability, while UNESCO focuses on individual well-being and human rights education. These supranational organisations are embedded in a larger, much more complex global field of education that also contains institutions and international students (Börjesson 2017). Paper I focuses on what could be described as a sub-field of this larger global field, namely a global education policy field that involves for instance the World Bank, the EU and the OECD. Bourdieu (2011) argues that the researcher can make certain assumptions about a field in order to formulate a case study without pre-determining its objective structures. Similarly to Lingard et al. (2005), Paper I identified a global education policy field.

It is reasonable to discuss a sub-field since the supranational organisations hold a certain level of autonomy when it comes to a place of symbolic struggle. The strategies of the supranational organisations, for instance education position-staking on employability and human rights, depend on these symbolic struggles. The outputs of the organisations and the language and concepts they draw upon are debated and argued inside this arena, before they become a 'theme' or concept for a publication or conference.

Paper I examined how the supranational organisations for education struggle for recognition in determining normative values of education internationally. Based on the work of Harvey (1990a, 2001, 2006) and Massey (2005), the study focused on the OECD's and UNESCO's production of geographical knowledges. However, neither Harvey nor Massey suggests any precise analytical tools for uncovering the production of geographical knowledges. By studying the symbolic struggles within a global education policy field, Paper I sought to uncover the organisations' bounds of possibility in relation to what is perceived by staff members as 'necessary' to say or do.

The field generates multiple layers of analysis. In Paper I, it proved particularly useful to think in terms of the actors (staff members), the agents (the organisations) and the outputs (conferences, documents, reports, reviews etc.). In addition, the

outputs hold a discursive level of concepts, catchphrases and a general language specific for the field. The staff members were interviewed as representatives of their organisations, but they have the ability to distance themselves slightly from this role. However, their acting space within the organisation is limited by the organisation's struggles for recognition within a wider global field. The interdependencies within the field of supranational organisations to a large extent influence their outputs. If one organisation releases a report within a certain area, the other organisations are likely to respond by producing another report that emphasises a slightly different aspect of the problem (Mundy 1999).

This is where Foucault's (2002) and Bourdieu's (2011) theories merge, in the discursive level of language or the field of possibles. Foucault (2002, pp. 30-31) points out a need to "grasp the statements in the exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence, fix at least its limits, establish its correlations with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statements it excludes". Some of the key literature drawn upon in Paper I is influenced by Foucault's writings (see e.g. Mitchell 2006; Ball 2012). The field concept was used in Paper I, instead of Foucault's (1991) theories of discourse formation or governmentality, because it relates what is being said (language and concepts) to the other levels of analysis, such as the social position of agents and actors. Using the case of OECD and UNESCO, Paper I explored in particular how policies of progression and youth are embedded in tensions and interdependencies within and between supranational organisations.

The notion of symbolic capital is essential for understanding power struggles and polarities within the field. Symbolic capital was also used in Papers II-IV, but with different emphasis. The following subsection introduces the general components of cultural capital and three related subgroups, namely education capital, spatial capital and transnational capital. Since the theoretical concepts only concretise in relation to empirics, empirical material obtained in Papers II-IV is used to illustrate these different forms of cultural capital. Some premature discussion of the empirical results is thus necessary at this point to clarify the concepts, their applicability and the possibility to emphasise their added value.

Different forms of symbolic capital

Capital in Bourdieu's meaning refers to assets and resources that can be of a symbolic or material nature. The relational sociological approach assumes that the value of capital is determined by others' recognition of its value. There are different forms of such capital: *institutionalised capital* such as degrees and titles; *objectified capital*, such as libraries, art work and literature; and *embodied capital* expressed by people's culture, taste, ability to value music and art, and linguistic abilities (Broady 1997).

Symbolic capital is an overarching form of capital that refers to anything recognised as valuable in a given context. The concept is inspired by Bourdieu's early anthropological work on the Kabylia in Algeria, where he studied the complicated system of honour in a Berber community (1962). Symbolic capital is not always transferrable outside the local context, which is a condition for the other forms of capital that more broadly structure the orders of dominance in society.

Bourdieu brought the ideas of symbolic capital to France, where he found similarities with the system of honour in Algeria (Broady 1988). In the French school context, he saw the rewards for students who were at ease with language and who talked in a way that was considered proper. These qualities were also associated with a familiarity and appetite for high-end culture, for example, students who possessed cultural capital. This kind of awareness and talent is perceived in French society as a personal choice deriving from self-driven interest. However, the lifestyles, tastes and knowledges that are rewarded strengthen the value of inherited and acquired assets amongst dominant social groups (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).

In his studies of people's possession of different forms of capital, Bourdieu distinguishes between *dominated* and *dominating* cultures. The theory does not 'value' certain aspirations 'higher' than others, but rather indicates to whom (in what social and geographical positions) certain aspirations become visible. The essence of the theory is to emphasise the social construction of value and how it is embedded in social stratification processes at large. Here Bourdieu's theories hold similarities to other class analyses where an absence of 'orders of dominance' would mean disregarding socio-spatial inequality, and eventually the possibility to counteract inequality.

Economic capital can be described as the counterpart of cultural capital and includes material possessions such as income, landownership and shares, as well as knowledge of economic matters and financial systems. The different forms of capital can all

in one way or another be transformed into economic capital (Bourdieu 2006). In this thesis, it proved particularly useful to assess different forms of capital by examining their accumulative and transformative value across sites. One example is how young people in Thiruvananthapuram invest in education capital in higher-secondary school, an investment that later can be transferred and accumulated at a higher education institution in the US or UK and become symbolic capital for the family in the regional and national context in Kerala and India (Paper II).

The final form of capital analysed here is social capital, which offers gateways to certain social arenas between relatives and friends (Broady 1997, p. 171). It is therefore not strictly a sub-category of symbolic capital, since it is about social relations between people. These strong social ties that develop over time can open doors to certain education trajectories or labour markets. The concept refers to more or less institutionalised relationships or acquaintances which offer a collectively-owned amount of capital, whereby it is possible to contact another group member if an individual needs assistance (Bourdieu 1977). This is not the same thing as networking at a conference, but rather long-lasting and durable relationships built on mutual understanding (Broady 1997).

Struggle is another aspect of how capital is maintained and accumulated. Groups (families, classes, organisations) develop strategies to maintain or improve social positions by increasing the value of possessed capital and diminishing that of others in competing groups. These are not always conscious decisions, which makes Bourdieu's concept of strategies slightly different from its everyday meaning (Bourdieu 1984, p. 125).

In this thesis, the struggle for capital was examined for agents within the supranational field of power, as OECD and UNESCO compete with different measures to define normative values of education internationally (Paper I). In the studies in Kalix, Kerala and northern Sweden, how individuals' and families' education strategies depend on families and young people's composition and volume of capital were analysed in relation to future horizons and geographical reach (Papers II-IV).

Bourdieu's concepts were used for guidance in study design and analysis. What is at stake, the composition and volume of different forms of capital, was treated as an empirical concern. The empirical data were then embedded in the concept of capital, so it was possible to sharpen the precision of the more general concepts of capital based on the study context and data.

Paper II mobilised the concept of transnational capital and Paper III the concept of spatial capital. These are by no means 'new' concepts and the level of innovation in the approach should not be overstated. These can be viewed as sub-categories, or different dimensions, of cultural capital. All forms of capital have a geographical dimension; an analysis of 'spatial capital' highlights dimensions of place and mobility that would otherwise be easily overshadowed by analysis of social position. The next section elaborates on educational capital, a form of capital that suffuses all four studies and therefore also serves as a main analytical entry point to the rest of this thesis.

Educational capital

Educational capital is a sub-category of cultural capital and refers to the value ascribed to a certain degree or diploma, especially from prestigious schools or top-ranking higher education institutions. It could also mean a certain stream of education in upper-secondary school or, for example, extra language courses. In Papers I-IV, educational capital was central to the analysis. Educational capital can either be inherited in the form of parents' educational background, or acquired through the education system, for example by a degree or diploma (see e.g. Forsberg 2015; Lidegran 2009).

This interest in young people's education trajectories emerges from an even broader interest in how education strategies are developed in relation to local or regional labour markets. This interest goes back to Marx, and later Bourdieu, where people dream, think and achieve according to what is possible from their socio-spatial position. In a study by Willis (1977) of 'working lads' in the 1970s, it is argued that "only a small substantial minority from the working class can hope for mobility, and their cultures and dispositions are adapted accordingly" (p. 394). These objective structures are about social heritage, but in the context of this thesis could also be about proximity and distance to certain labour markets, the socio-economic context of one's birthplace and the history of migration.

Research has shown that young people today are very aware of alternative lifestyles, and that neo-liberal discourses of individualisation are leaving young people in distress because they feel 'trapped' in socio-spatial conditions that prevent them from living in accordance with normative values of 'successful adulthood' (see e.g. Jeffrey and Dyson 2008; Katz 2004). The

expression 'successful adulthoods' was used in Paper II to refer to normative values of higher education, material wealth, consumerist lifestyles and cities, which are all associated with 'modernity'.

In Papers II and III, educational capital was explored in terms of families' collected educational capital, such as parents' educational background, students' education orientation in terms of degrees and courses, grades and institutional assignments (associations and boards). The interviews also addressed the topics of student loans, everyday life in school and families' expectations as regards educational achievement.

In addition, a central theme of the interviews was how students envision their future trajectories in relation to the value of educational capital, or the transformative value of education. Polarities of students who are looking to accumulate economic or cultural capital were examined in both papers. Both included students who develop strategies to invest in educational capital in terms of a higher education degree, and students who do not. The social stratification process becomes obvious in the distinction between the two. Furthermore, in both cases study programmes are directed differently to 'staying' in or 'leaving' the region. The social stratification processes in education systems are intertwined in spatial relations. This explains the rationales and legitimising processes of students who get an education to transform their hobby into a paid job, why others feel responsibility towards the nation to stay and work in the country, or why an uncertain career within the tourist industry is viewed as contributing to regional development.

Paper IV explored young people's different motives for staying in or leaving their home region in relation to outcomes, which enabled analysis of educational capital in relation to actual socio-spatial trajectories. The study only included individuals who have made an investment in higher education and examined differences within the group. Of equal interest to the trajectories that lead away from northern Sweden were the education choices that make it possible to stay in or return to the home region.

Spatial capital

Spatial capital is a concept that expands the theoretical ideas of Bourdieu and concerns place-specific capital and geographical reach. The concept was developed by the geographer Lévy, who defines it in its broadest sense as "all resources accumulated by an actor enabling him or her to benefit, according to their strategy, from

using society's spatial dimension" (Lévy and Lussault 2003, p. 124, translation in Barthön and Monfroy 2010, p. 178). This thesis drew on the concept primarily as a subcategory of cultural capital, although it is also related to economic and social capital.

The duality of the concept is what makes it useful for examining the influence of socio-spatial contexts in young people's trajectories. The *position capital* component addresses place-specific characteristics and proximity to certain labour markets or educational institutions. The *situation capital* component addresses young people's different abilities to 'overcome distances' and reach a variety of distance labour markets and educational institutions. Situation capital could be studied in relation to transport infrastructure, but was mainly studied in this thesis in relation to geographical horizons and attainable reach from a certain socio-spatial context.

Paper III examined position capital, where 'being from Kalix' is associated with certain future perceptions. Position capital includes objective forms of capital with proximity to certain labour markets, educational institutions and cultural institutions. Students may be aware of socio-spatial hierarchies and their sentiments towards their home town can be shaped by a centre/periphery divide. In relation to representations of space, 'being from Kalix' or northern Sweden more generally cannot be said to be transferrable capital in the same way as being from Stockholm, Uppsala or Lund (university towns), or London, Paris or New York (Bourdieu 2008). Paper III focused rather on locally recognised symbolic capital, where certain young people embody what it means to be from Kalix by engaging in certain lifestyles and hobbies, having the right family name, a position in social arenas such as associations and sports teams, and pursuing education trajectories that are locally recognised. 'Being from Kalix' for these young people is something that is socially recognised and might result in a job, authority and honour in Kalix and its wider regions. So although not everyone makes plans in accordance with regional education and labour markets, proximity plays a significant role in structuring the thoughts of students in the area and acts as a point of reference in comparisons with other alternatives. Position capital is not accumulative in the same way as situation capital (Barthön and Monfroy 2010).

The second dimension of spatial capital explored in Paper III in relation to the Kalix interviewees' plans for the future was their perceived possibilities to 'overcome distances' through mobility, in other words, situation capital. The concepts resemble Buttimer's (1980) concept of reach (see chapter 2). The interviewees'

awareness of different alternatives and their knowledge of how to get there were examined. This is an advantage of the method, whereas previous research on spatial capital usually draws on quantitative data analysis (Barthon and Monfroy 2010; Trumberg 2011). Such studies permit analysis of outcomes, but are also at risk of correlating outcomes of (im)mobilities with geographical reach, which is not necessarily the same thing. Understanding spatial capital in relation to position and situation capital includes joint analysis of the local context as a 'shared horizon' and how the specific context is related to people's different dispositions towards mobility.

The forms of capital that are recognised in a certain socio-spatial context are not decided in advance. That is why spatial capital was identified in Paper III and transnational capital in Paper II. Transnational capital was also viewed primarily as a subcategory to cultural capital, or as an even more defined form of situation capital.

Transnational capital

The concept *transnational capital* was mainly used in Paper II to explore young people's dispositions towards mobility in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala. In summary, transnational capital includes having knowledge and information to compare different educational institutions and programmes internationally and knowledge of how to get access. Börjesson (2005) also writes about 'place-specific capital', where a degree from London, Paris or New York is associated with a certain symbolic value.

In relation to 'place-specific capital,' Paper II used a similar spatial hierarchy amongst sending countries to argue that young people from Kerala have transnational capital bound to the history of place. This implies that they embody transferrable capital, where being from Thiruvananthapuram involves (for students with other collective assets) a self-confidence or belief that makes it 'natural' to apply for studies and jobs abroad.

Transnational capital resembles other concepts when it comes to obtaining certain aptitudes for other cultures and "being experienced in the ways of the world" (Börjesson 2005). One of those concepts is being 'cosmopolitan':

The intellectual cosmopolitans learn to know themselves through travelling through the cultures of others. This then is the aesthetic/prosthetic self, shopping, sizing-up the value of what is available, participating in the art-culture system of otherness, where

others become a resource – in the propertizing of the self. (Skeggs 1997, p.158)

Skeggs draws on Bourdieu's work to discuss travel and the exoticism associated with unique adventures abroad, which is connected to cultural capital and the individual's struggle for a competitive advantage.

As mentioned previously, Bourdieu's concepts are operationalised empirically. That does not mean, however, that the concepts are wholly 'fluid'. For example, young people's transnational horizons were also assessed in Paper II, although these interviewees' future alternatives were not aimed at accumulating transnational capital. There is a risk, in emphasising local and global interrelations of everything becoming a complicated web of 'glocalities' and a 'flat ontology':

Some individuals 'initiate' flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it...[There are] groups who are really in a sense in charge of time-space compression, who can really use it and turn it to advantage, whose power and influence is very definitely increases [such as media moguls and the business elite]...but there are also groups who are also doing a lot of physical moving, but who are not 'in charge' of the process in the same way at all...(Massey 1994, p. 149)

What Bourdieu refers to as 'objective structures' offer transferability of analysis and the possibility to discuss orders of dominance across sites. This topic is returned to in Chapter 6.

Habitus

The different forms of capital may also be embodied in how people speak and move in different situations. These embodied forms of capital are what Bourdieu calls habitus. Habitus is something so fundamental in people's understanding and interpretation of the world that it is difficult to study as a coherent issue. Therefore, capital is a more hands-on research tool to study indicators of different dimensions of habitus. At the same time, habitus adds a phenomenological understanding and links to objective structures in bodily experiences. It is an important epistemological cornerstone in Bourdieu's 'system of thinking'. Habitus is created over time; it is neither static nor a deterministic rendering of social reproduction (Bourdieu and Waquant 1992).

In an ethnographic study in which Bourdieu returns to his home region Béarn in south-west France to study matrimonial rituals at community dances, he concludes that the influence of residence does not affect men and women in the same way. He compares the different bodily experiences of peasants who marry and those 'condemned' to bachelorhood (Bourdieu 2008). *The Bachelor's Ball*, which is the title of the book, is an important introduction to studies of place and habitus. One could say that each individual has a particular habitus and therefore there are as many forms of habitus as there are people (Broady 1997, p. 226). However, Bourdieu underlines the importance of understanding groups of people who share a certain habitus and how these are different or similar to other groups. This in turn is an exploration of society in its broadest sense, meaning the nature of change – in Bourdieu's case in the French countryside. The idea of habitus was useful in this thesis for capturing complex relations between identity, place attachment and migration in Papers II-IV.

Habitus is closely related to 'sense of one's place', but also a 'sense of the place of others' (Bourdieu 1990, p. 131). Habitus is an embodied, as well as cognitive, sense of place (Hillier and Rooksby 2002) that encompasses social and geographical imaginations (Gregory 1994).

Previous studies of people's shared and differentiated habitus have improved understanding of young people's aspirations in different geographical contexts. However, when it comes to thinking about the inscriptions of socio-economic structures of place, or the objective value given to mobility in today's society, these are discussed in this thesis in terms of different forms of capital. In fact, Paper II criticised the idea of 'place-specific habitus' (Allen and Hollingsworth 2013) as risking reducing young people's aspirations to 'people from here' instead of understanding different ways in which place is embedded in people's habitus depending on, for example, their experiences of place, social position and gender.

Local gender relations

Bourdieu's contribution to understandings of gender is closely associated with the concept of habitus that describes the relationship between the social world and its inscription on bodies. A person's experiences of gender relations are therefore also a part of habitus and impact how they orientate in the world. This concerns how and where people can move around in different locations and their

different possibilities to claim space. All these practices are potentially shaped by conventional structures and ideas of what constitutes femininity or masculinity (McRobbie 2004; Skeggs 1997).

One's relationship to the social world and to one's proper place in it is never more clearly expressed than in the space one claims with one's body in physical space, through a bearing and gestures that are self-assured or reserved, expansive or constricted ('presence' or 'insignificance'). (Bourdieu 1984, p. 474)

This has consequences for how gendered bodies can move in a room, in the local community or in a city. There is also a difference between women's and men's collective appropriation of space versus the individual's sense of belonging or 'fitting in'. This difference applies to the workplace of mines in northern Sweden, travelling by public transport in the city of Thiruvananthapuram, or in both these cases entering a certain degree programme or professional pathway. Studies drawing on Bourdieu's work have shown that gender is an intricate part of structuring education fields in terms of boys' and girls' different strategies to accumulate educational capital (Forsberg 2015; Lidegran 2009).

Researchers other than Bourdieu have elaborated on gender in relation to women's and men's different relations to place, reach and mobility. In a study of young people in the Irish countryside, Donkersloot (2012) examines how men's and women's practices are associated with visibility and value. She cites the example of football, where the 'lads' who are successful in certain sporting activities have the opportunity to become 'local heroes'. What she reveals is how symbolic capital is recognised locally and how this differs for men and women. Donkersloot (2012) refers to Little and Leyshon (2003, p. 269):

The relationship between the rural body and the acceptance of certain dominant and traditional forms of gender identity implies a power relation...the body (or at least particular forms of the body) gains power within a rural context.

How men's and women's possession of different assets are valued differently is examined in Paper III in relation to sports, leisure activities and labour markets.

The overarching gender analysis later in this thesis draws on the concept of local gender contracts. This concept was not utilised in Papers I-IV, but was added to the analysis here to elaborate on how socio-spatial contexts shape men's and women's trajectories in

different contexts. The concept derives from Hirdman (1988) and has been applied in geography by, among others, Grimsrud (2011), Forsberg (1998; 2001) and Forsberg and Stenbacka (2017). The gender contract can be viewed as an agreement on the division of productive and reproductive labour between men and women. For example, gender relations in an area dominated by agriculture differ from those in a service community (Stenbacka et al. 2017).

If mobility is associated with change, then young people who stay in their home region have a tendency to be seen as a counterpart and as a part of preserving traditional lifestyles and gender roles. Stenbacka (2008) examines responses by unemployed men in rural Sweden to societal transformation and identifies adaptation, retreat and challenge as the three main responses to local gender contracts. Adaptation simply means living in accordance with prevailing local gender structures. Some men in that study had an awareness of local gender expectations, but retreated because it felt hopeless, while others challenged gender norms and started to work within the female coded profession of elderly care (Stenbacka 2008). These three different approaches show that gender contracts can be understood as a common point of reference to which men and women relate in different ways. Another way to think about the individual versus the collective is in relation to 'gender loyalties', where men and women can distinguish themselves in opposition to local gender structures (Stenbacka et al. 2017).

One study that develops the concept of gender contract outside a northern European context is that by Lindeborg (2012). She describes how the rubber industry boom affected men and women in north-western Laos and draws on the concept of gender contract to study the division of labour within the household. She also makes some valid criticisms of the concept as holding associations with a very formal agreement. Focusing on regional patterns can also go against the need of feminist researchers to recognise a range of relationally formed masculinities and femininities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Although criticism by Lindeborg and others appears justified, three particular aspects of the concept were useful in this thesis. First, men and women both maintain gender relations in ways that cut across individual relations within the household, labour market divisions and overarching structures of discourses and symbols. Second, if there are changes on the labour market, this influences gender relations. Third, local gender contracts are embedded in different social protection systems. However, it is crucial not to isolate gender and place, but to think about gender

contracts in relation to differences between social groups of men and women in a particular geographical context.

Final remarks on theory

This chapter introduced the theoretical point of departure for the thesis, based on Bourdieu's work. It also highlighted the main concepts (field, capital and habitus) invoked in Papers I-IV. The concepts shed light on supranational organisations' production of geographical knowledges and young people's different dispositions towards socio-spatial mobility.

Spatial dimensions of young people's trajectories were studied by drawing on Bourdieu's family of concepts. Habitus is one example of where Bourdieu's theories have proved useful in relation to place identity. Spatial dimensions are embedded in symbolic, economic, social and cultural capital, but this chapter also discussed the possibility of focusing on specific dimensions of these concepts by drawing on the concepts spatial capital and transnational capital. The advantage of this is that it gives insights into how spatiality is intertwined in people's struggle for positional advantage. A potential drawback is that the subcategorisation could imply that spatial dimensions are separate from the other forms of capital, which would be unfortunate. Thus the chapter underlined that transnational capital and spatial capital are specific forms of cultural capital and integral parts of social, economic and symbolic capital.

Drawing on *one* theoretical framework facilitated an analytical conversation between Papers I-IV. However, the concepts were used slightly differently in the different studies. For example, transnational capital was found to hold explanatory value in Paper II, but not Paper III. Similar questions were asked of both sets of interviewees, but the outcomes were very different. The main advantage of the theoretical approach appeared to be its responsiveness to empirical data.

The chapter listed a number of dichotomies that Bourdieu aimed to bridge in his work, the most important being that between theory and methodology. Chapter 4 describes how the concepts were operationalised in relation to the research question.

4. Methodology

Education and (im)mobility were studied across a variety of sites and scales in Papers I-IV, with each study representing a different research context. Several choices were made along the way on where to conduct the studies and what methods to use. The underlying motives and consequences of these choices are addressed in this chapter. Transparency regarding data collection and analysis allows the reader to determine whether the methodological choices are reasonable and the conclusions trustworthy. More thorough descriptions of the data also enable comparative discussions in relation to other studies and the possibility to keep building on the research.

The methodology used in the thesis was influenced by the overarching purpose of a multi-scale, multi-site study of education and mobility, as well as the 'system of thinking' that comes with the theoretical point of departure. Drawing on Bourdieu's work, the aim was to bridge the agent/structure divide. The dialectic division was replaced by a relational understanding where individuals' perceptions and choices are guided and constrained within a broader set of social relations. People's will, action and thought are shaped by habitus and by social structures, or classes in a broad sense (Bourdieu 1996).

Critics of this approach claim that it can become entrenched in the deterministic aspects. However, as emphasised in Chapter 3, the struggle for competitive advantage is ongoing and different forms of capital can be acquired, accumulated and changed. A contribution of the thesis is in fact to show how the value of mobility and immobility is incessantly negotiated and comes to expression in a variety of ways within broadly defined social classes. A 'relational understanding' suggests that the value of education and mobility is determined by an ongoing struggle for capital that structures orders of dominance and differentiates between the trajectories that become visible and eligible to different social groups.

The next sub-section provides a more comprehensive description of why the four specific study cases were selected and addresses the broader question of whether the results are generalisable. The data used in Papers I-IV were primarily obtained through interviews and

from registry data. This chapter describes how the interviews were conducted as part of a broader field of work. A separate sub-section deals with the selection, coding and measurements that preceded the register data analysis.

The selection of four cases

Choosing cases involved careful consideration of the overarching research problem and theoretical assumptions. It also involved recognition of more personal explanations, such as long-standing curiosity about the places and organisations studied and practical issues of social contacts at these sites which acted as convenient 'door openers'. At the beginning of the work, three of the four cases (Papers I-III) were part of the overall research plan. The quantitative study of northern Sweden (Paper IV) was added later, as an integral part of the Kalix study. Dividing that case into two papers was beneficial for both, since they approached young people's trajectories from different perspectives.

In Paper I, interviews were conducted with staff members at UNESCO and the OECD. Previous research has revealed the role of these organisations in changing the terms of where and how education policy is made (Lingard and Rawolle 2011). The organisations are causing education systems to become more similar and are creating a situation where nation-states are all striving towards the same goals and are evaluated on the same scale of measure. Paper I addresses the first research question: *How do staff members at the OECD and UNESCO mediate a global agenda of education, especially as regards geographical knowledges of youth trajectories and progression?* The OECD and UNESCO were chosen because they were assumed to be part of the same 'field', doing normative work on education. The advantage of thinking in terms of a global education policy field was elaborated upon in Chapter 3, where it was observed that geographical knowledges produced by the two organisations are contextualised by linking *what* is being said to *who* is saying it (their social position) and *why* (in relation to objective structures of struggles for capital).

The OECD and UNESCO were taken as two representative cases of a broader field of international organisation of education. The establishment of these organisations goes back to the end of World War II and they have a similar structure of member-countries. They also have similar production of outputs in terms of documents, reports,

conferences, data analyses etc. However, there are also differences between OECD and UNESCO in organisational structure and geographical scope and, perhaps most importantly, there is a difference in the core mission and political incentives that guide their work.

UNESCO is a large organisation with several regional and field offices and specialist institutions. The OECD has its entire staff located in Paris (except for contracted consultants). Staff members at the OECD's and UNESCO's headquarters were interviewed in Paper I, since this is where the messages of the organisations are framed and potentially where policy development on a global scale is most visible. The interviews were difficult to schedule, but were facilitated by existing social contacts at the Swedish delegations to the OECD and UNESCO.

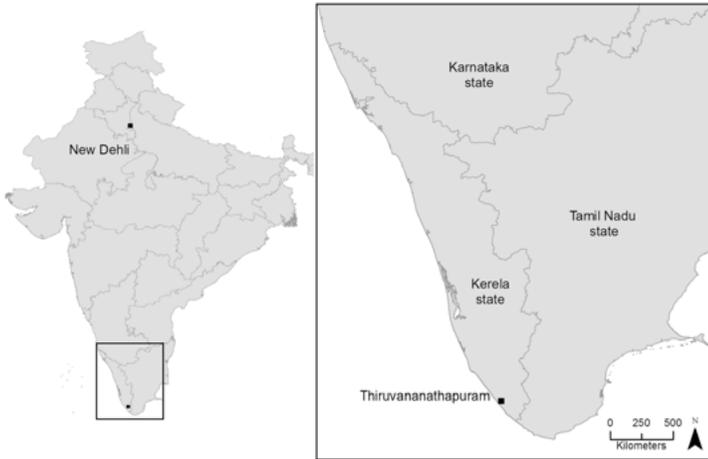
In the two studies about aspirations, the cases of Thiruvananthapuram in southern India and Kalix in northern Sweden were purposefully selected to show different perspectives on young people's anticipated futures (Creswell 2007). Both studies addressed the second research question: *How do young people in different socio-spatial settings perceive future education and work alternatives, particularly in relation to staying in or leaving their home region?* Chapter 6 discusses similarities and differences between the sites and analyses how these differences are maintained by overarching structures and influenced by local or regional historical contexts.

Paper II used the case of Thiruvananthapuram, which is the state capital of Kerala (Figures 1 and 2). The state's history of communism and matrilineal rule made it interesting as a research object, but its long history of national and transnational migration made it stand out as a suitable case to study. A quarter of households in Kerala have a member living and working abroad and internal migration is even more widespread (Zachariah 2012). Migration is an integral part of the personal lives of both those who stay behind and those who leave. It has shaped the socio-economic structure of the local/regional community, raising prices due to cash remittances.



Picture 1. Visual impressions at a pedestrian crossing in central Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, south-west India.

In addition, India has one of the largest and fastest growing youth populations, a section of the population that is described as encompassing 'global sensitivity' and a Western consumerist lifestyle (Lukose 2005; Banaji 2012). However, children in India are also raised to embrace nationalism and develop patriotic feelings. These tensions, identified in previous research, reflect the overall research problem where education trajectories are embedded in overlapping principles of transnationalism, nationalism and conservatism.



Map 1. Map of Thiruvananthapuram district in Kerala, south-west India.

As so often happens in field work, some methodological decisions had to be adapted to what was feasible in a given situation. For example, the plan was to conduct the research in northern Kerala, but the contact person was unable to help as planned and a new entry point to the field had to be identified. This was done with the help of researchers at a research institute in Thiruvananthapuram, who presented the local ‘school market’ and the state’s education system. The administrative state centre has a range of universities and colleagues and migration strategies amongst young people could be compared in relation to other cities in India or abroad. Thus Paper II was a useful complement to Papers III and IV, which were more concerned with intra-regional migration, rural migration and migration in a national context.

The Kalix study (Paper III) was set in a sparsely populated area of northern Sweden and was inspired by studies of ‘working lads’ in times of socio-economic restructurings (e.g. Willis 1977; McDowell 2002). However the study had a slightly different aim and Kalix is not a typical industrial town on the slide. In addition, men and women were included in the study.



Picture 2. Visual impression of the main street in central Kalix, northern Sweden.

In 2012, when the study was carried out, the municipality of Kalix had experienced population decline, just like many other sparsely populated municipalities in northern Sweden. Nonetheless, the atmosphere was coloured by a local mining boom and anticipated spin-off effects for companies along the Gulf of Bothnia (Ejdemo and Söderholm 2011). Concurrently, youth unemployment remains generally quite high in Sweden and Europe (Lundahl and Olofsson 2014). However, the employment opportunities largely comprised traditional ‘male’ jobs. Paper IV examined how these relatively good conditions for traditional male labour influenced the education strategies of families that would normally encourage their children to continue to higher education. The local labour conditions also raised questions of gender relations (McDowell 2002) and contemporary ideas of ‘modern lifestyles’. ‘Working lads’ per se were not the focus of Paper IV, but rather labour market restructurings in a broader perspective.



Map 2. Map of Kalix and surrounding municipalities in northern Sweden.

The description given so far of Kalix fits a few more municipalities along the coast of northern Sweden. The reason why the choice finally fell on Kalix was a contact at the upper-secondary school in Kalix who was interested in participating and who offered to facilitate contact with students, teachers, the principal and the careers advisor.

While Papers I-III examined geographical knowledge production and aspirations (goals and future expectations), Paper IV concentrated on migration patterns and the question of who stays or returns to their home region after their university degree. The study covered northern Sweden and addressed the third research question: *To what extent do different higher education trajectories affect young adults' inclinations to stay in or leave their home region in sparsely populated areas?*

Northern Sweden is a collective name for the five northernmost counties in Sweden. The area represents almost 60% of Sweden's land mass but is home to only about 12% of the total population (Eriksson 2008; SCB 2016a). Although the area is diverse and includes both urban and rural contexts, it is generally sparsely

populated, with municipalities facing similar challenges as other rural areas in northern Europe with population decline and an ageing population. One aspect of a growing urban and rural divide is that young people move away to study or work in cities. In Paper III, young people associated city life primarily with the Swedish capital Stockholm, a divide reinforced by the media and popular culture (Eriksson 2008; 2010). Paper IV drew attention to another kind of spatial division, by studying differences in young people's trajectories within northern Sweden. The intraregional differences highlighted how education strategies are embedded in larger processes of socio-economic conditions and population structure.

The data for the study were taken from the Population, Chorology and Employment (PLACE) database at the Department of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University, and register data from Statistics Sweden. At the time of the study, the database contained data on all people legally living in Sweden between 1990 and 2010. A benefit of the database is that individual-level characteristics can be linked to geographical data; coordinates with precision of 100 m x 100 m and administrative units of parishes, municipalities and counties. In Paper IV, the focus was on labour market regions, a regional division defined by Statistics Sweden. The database also contains a range of socio-economic variables such as disposable income, social subsidies and capital gains. An especially important resource for this study were the education variables, which hold information on education programmes, highest level of schooling reached, grades and parents' education level and profession. There are also demographic variables, for example family composition, country of birth and parents' country of birth. In Paper IV, several explanatory variables were included in a logistic regression in order to capture socio-spatial relations in education trajectories on a structural level. Drawing on quantitative data, the analysis focused on a cohort born 1977 and included 4478 people. Paper IV complemented the other studies by discussing differences within the segment of the highly educated population in relation to outcomes on a structural level.

Field work in Paris, Thiruvananthapuram and Kalix

Carrying out field work involves coming to a (perhaps) new place and exploring how things work, meeting people in interviews and

observations and solely unravelling, piece by piece, a tapestry/pattern of socio-spatial relations. In this thesis, this process was conducted three times in different locations and settings. Although the interviews were the main focus of the analyses, the field work was designed with a broader set-up in order to grasp the local context in which the interviews were situated.

The field work in Kalix, Thiruvananthapuram and Paris was conducted in that order and had a similar time structure that began with a stay of two months, and then a shorter return visit about six months later.

The first rounds of field work usually involve a month of intense building of social networks and finding ways into the work (Lindeborg 2012). This was especially the case in Thiruvananthapuram, where I had very few initial social contacts, but in all three cases it took time to schedule the first interviews. The second month was occupied with interviews. Preparations for a return visit involved a first analysis and later questions or analytical entry points to be tested. In the case of Thiruvananthapuram, meetings were scheduled with researchers to discuss the preliminary analysis. In Paris, the second visit involved more interviews with people unavailable on the previous visit and broadening the selection of interviewees. However, the process of collecting data, transcribing, analysing and writing was much more integrated than the straight-forward timeline might suggest.

In Kalix, the field work included interviews with the school principal, teachers, the careers advisor and representatives of the community at the unemployment office and local business representatives. It also involved spending most days in school to get an idea of the social interaction. The stay in the village during this time included taking part in noticeboard community events like local fashion shows and music events in the church. The informal observations in Kalix situated the interviews in a context, which helped in analysis and interpretation of the data.

Thiruvananthapuram is a state capital and the large population makes the social activities of people more fragmented. In order to get a flavour of the interviewees' everyday life, the visits mainly focused on the school, observing and talking to teachers, the careers advisor, the principal etc. Many of the students spent a significant part of their day in school and a number of the students had extracurricular activities in school during the week and at week-ends.

The field work in Paris was of a different type, as it involved less time grasping the 'organisation setting' through observations. The

time spent at the organisations' headquarters outside the interviews was all about waiting. The interviews were booked in advance, but were frequently put back to hours or even days later

Interviews

Interviews were used in Papers I-III as the main tool to examine education strategies on a variety of levels and sites, and to find out what visions are made visible, eligible and attractive to whom. This was accompanied by follow-up questions, sensitivity to the order and formulation of questions and a possibility to evaluate the answers in the moment they were expressed by listening to the tone and observing the body language of the interviewee. The interviews also yielded contradictory replies that added nuances and questions and pushed the borders of the taken-for-granted. All these aspects of interviews met the overarching purpose of the thesis, which is to problematise mobility and education strategies on various levels and sites and explore people's actual and attainable reach, envisions and constraints embedded in past experiences and local attachment and mobility.

Theory and methodology are closely interlinked and thus theoretical assumptions were an integral part of the study design. The interview guide reflected the theoretical entry point and operationalised the concepts *capital*, *strategy*, *dispositions*, *habitus*, *geographical imaginations* and *field*. Having a theoretically informed interview guide was a way to enable an analysis that corresponded to the research questions. It was not a matter of posing questions so that the answers 'matched' the theory. Rather, the concepts were 'open ended' and only gave meaning in relation to empirics. The alternative of selecting a theory after the material had been collected simply because it fitted the narrative would have posed an equal or greater risk of predefined and deterministic use of theory.

The practical value of the theory in the interview situation was to enable an analysis of families' composition of capital, young people's perceptions of place and socio-spatial dimensions of future strategies. The different themes that structured the questions were chosen in relation to previous findings in a combination of broad open-ended questions. For example, in Papers II and III interviewees were specifically asked about their grades, views on student loans and consumption of TV, books and social media, together with open questions like: Tell me about a normal day in your life, what does it look like? The interview guides are included in Appendix.

Finally, the interview material was analysed. As pointed out in chapter on methodology, data analysis often starts already in the interview situation where the interviewer gets an idea of key statements or analytical associations what is being said there and then. The next step was transcription of the interviews, which is a way of going back to the interview and perhaps noting new things in the material.

The systematic analysis was conducted 'step-by-step,' starting with large chunks of material and ending up in illuminating quotes or empirical summaries. This process moved into labelling and finding analytical key concepts that describe the phenomena, processes or events. These were then placed in relation to the whole material in the study in terms of relations, similarities and differences and contradictions or silences. The theoretical entry point posed certain questions in the analysis. What alternatives are made visible? What is symbolic capital? What is the composition of existing capital? Who is the main competition to gaining recognition? In inductive analyses, it is desirable to let the 'material speak of its own'. However, this requires coding guided by the researcher's common sense', which is most likely coloured by presumptions that are difficult to disclose.

The strength of any analysis is closely associated to the selection of interviewees and what is possible to say beyond the individual statements. The selection of interviewees imposes a limitation that this sub-section aims to clarify by descriptions of the material. It also addresses what can be defined as the empirical study object.

Staff members at the OECD and UNESCO

The interviews with staff members at the OECD and UNESCO in Paper I were explored in relation to the interviewees' work position within each organisation. The interviewees as a collective represented their organisation and each organisation was to a large extent defined in relation to the other. The organisations and interviewees were selected to represent the field of supranational organisations for education and their role, especially in relation to the 'internationalisation of education'.

As acknowledged in Paper I, the interviewees were not interviewed as 'objective experts', but as a group of individuals from different parts of the world with quite similar education trajectories and transnational strategies. Paper I provided no detail on the biography of the interviewees, as that kind of study would not have focused on social positions and trajectories within the field and

would have been more suited for life-history interviews (Kelly 2013) or multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) based on biography data (Lebaron 2008). Another option could have been to concentrate on text analysis of the documents produced by the organisations. The documents are usually signed with the name of organisation, without indicating the names or work positions of the authors. Such a study would have concentrated on the discursive level of language, without linking what is being said to different positions within the organisation. The research aimed to shed light on motives and rationales (as expression of organisational structures and political interests), which were easier to capture in interviews with staff members (Suddaby and Viale 2011).

Suitable candidates for interview were chosen at the OECD and UNESCO. Staff members who were responsible for a broader area of work within education such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), higher education, Education for All, CERI (Centre for Educational Research and Innovation or Education and Foresight) were targeted in particular. A list of the interviewees' different positions within the organisations is provided in Appendix.

When a scheduled interview was cancelled, a secretary often suggested interviewing a colleague one step down the hierarchy. The interviewees therefore had slightly different positions within the organisation. Understandably, the higher up the structure, the more the interview raised overarching ideas about the 'message of the organisation' while analysts and programme specialists were usually much more engaged in a certain topic on education and their current work project. Staff members higher up the organisation hierarchy were also more outspoken and found it easier to discuss opportunities and challenges facing the organisation. This could be because senior staff members generally have long experience of working within the organisation, and are thus better equipped to discuss issues such as its overall development. Another explanation could be that senior staff felt greater individual freedom within the organisation than other staff members.

It was slightly easier to schedule interviews with staff members at UNESCO compared with the OECD. It would have been desirable to interview more staff members at the OECD, for example the secretary to the Director of the Education Directorate, Andreas Schleicher, who was contacted several times without success. He is an influential person in the organisation and would have most likely added visions on where the OECD is heading.

Middle-class students in Kerala

Thiruvananthapuram is a city with over a million inhabitants where the school market is closely intertwined in social stratification processes with clear divisions between 'good' and 'bad' schools (Sancho 2015). The interviewees represented a fragment of the broadly defined middle class in an urban area in Kerala.

The study would have benefited from wider social recruitment of interviewees. Initially, the study included a school with students from families with scarce economic resources. However, the teachers there had very little understanding of why I wanted to talk to the students one-by-one, and thought it was better to meet the students in large classes (about 80 students in the room). I adapted the method and prepared a written interview where everyone was handed a few pages and asked to write and draw responses. This approach was a combination of written interview, survey and drawing exercise. I stood in front of the class to keep some kind of order and talked the participants through the interview step-by-step. The collected material was not useless, as it contained information about the students' social background, lifestyles and future outlooks. However, without opportunities to ask follow-up questions or listen to the interviewees' tone of voice, I found it difficult to evaluate the quality of the material. How the written interviews were conducted was also far from ideal, with students sitting so close to one another that it would be impossible for anyone to write in confidence. In the end, I decided not to use this material. I had to change my research approach while in the field and instead focus on interviews with the broadly defined middle classes at Matthaesus higher secondary school.

The school is located 7 km from the city centre and renowned for being one of the best schools in the city. It is a Christian private school that welcomes students with different beliefs. The school campus is actually divided into three different schools described as 'sister institutions'. The three schools each have a different syllabus directed towards a Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (ICSE), a syllabus affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) and a syllabus of the Kerala State Education Department. The interviews were conducted within the students' school day, in a library that was closed off to other people at the time. The recordings in the interviews were affected by sounds from surrounding classrooms, school buses and animals around the school, which made it difficult to transcribe the interviews in some

cases. However, I took notes during the interviews, which was a good complement to the recordings.

The interviews were conducted with students on the ICSE and state syllabuses, since they represent the two most differing choices. This also enabled comparison of families' and students' different education choices. The school did not want to say that the study programmes reflect students' different social backgrounds, nor did it want to say how much the fees for the two syllabuses differed. The background questionnaire for the interviews revealed differences between the syllabuses as regards parents' education background and current work position, as explored in Paper II.

Built into the different education programmes is a certain geographical reach. The state syllabus seeks to educate young people so that they can contribute to the social and economic good of the community. Furthermore, the school's values involve training the students in developing qualities of leadership, teamwork and co-operation, so as to become responsible citizens of India. The final aim for the ICSE students is similar, but they are ultimately prepared to become 'global citizens'. In the ICSE courses English is the spoken language, whereas the state syllabus also has obligatory courses in Malayalam, Hindi or French. Table 2 provides an overview of the interviewees selected.

Table 2. Overview of interviewees in Kerala (Paper II)

	ICSE syllabus	State syllabus	Total
<i>No.</i> of students	20	18	38
Girls	13	8	21
Boys	7	10	17
Commerce	6	6	12
BioMath	5	6	11
Computers	9	6	15
<i>No.</i> of students with one parent with five years of education or more	19	10	29
<i>No.</i> of students with one parent or more without higher education	0	5	5

Within the study programmes there were also different streams of education, such as commerce, science and computer science. Interviewees were selected evenly from within the programmes and also from those with the highest and lowest grades in the class and from different streams. This careful selection of interviewees, enabled by the different syllabuses and the meritocratic school system, was essential for the analysis, which sought to identify differences within the broadly defined middle classes. The selection of interviewees also aimed at achieving a gender balance.

When conducting research in a context that one has little experience of, problems can occur. One example of this was that several of the interviewees mentioned that they wanted to go to Australia because of the excellent food culture there. This was puzzling and raised questions about culinary exchanges between India and Australia. On enquiring more broadly about this, it emerged that the number one TV show in Kerala at the time was Australian MasterChef, which whole families gathered to watch on Wednesdays. The TV show was not mentioned in any of the interviews. This rather minor anomaly highlights the need to discuss research findings more broadly and to ‘test’ the analysis on people who have similar experiences as the interviewees.

Students in Kalix

In Kalix the upper-secondary school (gymnasium) is run by the local authority and is the municipality’s only education institution at that

level. This means that a large majority of the students in the municipality are gathered here. The school choice in itself does not reflect students' different abilities to orientate on a 'school market', but rather reflects the social composition of the municipality. Household incomes in Kalix are a bit below national average with relatively few households that substantially divert from the median income (SCB 2016b).

The study aimed at a broad selection of interviewees, especially as regards vocational and theoretical programmes that were assumed to influence the interviewee's perceptions of potential labour markets. Unfortunately, it was not possible to interview students in the healthcare programme, which is a 'traditional female' programme. The third-year students were occupied with internships and the programme did not have any students in the other years because of few applicants. Students in the second and third year of upper-secondary school were selected, since questions on the transition to higher education or work were expected to be most relevant to this group of students (Table 3). The age of the interviewees varied between 17 and 19 years.

Table 3. Overview of interviewees in Kalix

Study programme	Students interviewed	Year two	Year three
Childcare and Recreation	4	2	2
Vehicles and Transport	8	8	0
Industrial Technology	6	4	2
Natural Resource Use	7	0	7
Natural Science	2	0	2
Social Science	4	0	4
Technology	7	7	0
Total	38	21	17

As in Kerala, the aim was to interview similar proportions of boys and girls and to include students from each programme with high and low grades. In Paper III, it was important not to put together too many personal characteristics, for example, an interview with one girl in a certain year in a traditional male programme would make it very easy to identify that individual.

The first two interviews took place outside school, in a café. However, this did work very well as the two interviewees appeared

uncomfortable in this situation. In fact, one stated explicitly that he was not very fond of going to cafés. Therefore the other interviews were held in a small class-room in the upper-secondary school, which was a familiar space for the interviewees. The interviews were often scheduled around the interviewees' timetables, but the students were sometimes granted permission to leave a class early for an interview.

In Kalix, I was afraid that my own education pathway could influence the interviews, as being a PhD student from Uppsala represents a certain education trajectory. Therefore, I was careful when introducing myself to also state where I grew up, in a village in the central part of northern Sweden not very different from Kalix. This allowed the interviewees to relate to me, which made the conversation more relaxed. Having personal experience that is close to that of interviewees is desirable, as a way to diminish power structures and mitigate the risk of misinterpretation (Bourdieu 1999).

Coding and analysing registry data

This section focuses on the other main method used, namely statistical analysis of register data. Paper IV addressed the research question: *To what extent do different higher education trajectories affect young adults' inclinations to stay in or leave their home region in sparsely populated areas?* The scope of the study suited registry data analysis, allowing for comparisons of how different factors influence an individual's decisions to settle in their home region or move away. The study focused on the post-graduation mobility of the cohort born in 1977, the majority of whom finished upper-secondary school in 1996.

The study explored different types of education trajectories within the highly educated population. The main explanatory variable was degrees, which were divided into eight broad categories. This division to some extent catered for the 'social status' of a profession (length of studies, admission procedures and salaries in the profession), for example separating doctors and nurses. The categories also separated different subject orientations such as social science, natural science and humanities. The eight categories balanced the aim of the study to examine differences within the highly educated population, while still ensuring that there were enough post-graduates in each category to permit a rigid analysis. 'Home region' was defined in accordance with Statistics Sweden's delineation of local labour market areas (LLMAs) in which the graduate was living at the

time of graduation from upper-secondary school. The event of graduation for each individual who studied at university was chosen based on the year when they earned their highest degree. We then traced where the individual was living four years later.

The first group of explanatory variables related to family background of the individual, which included variables covering education level of the parents and family income. The second group comprised individual-level variables such as gender, post-secondary school grades, degree level and degree category, age at the time of graduation, whether the graduate had children after graduation and post-graduation employment status and earnings. A more thorough description of the selection of variables and of the motives for the methodological choices is given in Paper IV.

The binary dependent variable in the logistic regression depicted whether an individual had/had not moved away from their home region four years after obtaining a university degree. The regression results were summarised as the odds ratios of the event of staying.

During this study, some methodological challenges arose. The study included a range of variables that could account for the socio-spatial context, such as the general level of education in the region, unemployment rates, population density, dominating labour markets etc. We also created such contextual variables using EquiPop-software (Östh et al. 2015), which makes use of a k-nearest neighbours technique. However, a Moran's I test indicated that our initial research design was flawed, due to several problems related to spatial autocorrelation. For this reason, we had to exclude some of the variables causing the problems with spatial autocorrelation from the final analysis and to rethink our entire research design. Instead of including the variables of place characteristics in the regression analysis, we highlighted intraregional differences by visualising the share of 'stayers' in the different LLMA regions. The resulting maps showed spatial divisions, particularly between coastal areas and the interior.

The issues we encountered show how difficult it is to define measurements that cater for a socio-spatial context across a region containing both larger urban areas and rural communities with population-based contextual variables and to carry out such analysis while maintaining the accuracy of individual contexts.

Final remarks on methodology

The combination of interviews and registry data was well suited for investigating different scales of analysis and answering questions on how migration patterns are distributed across sections of the population, as well as understanding people's perceptions that underline these practices. This chapter described the process of conducting field work where I stayed in each location for two months and then went back for a shorter follow up visit a few months later. The field work in Kalix had a broader perspective on the community whereas field work in Thiruvananthapuram focused on the higher secondary school environment. The chapter also included an example where my unfamiliarity of TV shows in Thiruvananthapuram caused me problem to interpret the data. Similarly, in Kalix I had to apply certain strategies to diminish socio-spatial distances between me and the interviewee. The sub-section on the registry data analysis especially highlighted challenges that we met along the way when it comes to studying the influence of socio-spatial contexts on young people's education and work trajectories.

5. Summary of the work in Papers I-IV

This chapter gives a brief overview of Papers I-IV by summarising the research problems addressed, the methods used, the main findings and the contribution of the individual papers. The papers collectively fulfilled the overarching aim to *explore and interpret how young people's different education and work trajectories become conceived, validated and realised across different socio-geographical contexts, by focusing on geographical reach and mobility*. In interviews with staff members at the OECD's and UNESCO's headquarters, Paper I explored how supranational organisations mediate a global agenda of education. It contributed to the overarching aim by studying how young people's trajectories, and associated ideas of progression, are validated by global agents that in turn influence national education systems, education institutions and the public's normative values of education. Papers II and III showed how young people perceive their future education and work trajectories in Thiruvananthapuram, southern India, and Kalix, northern Sweden. Using register data analysis, Paper IV examined the socio-spatial mobility of university graduates in northern Sweden. It contributed to the overarching aim by showing how young people's trajectories are realised in an intraregional perspective.

Paper I

Setting a global agenda of education: Cooperation and tension within the global education policy field

Paper I showed how supranational organisations for education mediate normative values of education and influence education policy. The study focused particularly on the OECD and UNESCO, which shape normative values of education through global ranking lists, policy transfers and 'best practices' (Lingard and Rawolle 2011).

The theoretical point of departure was Bourdieu's notion of field (Bourdieu 2006). Previous studies have identified a global education policy field (Lingard et al. 2005) where organisations like the World Bank, the EU, the OECD and UNESCO struggle to determine normative values of education. The global education policy field is best described as a sub-field to a larger global field of education that includes nation-states, higher education institutions and organisations. The advantage of the concept is that the organisations' work, such as recommendations and global rankings, are viewed in relation to the institutional context of the specific organisations, but also as a struggle for competitive advantage between different agents. This struggle is closely associated with the strategies the organisations apply, the resources they invest and their position-staking. The OECD, for example, emphasises its value as an economic organisation, while UNESCO builds on a tradition of humanistic interests as a UN organisation.

Empirical material was obtained in interviews with 18 staff members at the two organisations, who were strategically chosen to reflect different sections within the education directorates. Staff members at the organisations discuss, formulate and adapt policies. The interviews covered how they perceive the role of their organisation and how they identify and formulate problems and solutions in relation to the needs of different nation-states, authorities and people. By focusing on staff members' experiences, it was possible to study bounds of possibility for and within the two organisations.

The OECD and UNESCO must walk a fine line to balance a subordinate position in relation to nation-states while at the same time justifying their own *raison d'être*. The work of the organisations primarily addresses nation-states, but the organisations are also expected to help develop solutions for 'global issues'. What 'global issues' means, however, is largely shaped in relation to the wider global field of education.

The findings showed that tensions and interdependencies identified within the global education policy field influence the outputs of the organisations. This is evident in two examples.

First, both organisations allocate global issues to be addressed on the level of the individual as personal skills and competencies (Mitchell 2006; Raco 2009). This is illustrated by the increased emphasis on what the OECD labels 'global competencies' and what UNESCO labels 'global citizenship'. These concepts reflect how the organisations' work is closely related and subject to similar external pressure from a wider global field of education, where media,

companies and higher education institutions play an important role. The study also showed the organisations' different position-staking within the field, where OECD emphasises employability and UNESCO the individual's well-being.

Second, both organisations address 'global issues' by collecting, categorising and analysing global data. The global ranking lists are one area where the OECD and UNESCO have attracted media coverage. The organisations emphasise that national governments set their own goals in relation to the rankings. However, the interviews revealed a global discourse of educational progression where 'everyone wants the same thing'. Paper I showed these global ranking lists to be embedded in different kinds of temporality. On the one hand, the ranking list is a list of power (Massey 2005) that reinforces current dominating structures of nation-states, which education systems or educational institutions are validated and 'progressed' and which countries are 'catching up'. The rankings are usually limited to one area of education at a time and do not take into account the uneven economic distribution between countries. On the other hand, the focus on shared goals directs attention towards a common situation where there is no need for nation-states to go through different development stages, but rather to learn from best practices.

In conclusion, both organisations identify problems and solutions and agree who is best suited to address the issue (and at what scale). This has consequences for young people's possibilities to engage on national and international scales, both in terms of institutional admissions, regulations and the promotion of certain skills and competencies. Progress is then defined in relation to a few top-performing (predominantly Western) nation-states and the value of certain personal competencies and practices is strengthened.

Paper II

Educated to be global: Transnational horizons of middle-class students in Kerala, India

In the media and popular culture, young people in India are portrayed as being influenced by Westernised consumption patterns and cosmopolitan lifestyles (Banji 2012; Lukose 2005). However, Paper II revealed differences within the middle class whereby transnational capital distinguishes rather than unifies 'Indian youth'. The study explored how future alternatives for education and work become eligible to young people in Thiruvananthapuram, southern

India. It argued that the region's history of in- and out- migration significantly shapes young people's future aspirations.

The analysis was based on interviews with boys and girls in upper-secondary school in one of the city's esteemed Christian private schools. The interviewees were enrolled in different syllabuses. The Kerala state syllabus had relatively more students from the lower-middle classes than the ICSE syllabus, which mainly recruits students from the more affluent middle classes.

The interviews were structured around broad themes such as social background, family expectation and reflections on life events, such as education, work, marriage and old age. In addition, the study drew on previous research to explore young people's possession of 'transnational capital' (Börjesson 2005; Wagner 1995). This dimension of young people's future horizons was explored in relation to questions of language skills, geographical and cultural knowledge of India and abroad, knowledge of educational institutions and their entry requirements, social networks in India and abroad and experiences from travelling and living abroad.

The results showed that 'going abroad' for studies or work was viewed as something that 'people from around here do'. Looking more closely at different future aspirations, however, revealed that students enrolled in the different syllabuses orientated towards different transnational strategies. A majority of the students in ICSE orientated towards the US and UK and had clear ideas about which universities to apply for and all the necessary steps they have to go through to get there. The study also revealed the complicated relations between social and geographical mobility, where some resourceful students distinguished themselves as different by wanting to stay in India, most often in Delhi, which was perceived to offer similar lifestyles and possibilities to Western cities.

Students participating in the state syllabus and who belonged to what could be described as the lower middle classes had developed different spatial strategies. Some were set on being gainfully employed in Saudi Arabia, while others considered it more valuable to study at a college or university in Kerala. These different dispositions towards mobility indicate variations in habitus, based on either cultural or economic capital, and reflect horizontal differences within the middle classes.

Gender differences were also evident when it came to finding a partner. Girls in India marry earlier than boys, which puts a time constraint on girls' education trajectories. The study linked girls' everyday restrictions in urban space to limited future aspirations.

Girls were perceived as less independent, which might hinder them from applying for a university outside Kerala. Boys expressed a tension between expectations to go abroad to earn symbolic and economic capital for the family, and to take care of the parents when they get older.

Another tension explored in Paper II was between being educated to be global and still serving the interests of the nation-state. This was rationalised differently depending on young people's strategies to stay in or leave India. The young people who were planning on staying in Kerala were motivated by a sense of responsibility to the nation-state.

Transnational capital is something families invest in pre-migration. It is not necessarily an outspoken strategy, but is expressed as enrolment in a particular syllabus, encouragement to engage in extra language courses or yearly trips abroad with the family. Paper II revealed the need to understand the logic of young people's dispositions towards mobility in relation to young people's social position and place-specific histories.

Paper III

'The right to immobility' and the uneven distribution of spatial capital: Negotiating youth transitions in northern Sweden

Paper III explored how future horizons of young people in a rural area of northern Sweden are shaped by the complex relationship between place and mobility. Discourses of modernity associate 'successful adulthoods' with higher education and urban life. These descriptions can be experienced as being distant from local opportunities and lifestyles (Jeffrey and McDowell 2004). The study drew on the two-dimensional concept of 'spatial capital' (Lévy 1993; 2003), which sheds light primarily on a range of local possibilities underpinned by 'position capital', such as proximity to mining districts and to educational institutions. These possibilities compete with 'situation capital' in the form of young people's dispositions towards mobility where they consider alternatives in other cities in Sweden and sometimes – although rarely – abroad.

More specifically, Paper III found that spatial capital was an indication of young people's habitus, with the geographical marginalisation of the study location influencing perceptions of the future in divergent and sometimes contradictory ways. The study

questioned the 'idealisation of movement' (Ahmed 2004) and examined choices among young adults to move and/or to stay by drawing on the concept of spatial capital. However, these 'choices' need to be understood in relation to 'what counts' in society, where higher education and certain professions are associated with a competitive advantage.

In interviews with 38 boys and girls in different programmes in upper-secondary school, the study revealed details about young people's everyday lives, friendships, local labour market opportunities, future aspirations, education and perceptions of places near and far away. The results improved understanding of 'stayers' and 'leavers' and how certain alternatives appear 'best' based on young people's differentiated habitus.

Students in the traditional male vocational programmes such as Industrial Technology or Vehicles and Transport were found to be influenced by the economic upswing being experienced by the region. The mining boom had created spin-off effects for local companies and students in the traditionally male programmes expected a bright future in terms of getting a job with a high salary. However, jobs were not offered to just anyone. The students emphasised that they had to put time and effort into school. The study therefore provided an alternative to the contextual understanding of young people in vocational programmes as being anti-school (McDowell 2003). Moreover, these young people were found to possess symbolic position capital, such as having a certain family name. In this particular social group, the interviewees articulated a 'right to immobility', foremost in opposition to a modernity discourse associated with the capital, Stockholm.

However, it was not possible to label students who were integrated in the community as 'stayers'. There was a tension in being present for a handful of students with symbolic position capital as well as situation capital. These students had high grades and parents with a degree or/and a 'respectable job' who were socially integrated in Kalix. They also had well developed plans to continue to higher education and to work elsewhere. The lack of transferability of the symbolic capital they invested in locally, as well as the 'need' to move away, caused feelings of distress.

The study also revealed differences between students in traditionally male vocational programmes and students in traditionally female vocational programmes, with the latter having fewer prospects on the local labour market and anticipating a lower salary. Students in the Childcare and Recreation programme

emphasised the 'recreational' part of their education and were thinking about doing 'something within tourism'. Girls were more encouraged by mothers and grandmothers to move away while they are young. The local labour market was considered as being 'male dominated' and, although the number of girls in the mining sector is increasing, only a few girls saw it as a real employment option.

The study also identified a certain group of 'stayers' who did not possess symbolic capital or situation capital. In those cases, the spatial hierarchies expressed as a centre/periphery divide reinforced sentiments of marginalisation.

Paper IV

Young adults' mobility patterns in the transition from higher education to work in northern Sweden

Young people in rural areas who are planning to continue to higher education most often have to move to urban areas. Less is known about what happens when young people have finished a university degree and to what extent they return to their home region. Paper IV explored mobility strategies in the transition from higher education to work in northern Sweden. It showed how social stratification processes within higher education (Börjesson 2003) are intertwined in different strategies of mobility and immobility. It reinforced the claim of a growing socio-economic divide between rural and urban areas (Glesbygdsverket 2007), where educational capital is accumulated and concentrated to urban areas.

The study was based on data from the PLACE database, which contains geocoded individual-level statistics. An age cohort born in 1977 was followed, to investigate who stayed or returned to their home region four years after leaving university. Amongst the study population, almost 40% of people with a Bachelor's or Master's degree returned to their home region.

Logistic regression was used in Paper IV to determine factors affecting young adults' choices to stay in or return to the home region. The 'event' of the logistic regression was defined as staying in the home region. The variables included in the regression analysis mainly fell into two groups: i) family background, parents' education level and family income; and ii) individual characteristics, for example, the influence of gender, upper-secondary school grades, degree level, degree category, age at the time of graduation,

whether the graduate had children after graduation and post-graduation employment status and earnings.

The results showed that a higher level of education among parents was associated with a greater probability to settle elsewhere. Higher income after graduation was associated with leaving in a semi-linear fashion, where the highest earning quartile was least likely to stay. The study found no gender differences, which is interesting in relation to previous studies that discuss sex-selective migration from rural areas (Leibert 2016).

As regards education category and professional orientation, the study found that teachers were most likely to return to their home region. This trend cannot be fully explained by theories of failure (Kauhanen and Tervo 2002; Wang and Fan 2006). Paper IV suggested that it is a part of young people's habitus, where certain trajectories are made visible to some students and not to others. Becoming a teacher could be interpreted as one of few available counter-strategies to present mobility trends. Graduates in social science, humanities, economics, natural science or engineering were less likely to return to their home region. The results also revealed differences in composition and volume of education within the segment of the highly educated population, and showed how different education trajectories are associated with staying in or leaving the home region.

Paper IV also illustrated how young adults' inclination to stay in the home region varies within northern Sweden. The main divide is between the coastline, where more young adults choose to stay in their home region, and the more sparsely populated inland core. Moreover, previous studies have emphasised that post-graduates are attracted to flourishing regions (Kauhanen and Tervo 2002). Paper IV showed that this trend can be studied on several levels, where middle-sized towns also appear to be an alternative.

The study revealed how a region is shaped by out-migration but also in relation to processes of intraregional differentiation. The 'necessity' of attaining a university degree in a knowledge society has different implications for different people and locations. The 'adventure' young people embark upon by changing location has to be critically examined from this perspective.

6. Conclusion

This final chapter summarises the main findings of the thesis in relation to previous research and presents a broader discussion on the contributions of the thesis within four analytical themes:

- *Globalisation, individualisation and the nation-state*, which reflects upon how young people's education trajectories are influenced and endorsed on different interacting scales of analysis.
- *Trajectories and place*, which relates to differences and similarities across socio-geographical contexts
- *A diversified middle class* and the different meanings of mobility in young people's education and work trajectories.
- *Gender ambiguity* and men's and women's different ways to claim space, to 'fit in' space and how practices become visible and valuable.

An important contribution of the thesis lies in its design, which responded to the need for young people's education and work trajectories to be addressed in relation to broad-based structures that both unite and separate young people across sites and scales (Jeffrey and McDowell 2004; Katz 2004; Philo 2000). How young people get ahead globally in today's society is closely associated with educational credentials (Brooks and Waters 2011). The thesis revealed differences within social groups, providing a nuanced understanding of social mobility and geographical reach. This in turn highlighted unequal access to mobility and to immobility. The results also showed how young people actively create the world around them, not least by finding creative solutions to deal with everyday constraints and expectations.

The analysis benefited from the theoretical point of departure in Bourdieu's family of concepts, where the value of different trajectories is determined by certain social groups' recognition of its value and ascribed value (Broady 1997). This is an ongoing struggle

where people (actors) and organisations (agents) seek to maintain or improve their social position. How education as a resource is valued differs between social groups. Some attribute its transformative value to economic capital and others perceive it mainly as accumulative cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984, 1990). This thesis provided examples of a local symbolic economy and the meaning of visible and invisible borders of the nation-state. Internationalisation of education and the streamlining of education systems and normative values of education also show the transnational character of education. This chapter follows the logics of the four analytical themes listed above. All four studies did not contribute equally to the themes, but there were significant overlaps.

Globalisation, individualisation and the nation-state

Education systems are traditionally closely associated with the governance of nation-states (Green 1997). However, there seems to be a shift in how and where education policy is being enacted (Dale and Robertson 2009; Lingard and Rawolle 2011). The mobility of international students and academics is taking place on a global market, where higher education institutions are part of a growing business. Furthermore, global rankings of higher educational institutions and collection and analysis of international data enable global comparisons and transfers of 'best practices'. This sub-section explores the complex process of 'internationalisation of education' and how it is expressed through different levels of analysis.

The OECD and UNESCO are key actors on the global level, where they promote internationalisation of education by creating standardised measurements of progression and normative values of education (Barnett and Finnemore 1999; Bradford 2008; Jacobsson 2006). Paper I took the wider global education policy field as its theoretical departure point and showed how the geographical knowledges of these organisations are significantly shaped by tensions and interdependencies between the different agents within the wider field. The concept of field enabled joint analysis of the OECD's and UNESCO's different position-staking and their formulation of a global policy agenda. In Bourdieu's work, a field is mainly discussed within the borders of the nation-state. Paper I extended the concept to show how the struggle for competitive advantage by higher

education institutions and national education systems for students and their families is increasingly taking place on a global scale.

The OECD and UNESCO validate young people's trajectories and ideas of progression by setting up shared goals. One dimension of this is the global rankings of education provision and quality in the OECD's PISA results, UNESCO's Global Education Monitoring Report and global rankings of higher education institutions. The geographical knowledges embedded in these practices are based on somewhat contradictory perceptions of temporality. The rankings reinforce a present order of dominance where education systems and institutions in predominantly high-income and Anglophone countries are validated. Moreover, ideas of progression where 'everyone wants the same thing' direct attention to a common goal where the different abilities of nation-states to reach established goals become secondary. Member-countries do not necessarily have to 'go through steps' to improve their education system, but can look for 'best practices' from top-performing countries.

Supranational organisations for education are expected to be on top of global issues. The OECD and UNESCO's response to this demand is partly through their emphasis on concepts like 'global citizenship' and 'global competencies'. The geographical knowledges are embedded in staff members' view that countries need to 'denationalise' and to respond to changes in labour markets, but are also part of the allocation of problems and solutions. As found in previous studies (Mitchell 2006; Raco 2009), the need to respond to societal changes is viewed as young people's own responsibility through personal skills and competencies.

What united the supranational organisations' validation of education trajectories and the perceptions of young people in both Kalix and Thiruvananthapuram was the perceived responsibility of the individual. 'Succeeding' in the transition from education to work was largely considered to be decided by the individual's own abilities. The interviewees in Thiruvananthapuram perceived that their investment in educational capital would diminish their competitive disadvantage in relation to young people in high income countries. At the same time, low grades and negative expectations regarding the transition from education to work were associated with personal failure. The interviewees in Kalix had the same sense of 'owning the problem' of a successful transition from education to work. In none of the research settings did the interviewees refer to young people's collective problems of education or employment.

In Kalix, young people did not perceive themselves to be part of an international education or labour market. Instead, they identified with the education and career trajectories within the borders of Sweden. In Kerala, however, almost all students reflected upon a career abroad as a visible and attainable alternative. However, for a majority of the students the value of going abroad was defined from a national context, which is in accordance with previous findings (Holloway et al. 2012). The cases in India and Sweden revealed uneven relations of student migration and young people's different abilities to resist, adapt and benefit from global pressures (Brooks and Waters 2011). The 'need to be mobile' (Eriksson 2017) has to be understood as encompassing elements of both social mobility and different 'needs' to be mobile.

This thesis addressed the role of education at different sites and scales, but none of the studies took the nation-state as the analytical unit. Nevertheless, the empirical findings concerned the nation-state in several ways. The interviewees in Thiruvananthapuram negotiated transnational strategies in relation to what they experience as obligations and expectations as 'good citizens'. In some cases this was associated with feelings of nationalism and patriotism. Young people in Kerala are educated to be global, but at the same time they are taught to be loyal to their country. These sentiments are negotiated differently depending on social position and dispositions towards mobility. The students who intended to go abroad planned to send back money to the family and to the region. The students who intended to stay in Kerala or India emphasised that they are 'needed in the country' and that they will take on that responsibility. Young people's different views on how to deal with sentiments of patriotism also created tensions between those students who were planning to stay and those who were characterised as 'leavers'.

There are thus orders of dominance between nation-states that are reproduced through globalisation and the closely associated process of internationalisation of education. Political interests locate problems and solutions on the level of the individual, to shift the focus from geographies of difference to a linear perspective of time associated with normative (Western) values of progression. The political interests are evident in young people's perception of the responsibility of the individual.

Trajectories and place

Papers I-IV showed how geography matters in understanding young people's aspirations and realisations of (post)educational transitions. The results suggested that young people's education trajectories and mobility strategies are closely associated with young people's access to education institutions and labour markets. This influences which trajectories become visible and eligible in different ways, depending on young people's differentiated habitus. This thesis shifted the focus from collective experience of place and future aspirations towards divergent experience of place and young people's strategies to be mobile. Below are three examples from the results showing how education is intertwined in the processes of place identity both in relation to 'stayers' and 'leavers'.

Example 1: Education strategies are closely associated with socio-historical contexts of places and regions. In Kerala, one person in every four households lives abroad. This shapes the region in terms of geographical outlooks, social networks and economic structure (foreign money coming in and raising prices). Having family members and relatives abroad brings symbolic and economic capital. Paper II characterised 'being from Kerala' as part of young people's transnational capital. Coming from a region characterised by out- and in- migration has created the feeling that going away for studies and work is 'something that people around here do' and are appreciated for. Young people had a sense of 'acting space' by 'being from Kerala', since they had a self-image of being recognised as good workers and good students abroad.

Kalix, in northern Sweden, was also influenced by global processes in terms of flows of people, money, goods and culture, but its young people did not feel that they should go abroad for education or work. Young people's desire to go abroad was instead related to certain individuals' dispositions. In the study in Kalix, quite a few of the students in the traditional male programmes expressed 'a right to immobility' and positioned this 'right' as a counter-strategy to normative values of progression and mobility represented by the central power, Stockholm. In the case of Kalix, young people's positionings (position in relational space/time within the global economy) has to be understood in relation to a history of 'othering' of northern Sweden (Eriksson 2010) and to the mining boom at the time of the study, which created optimism in the region.

Example 2: Young people negotiate landscapes of spatially 'fixed' institutions and labour markets. In Kalix, young people foremost mentioned the mines in Kiruna, Pajala and Gällivare as potential

workplaces and Luleå Technical University as a higher education institution. These were not the only two alternatives, but were an important part of how the interviewees made sense of the world and structured their thoughts. In Thiruvananthapuram, the administrative capital and education centre of Kerala, the local horizon represented a wider range of education possibilities than for young people in Kalix. Where one comes from can be a 'position capital' in terms of representations of place. In the Indian context, 'being from Kerala' had a positive connotation with being a good worker, but Kerala was not viewed as an education centre in the same way as Delhi or Bangalore. Moreover, the interviewees were aware that young people in India are generally less privileged than young people in Europe or the US.

The concepts of spatial capital and transnational capital add to our understanding of symbolic capital by contextualising how practices are validated on different scales. This thesis has given examples both of locally recognised symbolic capital and capital that is recognised across socio-spatial contexts. How these levels interact, strengthen or contradict one another is shown in the different papers. As previous studies have noted, investments in transnational capital may primarily be recognised in a regional or national context. Moreover, a locally recognised symbolic capital (such as having the right family name) should not be underestimated compared to more 'objective structures' such as educational capital. All these dimensions are essential for an understanding of young people's trajectories.

Example 3: The concentration of educational capital is closely linked to general processes of urbanisation where young people's education trajectories reproduce spatial hierarchies. Labour market regions that already have the largest and most highly educated population are likely to accumulate cultural and economic capital. Previous studies of mobility emphasise the role of higher education as an indicator of mobility (Bjerke and Mellander 2017; Malmberg et al. 2004). Other studies discuss social stratification systems within the higher education system (Börjesson 2003). Paper IV built on these two different strands of research and studied mobility *within* the highly educated group. It revealed differences between inland regions and coastal areas by visualising descriptive data. Spatial divides have to be considered in relation not only to southern Sweden but also to intraregional differentiation. The level of volunteerism (Lundholm et al. 2004) also has to be considered in relation to proximity and distance to labour markets and how young people adjust their trajectories. Paper IV therefore adds to studies of

social fields of education and labour markets by recognising a geography that is interwoven in social stratification processes.

These examples from Papers I-IV show how education is intertwined in the production of place in multiple ways. The papers explored young people's differentiated habitus, which influenced people's abilities to gain from spatial advantages. It is tempting to think that people from the same place have a shared habitus, where shared experiences and common points of reference create certain aspirations and realisations of the future. However, this study showed that while people may have similar experiences of place, they differ in how they position themselves as 'part' or 'not a part' of that place. Describing 'people from around here' as a 'place-specific habitus' (Allen and Hollingworth 2013) is perhaps only possible in terms of studying people with similar experiences and in relation to well-defined social groups. The next sub-section discusses dispositions towards mobility and socio-spatial differentiation.

A diversified middle-class: Social position and geographical reach

With more people entering higher education, it is important for students to distinguish themselves by attending the 'right' university and choosing the 'right' degree. This thesis explored how young people's dispositions towards mobility are rooted in social structures.

The students in Thiruvananthapuram came from families which perceived education as a valuable investment. One of the characteristics of the middle class in India is the symbolic value it accords to education. A university degree is essential for a white-collar job, which is associated with certain manners and skills (Jeffrey et al. 2008). This was confirmed by the interviewees. Going abroad to gain educational credentials was a locally recognised asset and created transferrable capital across space.

Young people's geographical reach is embedded in formal education systems and particularly in different courses. The ISCE syllabus in the school in Thiruvananthapuram recruits students foremost from the established middle classes and aims to prepare them to meet challenges in a 'global world'. The Kerala state syllabus tends to recruit students from the aspiring middle classes and prepares them for life in the local and regional community. This is underlined by the language used in school, where ISCE students

have all their classes in English and the State syllabus students have teaching in Malayalam. The US and the UK were perceived by the students as 'high status' countries associated with both economic and cultural capital. Students following the ISCE syllabus who came from resourceful families also spoke with precision about different future alternatives and had the knowledge to compare different universities. Families in Thiruvananthapuram with many accumulated assets (economically and culturally) start to invest in transnational capital early on in terms of language courses, inviting international guests to their homes and going travelling with their children. These students already possess transnational capital by 'being experienced in the ways of the world' (Börjesson 2005). This is not necessarily an outspoken strategy in families, but can take place in much more subtle ways. At the same time, parents underline that the children can choose whatever pathway they like. The interviewees themselves emphasised that they plan their career in terms of 'doing what I like'. Regardless of social position, almost all interviewees motivated their education and work path as the 'best'. The interviewees from less advantaged economic groups thought that their education pathway would better account for what happens in 'real life'. They also emphasised their role in contributing to the community and to Indian society.

In Kalix there is primarily a divide in spatial reach between students on vocational and preparatory programmes. Young people in 'academic' programmes have an awareness that their education pathway will most likely make it necessary to move away and study in a different city, while students in the vocational programmes are much more orientated towards staying in Kalix or its surroundings. Paper IV also showed that different study orientations in higher education are related to different spatial strategies concerning staying in or returning to the home region.

Papers II-IV all revealed complexity in the relationship between social and geographical mobility in young people's education trajectories. Some students with many collective resources do not 'need' to go abroad. In the transnational context of Kerala, going to a prestigious school in Delhi can be a way to distinguish oneself from the 'general group' of highly educated young people who are planning to go to the US or UK. In both Kalix and Thiruvananthapuram there were also students with few resources who planned to move away – 'anywhere'. These students felt trapped in the local community. Objective constraints are very

apparent to young people who do not have money, educational credentials or information about how to go somewhere else.

The Kalix study uncovered different social positions in the local rural context, where the meaning of 'staying' can differ greatly depending on the person's spatial capital. These positions recognise proximity to certain educational institutions and labour markets where people can capitalise on resources by 'being from Kalix', or alternatively people's abilities to overcome distances.

Following the mining boom that started in 2004 (Ejdemo and Söderholm 2011), students in traditional male programmes expect a bright future in the Kalix region. These students hold a position in the community related to the family name, engagement in local associations and socialising activities, and these students expressed a 'right to immobility'. However, locally recognised symbolic capital is not necessarily transferrable across space and in society. Therefore, these students do not have a competitive advantage in a national or international perspective. Students in Kalix who did not possess any of the components of spatial capital felt most uncertain about what would happen after finishing upper-secondary school.

The quantitative study of northern Sweden underlines the need to understand mobility in relation to social class, and especially in relation to young adults' educational capital. Previous studies on rural migration have largely focused, theoretically and empirically, on people's articulated motives for moving, rather than on social class. Paper IV showed that teachers are more likely than others to return to their home region. Migration literature generally applies economic theories to explain people's rationale for moving. In the case of rural migration, return migration is discussed in terms of 'failure' to succeed elsewhere (Kauhanen and Tervo 2002; Wang and Fan 2006). Among the highly educated population, this theory is not applicable since, for example, teachers have transferrable capital in terms of their degree. Paper IV thus revealed the intricate relationship between habitus and education trajectories that make certain alternatives visible, attainable and desirable. Moreover, different education trajectories entail different spatial reach. Teaching may be one of few strategies that 'open up' the possibility of returning or staying in the home region.

Papers II-IV all problematised the relationship between progression and mobility by highlighting elements of 'forced migration'. The methodological approach of studying young people's perception of the future also brought an understanding of how future perceptions are integrated in young people's self-image.

Bourdieu (1977) concluded that young people articulate expectations of the future in relation to what is realistic to achieve. As found in previous studies (see e.g. Jeffrey and Dyson 2008), young people in Kerala and Kalix are quite aware of their social and geographical position. However, when local settings do not present young people with equal opportunities on a predefined road to success, frustration is bound to arise. Continuing to higher education is one of the few options presented to young people as a possible route to both social and geographical mobility (Jeffrey 2010a). Students who do not do well in school have a strong feeling of having 'nowhere to go' and this feeling is reinforced for students in a socially and geographically marginalised position.

Gender ambiguity

Ambiguous gender relations appear to shape young people's education trajectories. Gender differs from social differentiation in that the capitalist system of social class is closely associated to patriarchal structures (McDowell and Massey 1984). Papers II-IV linked questions of gender to place and national or transnational education strategies, whereas Paper I highlighted young people's education trajectories as part of wider political interests.

Girls' reasons for wanting to move to an urban area outside Kerala were sometimes motivated as a desire for more independence, where the move was a way to break with the local gender contract. Boys showed no such desire. Images of alternative life styles from TV and commercial messages to some extent challenged local gender contracts, although not necessary as 'ideal images' but as point of reference that both questioned and strengthened individuals and families' beliefs of common interests, independence and division of labour in the household.

Although Kerala is shaped by a history of in- and out- migration, within India and transnationally, this has not resulted in diminishing gender inequality. On the contrary, in Kerala transnationalism has contributed to conservative gender values (Devika 2012). People go abroad and send money back to invest in religious groups that want to 'conserve' certain parts of Kerala. The influences of Western consumerist lifestyles also inflame debates about protectionism and more conservative 'traditional values'. Parents are afraid that their daughters will fall victim to sexual assault or violence, or get a bad reputation. The spatial restrictions are also reflected in internal

migration, where some girls are not allowed to move to a major city outside Kerala to go to university. This may keep girls from entering the most prestigious universities in Delhi or other great cities in India.

This thesis shed particular light on how decisions about education are negotiated already in upper-secondary school in relation to other expected life events such as marriage and children. Traditional gender roles that are usually made visible through these life events are therefore relevant even before they take place. This confirms findings by Brooks and Everett (2008) and Findlay et al. (2012) that mobility is not a single event, but that students engage in life planning. The national social protection system in Kerala also had different implications for the local gender contracts. Some boys in Thiruvananthapuram who were raised to a transnational career were also given the responsibility to care for their parents, both socially and economically. This created a feeling of tension, with some boys having already decided to go to university in the country of destination but finally settle in Kerala. A way to keep the contact with Kerala and to do something concrete for the parents was to buy a plot of land. This was usually an important goal that could be achieved by going abroad and earning a higher salary than was thought possible in Kerala. This long term perspective was not present in the interviews in Kalix, which could be interpreted in relation to different nation-states social protection systems. Young people in Kalix did not talk about the financial situation or social care of their parents when they get older because it is not considered to impact, in any significant way, their own career path or choice of location.

For both men and women in Kerala, education is not purely an investment to enter the labour market. Going to the 'right schools' and earning a degree generates symbolic capital that brings social status to the family. Reaching a similar level of education is also considered one of the most important aspects of a 'good match' in marriage. The investment in education is therefore also an explicit strategy to improve the chances of finding a 'good husband' or a 'good wife'. Marriage also puts a time constraint on education, particularly for women. Most of the girls interviewed planned to continue to work after their degree and some had informed their parents that this was a condition when choosing a suitable husband. Others saw it as a decision to be determined by the husband's side of the family.

In the Swedish context, the work in this thesis questions the duality of 'the boys stay, the girls move away' from rural areas

(Dalström 1996). In the Kalix study, gender differences were predominantly visible between vocational programmes. The study found gender differences within the group 'stayers' as regards future perceptions of students in the traditionally female Childcare and Recreation programme and the traditionally male Construction and Vehicles and Machinery programmes. Students (mostly boys) in the traditionally male programmes envisaged a smooth transition from upper-secondary school to work. Many were ambitious about learning a profession and well informed about what it would take to get a certain job. These young people felt there were good work opportunities where they lived and they invested in social relations and lifestyles with local symbolic value. Paper III therefore nuanced the image of 'working class men' as lazy and anti-school (McDowell 2008) in a specific socio-spatial context affected by a temporal upswing in traditional male jobs. However, mining work is physically and mentally demanding and with poor job security associated with market prices of iron ore and reserves of natural resources.

Some girls also considered working within traditional male jobs. At the time of the study, there were many jobs available with high salaries in traditional male workplaces. These changes on the labour market re-negotiated local gender contracts, so that girls were considering taking jobs in the mines, for instance, since it was 'too good to turn down'. Being a woman and breaking with gender loyalties can also be a way to re-work the local gender contract. Paper III show the importance of female role models in male-dominated environments, where certain work trajectories are made possible (although not necessarily desirable) to other women.

The girls in the Childcare and Recreation programme did not share the image of a 'smooth transition' (there were no boys enrolled in the programme at the time of study). They emphasised the recreation part of their studies and saw their future within tourism. They viewed nature as a resource and planned to set up a business from their home. Making a steady income through tourism is a risky prospect. The idea that people in the countryside have to take matters into their own hands and to see challenges as potential sources of income derives from a broader national political agenda switch from 'the whole country should live' to 'the whole country should provide growth' (Eriksson 2010). Taking on that mission as 'entrepreneur' was a challenge that made several of the girls wonder if they had chosen the right path.

Paper IV showed that highly educated women in northern Sweden stay in or return to their home region to the same extent as men. This

result is in line with previous quantitative research (Forsberg et al. 2012) and problematises discourses of male-dominating cultures in sparsely populated areas (Stenbacka 2011). However, the majority of students who continue to higher education are women.

The findings in this thesis improve understanding of how local gender contracts are reworked in relation to education and labour market restructurings. For example, the 'mining boom' in northern Sweden has made traditional male jobs visible and attainable for girls. In southern India, student and labour mobility to other regions and countries has to some extent reinforced traditional gender roles, while some students use the opportunity for mobility as a way to challenge local gender contracts. In both settings, young people's aspirations are closely related to 'staying' or 'leaving' the home region. However, these alternatives are valued differently by boys and girls and in relation to social class. By drawing on diverse cases, the thesis showed how socio-spatial contexts influence boys' and girls' abilities to resist, adapt or gain from wider processes of internationalisation of education and knowledge-society formation.

Moving forward

The added value of the contextual multi-site analysis in this thesis was to identify mutual and broader relationships between different socio-economic contexts. However, the work also identified potential areas for future research. For example, studies are needed on internationalisation of education, migration and school segregation. Internationalisation of education is closely associated with 'cosmopolitanism' and privileged middle classes globally. This thesis showed that 'student migration' has similarities to other kinds of migration, with both forced and voluntary elements. Moreover, the reason to migrate may not primarily be education, but the arrival of people from different migration backgrounds in schools is definitely part of the internationalisation of education. This raises a number of questions for further exploration:

- How can people transfer different forms of capital from one place to another, and what strategies are used to do so?
- How are people re-negotiating what strategies are recognised as valuable in relation to old and new socio-economic contexts?

- How does this differ depending on social position and ethnicity?
- How do people obtain information capital to orientate in the new education systems?
- How this is reflected in families' and individuals' school choice?
- How is the arrival of immigrants changing or altering educational practices on the level of the school, the school district or the nation-state?

These questions open up new ways of thinking about the making of space and geographical processes through the lens of education. Studies on 'internationalisation of education' can add to this field by exploring transferrable forms of capital and the interdependency between sending and receiving destinations. Such studies should seek to transcend contexts and identify power structures across sites and scales, in order to determine the relational value of mobility and immobility.

Bibliography

- Adey, P. (2006). If Mobility is Everything Then it is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)mobilities. *Mobilities*, 1(1), 75–94.
- Aitken, S. C. (2001). *Geographies of young people: the morally contested spaces of identity*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Allen, K., & Hollingworth, S. (2013). 'Sticky Subjects' or 'Cosmopolitan Creatives'? Social Class, Place and Urban Young People's Aspirations for Work in the Knowledge Economy. *Urban Studies*, 50(3), 499–517.
- Andersson, E. (2001). *Från Sorgedalen till Glädjehöjden: omgivningens betydelse för socioekonomisk karriär*. Uppsala: Univ., Dep. of Social and Economic Geography.
- Ball, S. J. (1994). *Education reform: a critical and post-structural approach*. Buckingham [England]; Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Ball, S. J. (2012). *Global education inc: new policy networks and the neo-liberal imaginary*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Ball, S. J., Davies, J., David, M., & Reay, D. (2002). 'Classification' and 'Judgement': Social class and the 'cognitive structures' of choice of Higher Education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23(1), 51–72.
- Banaji S (2012) A tale of three worlds: Young people, media and class in India. In: Henseler C (ed.) *Generation X Goes Global: Mapping a Youth Culture in Motion*. New York: Routledge, pp. 33–50.
- Barnett, M. N., & Finnemore, M. (1999). The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations. *International Organization*, 53(4), 699–732.
- Barthon, C., & Monfroy, B. (2010). Sociospatial schooling practices: a spatial capital approach. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 16(2), 177–196.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: towards a new modernity*. (M. Ritter, Trans.) (Reprinted). London: Sage.
- Beck, U. (2004). Cosmopolitical Realism: On the Distinction between Cosmopolitanism in Philosophy and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks*, 4(2), 131–156.
- Beech, S. E. (2014). Why place matters: imaginative geography and international student mobility. *Area*, 46(2), 170–177.
- Bergsten, Z. (2010). *Bättre framtidsutsikter? Blandade bostadsområden och grannskapseffekter: en analys av visioner och effekter av blandat boende*. Diss. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2010. Uppsala.

- Bissell, D., & Fuller, G. (2011). *Stillness in a mobile world*. London: Routledge.
- Bjerke, L., & Mellander, C. (2017). Moving home again? Never! The locational choices of graduates in Sweden. *The Annals of Regional Science*, 59(3), 707–729.
- Bourdieu, P. (1962). *The Algerians*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1988)[1984]. *Homo Academicus*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, 7(1), 14.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990a) [1980]. *The logic of practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The state nobility: elite schools in the field of power*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1999)[1993]. *The weight of the world: social suffering in contemporary society*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2006)[1983] The Forms of Capital, in Richardson J. G. (eds.) *Handbook of Theory and research for the Sociology of Education*, New York/London: Greenwood Press. pp. 105-118.
- Bourdieu, P. (2006)[1992]. *The rules of art: genesis and structure of the literary field*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2008). *The bachelor's ball: the crisis of peasant society in Béarn*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2011)[1993]. *The field of cultural production: essays on art and literature*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1990)[1979]. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Bradford, N. (2008). The OECD's local turn: 'Innovative liberalism' for the cities? In R Mahon & S. McBride (Eds.), *The OECD and Transnational Governance* (pp. 134–151). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Bright, N. G. (2011). 'Off The Model': resistant spaces, school disaffection and 'aspiration' in a former coal-mining community. *Children's Geographies*, 9(1), 63–78.
- Broady, D. (1988). Kulturens fält. Om Pierre Bourdieus sociolog. *NORDICOM-Nytt/Sverige*, (1–2), 59–88.
- Broady, D. (1997)[1991]. *Sociologi och epistemologi: om Pierre Bourdieus författarskap och den historiska epistemologin*. Stockholm: HLS förlag.
- Brooks, R., & Everett, G. (2008). The prevalence of 'life planning': evidence from UK graduates. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29(3), 325–337.
- Brooks, R., & Waters, J. (2009). A second chance at 'success': UK students and global circuits of higher education. *Sociology*, 43(6), 1085–1102.

- Brooks, R., & Waters, J. (2017). *Materialities and mobilities in education*. London: Taylor & Francis Ltd.
- Brooks, R., & Waters, J. L. (2011). *Student mobilities, migration and the internationalization of higher education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Buttimer, A. (1980). Home, Reach, and the Sense of Place. In A. Buttimer & D. Seamon (Eds.), *The Human Experience of Space and Place* (pp. 166–187). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Börjesson, M. (2003). *Det svenska högskolefältet och lärarutbildningarna*. SEC, ILU, Uppsala universitet.
- Börjesson, M. (2005). *Transnationella utbildningsstrategier vid svenska lärosäten och bland svenska studenter i Paris och New York*. Uppsala: SEC, ILU, Uppsala universitet.
- Börjesson, M. (2017). The global space of international students in 2010. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(8), 1256–1275.
- Cairns, D. (2014). "I Wouldn't Stay Here": Economic Crisis and Youth Mobility in Ireland. *International Migration*, 52(3), 236–249.
- Carling, J. (2002). Migration in the age of involuntary immobility: Theoretical reflections and Cape Verdean experiences. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(1), 5–42.
- Carlson, S. (2013). Becoming a Mobile Student - a Processual Perspective on German Degree Student Mobility: Becoming a Mobile Student - a Processual Perspective. *Population, Space and Place*, 19(2), 168–180.
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829–859.
- Cresswell, T. (1999) Falling down: resistance as diagnostic, in J. Sharp (ed.), *Geographies of Dominational Resistance; Entanglements of Power*, (pp. 256-268). London; Routledge.
- Cresswell, T. (2006). *On the move: mobility in the modern Western world*. New York: Routledge.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Crivello, G. (2011). 'Becoming somebody': youth transitions through education and migration in Peru. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(4), 395–411.
- Dahlström, M. (1996). Young women in a male periphery — Experiences from the Scandinavian north. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 12(3), 259–271.
- Dale, R., & Robertson, S. L. (Eds.). (2009). *Globalisation and Europeanisation in education*. Oxford, U.K: Symposium Books.
- Dannefer, D. (2003). Toward a Global Geography of the Life Course. In *Handbook of the Life Course* (pp. 647–659). Boston: Springer.
- Devika, J. (2012). Migration, transnationalism, and modernity: Thinking of Kerala's many cosmopolitanisms. *Cultural Dynamics*, 24(2–3), 127–142.
- Dezalay, Y., & Garth, B. G. (1996). *Dealing in Virtue: International Commercial Arbitration and the Construction of a Transnational Legal Order*. University of Chicago Press.

- Dolby, N. & Rizvi, F. (red.) (2007). *Youth moves: identities and education in global perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- Donkersloot, R. (2012). Gendered and generational experiences of place and power in the rural Irish landscape. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 19(5), 578–599.
- Ejdemo, T., & Söderholm, P. (2011). Mining investment and regional development: A scenario-based assessment for Northern Sweden. *Resources Policy*, 36(1), 14–21.
- Eriksson, M. (2008). (re)producing a “peripheral” region – northern sweden in the news. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90(4), 369–388.
- Eriksson, M. (2010). “People in Stockholm are smarter than countryside folks” – Reproducing urban and rural imaginaries in film and life. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 26(2), 95–104.
- Eriksson, M. (2017). Narratives of Mobility and Modernity: Representations of Places and People Among Young Adults in Sweden: Narratives of Mobility and Modernity. *Population, Space and Place*, 23(2).
- Findlay, A. M., King, R., Smith, F. M., Geddes, A., & Skeldon, R. (2012). World class? An investigation of globalisation, difference and international student mobility. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(1), 118–131.
- Fischer, P. A., & Malmberg, G. (2001). Settled People Don’t Move: On Life Course and (Im-)Mobility in Sweden. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 7(5), 357–371.
- Forsberg, G. (1998). Regional variations in the gender contract: Gendered relations in labour markets, local politics and everyday life in Swedish regions. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 11(2), 191–209.
- Forsberg, G. (2001). The difference that space makes. A way to describe the construction of local and regional gender contracts. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 55(3), 161–165.
- Forsberg, G., & Stenbacka, S. (2017). Creating and challenging gendered spatialities: how space affects gender contracts. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 99(3), 223–237.
- Forsberg, H. (2015). *Kampen om eleverna: gymnasiefältet och skolmarknadens framväxt i Stockholm, 1987-2011*. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Foucault, M. (1991). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*. London: Routledge.
- Frändberg, L. (2008). Paths in transnational times-pace: representing mobility biographies of young swedes. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90(1), 17–28.
- Geist, C., & McManus, P. A. (2008). Geographical mobility over the life course: motivations and implications. *Population, Space and Place*, 14(4), 283–303.

- Glesbygdsverket. (2007). Om Sveriges gles- och landsbygder (No. 2007-12-18). Östersund: Glesbygdsverket.
- Green, A. (1997). *Education, globalization, and the nation state*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Green, A. E., White, R. J., Joseph Rowntree Foundation, & University of Warwick. (2007). *Attachment to place: social networks, mobility and prospects of young people*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Gregory, D. (1998). *Geographical imaginations*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Grimsrud, G. M. (2011). Gendered spaces on trial: the influence of regional gender contracts on in-migration of women to rural Norway. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 93(1), 3–20.x
- Grubb, W. N., & Lazerson, M. (2006). The Globalization of Rhetoric and Practice: The Education Gospel and Vocationalism. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.-A. Dillabough, & H. Halsey (Eds.), *Education, globalization and social change* (pp. 1791–1803). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halfacree, K. (2004). A utopian imagination in migration's terra incognita? acknowledging the non-economic worlds of migration decision-making. *Population, Space and Place*, 10(3), 239–253.
- Halls, S. (1981). Schooling, state and society. In R. Dale (Ed.), *Education and the State: Schooling and the national interest*. Sussex: Falmer Press.
- Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the city*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Harvey, D. (1990a). Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80(3), 418–434.
- Harvey, D. (2000). *Spaces of hope*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Harvey, D. (2001). *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. New York: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (2006a). *Spaces of global capitalism*. London; New York: Verso.
- Haverig, A. (2011). Constructing Global/Local Subjectivities – The New Zealand OE as Governance through Freedom. *Mobilities*, 6(1), 103–123.
- Heilbron, J. (2014). The social sciences as an emerging global field. *Current Sociology*, 62(5), 685–703.
- Hillier, J., & Rooksby, E. (2005). *Habitus: a sense of place*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hirdman, Y. (1988). *Genussystemet: teoretiska funderingar kring kvinnors sociala underordning*. Uppsala: Maktutredningen.
- Holloway, S. L., O'Hara, S. L., & Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2012). Educational Mobility and the Gendered Geography of Cultural Capital: The Case of International Student Flows between Central Asia and the UK. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 44(9), 2278–2294.

- Holt, L., & Holloway, S. L. (2006). Editorial: Theorising other childhoods in a globalised World. *Children's Geographies*, 4(2), 135–142.
- Horschelmann, K. (2008). Politics, Lifestyle, and Identity: In C. Jeffrey & J. Dyson (Eds.), *Telling Young Lives* (pp. 81–96). Philadelphia, P.A: Temple University Press.
- ILO. (2016). *World Employment and Social Outlook: Trends for Youth 2016*. Geneva: ILO.
- Jacobsson, B. (2008). Regulated regulators: Global trends of state transformation. In M.-L. E. L. Salles-Djelic & K. Sahlin-Andersson (Eds.), *Transnational governance: institutional dynamics of regulation*, (pp. 205–224). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jeffrey, C. (2010a). Geographies of children and youth I: eroding maps of life. *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(4), 496–505.
- Jeffrey, C. (2010b). *Timepass: youth, class, and the politics of waiting in India*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Jeffrey, C., & Dyson, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Telling young lives: portraits in global youth*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Jeffrey, C., & Mcdowell, L. (2004). Youth in a Comparative Perspective: Global Change, Local Lives. *Youth & Society*, 36(2), 131–142.
- Jeffrey, C., Jeffery, P., & Jeffery, R. (2008). *Degrees without freedom? education, masculinities, and unemployment in north India*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Katz, C. (2004). *Growing up global: economic restructuring and children's everyday lives*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kauhanen, M., & Tervo, H. (2002). Who Moves to Depressed Regions? An Analysis of Migration Streams in Finland in the 1990s. *International Regional Science Review*, 25(2), 200–218.
- Kelly, M. (2013). *Onward migration: the transnational trajectories of Iranians leaving Sweden*. Uppsala: Department of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University.
- Kenway, J., Bigum, C., & Fitzclarence, L. (1993). Marketing education in the postmodern age. *Journal of Education Policy*, 8(2), 105–122.
- Kåks, H. (2007). Mellan erfarenhet och förväntan [Elektronisk resurs] : Betydelser av att bli vuxen i ungdomars livsberättelser. Diss. Linköping : Linköpings universitet, 2007. Linköping.
- Lebaron, F. (2008). Central Bankers in the Contemporary Global Field of Power: A 'Social Space' Approach. *The Sociological Review*, 56(s1), 121–144.
- Lévy, J. (1993). *L'espace légitimel: sur la dimension géographique de la fonction politique*. Paris 7.
- Lévy, J., & Lussault, M. (2003). *Dictionnaire de la géographie*. Paris: Belin.
- Lidegran, I. (2009). *Utbildningskapital Om hur det alstras, fördelas och förmedlas*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

- Lindeborg, A.-K. (2012). *Where gendered spaces bend: the rubber phenomenon in northern Laos*. Uppsala: Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet.
- Lingard, B., & Rawolle, S. (2011). New scalar politics: implications for education policy. *Comparative Education*, 47(4), 489–502.
- Lingard, B., Rawolle, S., & Taylor, S. (2005). Globalizing policy sociology in education: working with Bourdieu. *Journal of Education Policy*, 20(6), 759–777.
- Little, J., & Leyshon, M. (2003). Embodied rural geographies: Developing research agendas. *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(3), 257–272.
- Lukose, R. (2005). Consuming Globalization: Youth and Gender in Kerala, India. *Journal of Social History*, 38(4), 915–935.
- Lundahl, L., & Olofsson, J. (2014). Guarded transitions? Youth trajectories and school-to-work transition policies in Sweden. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 19(s1), 19–34.
- Lundahl, L., Lindblad, M., Lovén, A., Mårald, G., & Svedberg, G. (2017). No Particular Way to Go: Careers of Young Adults Lacking Upper Secondary Qualifications. *Journal of Education and Work*, 30(1), 39–52.
- Mahon, R., & McBride, S. (2009). Standardizing and disseminating knowledge: the role of the OECD in global governance. *European Political Science Review*, 1(1), 83–101.
- Malmberg, G., Sandberg, L., & Westin, K. (2005). *Den goda platsen: platsanknytning och flyttningsbeslut bland unga vuxna i Sverige*. Umeå: Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Umeå universitet.
- Massey, D. B. (1994). *Space, place, and gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Massey, D. B. (2005). *For space*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE.
- McDowell Linda. (2003). Masculine identities and low-paid work: young men in urban labour markets. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(4), 828–848.
- McDowell, L. (2002). Masculine Discourses and Dissonances: Strutting ‘Lads’, Protest Masculinity, and Domestic Respectability. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20(1), 97–119.
- McDowell, L. (2008). Young, White, Male, and Working Class: In C. Jeffrey & J. Dyson (Eds.), *Telling Young Lives* (pp. 56–68). Philadelphia, P.A.: Temple University Press.
- McDowell, L., & Massey, D. (1984). A woman’s place? In J. Anderson, S. Cunningham, C. Hamnett, & P. Sarre, D. Massey & J. Allen (Eds.), *Geography matters!* (pp. 128–147). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McRobbie, A. (2004). Notes on ‘What Not To Wear’ and post-feminist symbolic violence. *The Sociological Review*, 52, 97–109.
- Mills, C.W. (2000)[1959]). *The sociological imagination*. Oxford [England]: Oxford University Press.
- Mitchell, K. (2006). Neoliberal Governmentality in the European Union: Education, Training, and Technologies of Citizenship. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24(3), 389–407.

- Mitchell, K. (2007). Geographies of identity: the intimate cosmopolitan. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(5), 706–720.
- Mundy, K. (1999). Educational multilateralism in a changing world order: Unesco and the limits of the possible. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19(1), 27–52.
- Mundy, K. (2007). Global governance, educational change. *Comparative Education*, 43(3), 339–357.
- Niedomysl, T. (2008). Residential Preferences for Interregional Migration in Sweden: Demographic, Socioeconomic, and Geographical Determinants. *Environment and Planning A*, 40(5), 1109–1131.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1994, October 1). Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism. Boston Review. Retrieved from <<http://bostonreview.net/martha-nussbaum-patriotism-and-cosmopolitanism>>.
- Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: the cultural logics of transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2015). *Fast policy: experimental statecraft at the thresholds of neoliberalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Philo, C. (2000). 'The Corner-Stones of My World': Editorial Introduction to Special Issue on Spaces of Childhood. *Childhood*, 7(3), 243–256.
- Purcell, K. (2011). Discourses of aspiration, opportunity and attainment: promoting and contesting the Academy schools programme. *Children's Geographies*, 9(1), 49–61.
- Raco, M. (2009). From expectations to aspirations: State modernisation, urban policy, and the existential politics of welfare in the UK. *Political Geography*, 28(7), 436–444.
- Rauhut, D., & Littke, H. (2016). 'A one way ticket to the city, please!' on young women leaving the Swedish peripheral region Västernorrland. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 43.
- Rérat, P. (2014). The selective migration of young graduates: Which of them return to their rural home region and which do not? *Journal of Rural Studies*, 35, 123–132.
- Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing education policy*. London; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Rye, J. F. (2006). Leaving the Countryside: An Analysis of Rural-to-Urban Migration and Long-Term Capital Accumulation. *Acta Sociologica*, 49(1), 47–65.
- Rye, J. F. (2011). Youth migration, rurality and class: a Bourdieusian approach. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 18(2), 170–183.
- Sancho, D. (2015). *Youth, Class and Education in Urban India: The year that can break or make you*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sancho, D. (2017). Escaping India's culture of education: Migration desires among aspiring middle-class young men. *Ethnography*, 18(4), 515–534.
- SCB. (2016a). *Population by region, marital status, age and sex. Year 1968 - 2017*. <Retrieved from www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se>.

- SCB. (2016b). *Population 16-74 years of age by region, highest level of education, age and sex. Year 1985 – 2016*. Retrieved from <www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se>.
- Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The New Mobilities Paradigm. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 38(2), 207–226.
- Sjaastad, L. A. (1962). The Costs and Returns of Human Migration. *Journal of Political Economy*, 70(5, Part 2), 80–93.
- Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of class and gender: becoming respectable*. London: Sage.
- Stenbacka, S. (2007). Rural identities in transition: male unemployment and everyday practice in Northern Sweden. In Ildikó Asztalos Morell & Bettina B. Bock (Eds.), *Gender Regimes, Citizen Participation and Rural Restructuring* (Vol. 13, pp. 83–111).
- Stenbacka, S. (2011). Othering the rural: About the construction of rural masculinities and the unspoken urban hegemonic ideal in Swedish media. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 27(3), 235–244.
- Stenbacka, S., Grubbström, A., & Forsberg, G. (2017). Gendered youth strategies for inclusion in a changing society: breaking or reproducing the local gender contract? *Area*.
- Stockdale, A., & Catney, G. (2014). A Life Course Perspective on Urban–Rural Migration: the Importance of the Local Context. *Population, Space and Place*, 20(1), 83–98.
- Suddaby, R., & Lawrence, T. (2006). Institutions and Institutional work. In S. Clegg, T. Lawrence, C. Hardy, & W. Nord (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of organization studies* (pp. 215–254). London: SAGE.
- Suddaby, R., & Viale, T. (2011). Professionals and field-level change: Institutional work and the professional project. *Current Sociology*, 59(4), 423–442.
- Svensson, L. (2006). *Vinna och försvinna? Drivkrafter bakom ungdomars utflyttning från mindre orter*. Linköping: Filosofiska fakulteten, Linköpings universitet.
- Theodore, N., & Peck, J. (2012). Framing neoliberal urbanism: Translating ‘commonsense’ urban policy across the OECD zone. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 19(1), 20–41.
- Thiem, C. H. (2009). Thinking through education: the geographies of contemporary educational restructuring. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(2), 154–173.
- Thulin, E., & Vilhelmson, B. (2016). The Internet and Desire to Move: The Role of Virtual Practices in the Inspiration Phase of Migration: The Internet and Desire to Move. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, 107(3), 257–269.
- Trumberg, A. (2011). *Den delade skolan: segregationsprocesser i det svenska skolsystemet*. Örebro: Örebro universitet.
- Tse, J. K. H., & Waters, J. L. (2013). Transnational youth transitions: becoming adults between Vancouver and Hong Kong. *Global Networks*, 13(4), 535–550.
- Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Waara, P. (1996). *Ungdom i Gränsland*. Umeå: Boréa.

- Wagner, AC. (1995). *Le jeu du national et de l'international. Les cadres e'trangers en France* [The game of the national and the international: Foreign executives in France]. PhD Thesis, EHESS, Paris, France.
- Wang, W. W., & Fan, C. C. (2006). Success or Failure: Selectivity and Reasons of Return Migration in Sichuan and Anhui, China. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 38(5), 939–958.
- Waters, J. (2006). Geographies of Cultural Capital: Education, International Migration and Family Strategies between Hong Kong and Canada. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31(2), 179–192.
- Waters, J., & Brooks, R. (2011). 'Vive la différence?': The 'international' experiences of UK students overseas: The 'International' Experiences of UK Students Overseas. *Population, Space and Place*, 17(5), 567–578.
- Waters, J., & Leung, M. (2013). Immobile Transnationalisms? Young People and Their in situ Experiences of 'International' Education in Hong Kong. *Urban Studies*, 50(3), 606–620.
- Waters, J., Brooks, R., & Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2011). Youthful escapes? British students, overseas education and the pursuit of happiness. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12(5), 455–469.
- Wedlin, L. (2011). Going global: Rankings as rhetorical devices to construct an international field of management education. *Management Learning*, 42(2), 199–218.
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labour: how working class kids get working class jobs*. Farnborough: Saxon House.
- Willis, P. (2003). Foot Soldiers of Modernity: The Dialectics of Cultural Consumption and the 21st-Century School. *Harvard Educational Review*, 73(3), 390–415.
- Xiang, B., & Shen, W. (2009). International student migration and social stratification in China. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 29(5), 513–522.
- Zachariah, K. C. (2012). *Kerala's Gulf connection, 1998-2011: economic and social impact of migration*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- Östh, J., Clark, W. A. V., & Malmberg, B. (2015). Measuring the Scale of Segregation Using k -Nearest Neighbor Aggregates: Measuring the Scale of Segregation. *Geographical Analysis*, 47(1), 34–49.

Appendix

Interview schedule – Kalix and Thiruvananthapuram (Trivandrum)

This schedule can be regarded as a ‘memory list’ where I only asked the first question in each theme in some interviews, to get the conversation started. In other interviews, I had to draw more on the full battery of questions. The order of the questions and how they are formulated were also adjusted to each interview. At the end of the interview I usually looked at this schedule to make sure we covered the main talking points.

Background

- Tell me a little bit about yourself and your family.

Kalix/Kerala, Local setting

- Tell me about [Kalix/Trivandrum], how would you describe the place?
- What do you think people who haven’t been to [Kalix/Trivandrum] think about the place? (Is that an accurate image?)
- Do you think that people in other countries have an idea of what things are like here?

Leisure time

- Tell me about a normal day in your life, what does it look like?
- What do you like to do when you are not in school?
- What do you like to do with your family?
- What do you like to do with your friends?
- (Do you have a computer at home?) How much time do you spend in front of the computer/phone on a normal day? What do you do? Are you in contact with other people?

Future

- Have you thought about your future and what you would like to do, could you tell me about some dreams or plans that you have?

- Do you think that is what is going to happen? (Why/Why not?)
- Have you thought about different possibilities? (If yes, which)
- What do you have to do to realise these plans?
- Is your future dependent on anyone or anything other than yourself?
- Do you think your friends think about their future in similar ways?
- Do you talk with your friends about what you are going to do in the future?
- Is there any difference between how boys and girls think about their future?
- Do you think you as a young person in [Kalix /Trivandrum] have more or less opportunities compared with other people in other places?

School

- Can you tell me a bit about the programme/syllabus you are in and why you chose it?
- How did you get knowledge about the different programmes to choose from?
- What do you think about grades, is that important to you?
- Do your parents think it is important that you do well in school?
- Do they take an interest in your work? (How do they show that?)
- About how many hours a week do you spend on homework?
- Is there anything else – except schoolbooks – that you enjoy reading?

Higher education

- Do you think you will study at the university? (Why/Why not) (Which/Where) (How have you obtained information about what programmes and courses, and the entry requirements)
- Do you get ideas from others about work or education opportunities? (From whom?/What do they say?)

Labour market and mobility

- How would you describe 'a good job'?
- What do you think about your chances of getting a job when you have finished your education?
- Is there anything you can do to increase your chances of a good job?
- Did you think about employment when you chose what programme/syllabus to apply for?
- What work is there here in [Kalix/Trivandrum]? Can you mention some workplaces where you would like to work?
- Is it possible to get a job if you don't have an upper-secondary school/upper-secondary school degree? (What kind of job?)

- Do you think it is easier to find a job in other places in [Sweden/Kerala/India] (or abroad)?
- Do you think there is any difference in labour market opportunities between the students who start working after upper-secondary school and those who continue to higher education?
- Where do you think the jobs you would like to have are located?
- What could make you stay/leave [Kalix/Kerala]?

Places near and far away

- Are you planning to stay in [Kalix/Trivandrum] after graduation?
- What does your family think? Do you have brothers and sisters? What did they do?
- Do you think that your friends are planning to stay?
- Where could you imagine yourself living in the future?
- Is there some place you know that you do not want to live?
- What do you think determines whether you like where you live?
- Have you visited other places in [Sweden/India]? What did you think about these places?

“Abroad”

- Do you have friends, relatives or family living abroad (where?, how do you keep contact?)
- Could you imagine going abroad for a longer period? (If yes, where? If no, why not?) (Where have you obtained information about these places that you have mentioned?)
- Which places in the world would you like to visit?
- Have you been travelling abroad?
- There are young people all over the world, what kind of education and job opportunities do you think a boy or girl in [India/Sweden] have compared with you?

Final question

- Is there something else you would like to say about your plans for the future that haven't come up in the interview?

Interview schedule – the OECD and UNESCO

Introduction

- Can you tell me a bit about yourself and how you ended up at [UNESCO/the OECD].
- Can you describe your work responsibilities as [...]
- Can you briefly say something about the challenges within [particular field of work]. //Has there been change in this area over the past ten years?

The organisation – levels of intervention

- When you think about your field of interest within [UNESCO/the OECD], what matters are especially suitable to address at an international level of work?
- What is the role of [UNESCO/the OECD] [within the area] compared with other stakeholders dealing with similar issues.//What is the added-value of [UNESCO/the OECD] in dealing with these matters? (.I know you have experience working for...)
- What questions are best addressed on a national or regional level?
- The responsibilities of the division/section/organisation are clearly expressed on the website/report [...]. They include different levels of work [...], on which of these levels of intervention/scales/responsibilities do you primarily operate in your day-to-day work?

Cooperation

- How is this section cooperating with other sections?
- Do you cooperate with people or organisations outside [UNESCO/the OECD]?

Knowledges

- In what way are boys and girls in villages and cities around the world affected by the work of [UNESCO/the OECD]?
- What skills do young people need today that were not required, say, 10-20 years ago?
- Should young people today be educated/prepared for a local, national or international labour market? Why?/How?

Impact across sites

- Where is the work of [UNESCO/the OECD] most visible? //Why in these particular places?
- What/whose experiences/data/ are included in the guidelines developed by the organisation?
- What do you think about having general guidelines/goals/best practices across a variety of places?
- Have you encountered conflicts of interest between people and places when identifying shared goals?
- In your work, what are the main joint challenges in the global north and global south?
- What purposes do you think that general goals serve?

Student mobility/internationalisation

- How are [UNESCO/the OECD] working with questions of student mobility? What are the potential challenges/opportunities of student mobility?
- How would you interpret the term 'internationalisation of education'? [UNESCO/the OECD] is an international organisation, but to what extent is it working towards an 'internationalisation of education'?

Concluding question

- Thinking ahead, what do you think will be the main issues within education in five to ten years?

Complete list of interviewees at the OECD and UNESCO

UNESCO

- Director of the Executive Office, *Education Sector*.
- Chief of Section, *Secretariat for the International Task Force on Teachers for Education for All*.
- Chief of Section, *Section of Learning and Teachers*.
- Chief of Section, *Higher Education*.
- Chief of Section, *Section of Education Policy*.
- Chair of the *EFA Steering Committee*.
- Senior Program Specialist, *Education Research and Foresight*.
- Senior Policy Analyst, *Global Monitoring Report Team*.
- Project Officer, *Section of Health and Global Citizenship Education*.
- Programme Specialist, *Section of Youth, Literacy and Skills Development*.
- Programme specialist, *Section for the Promotion of Rights and Values in Education Division for the Promotion of Basic Education*.
- Assistant Programme Specialist, *Youth Sector for Social and Human Sciences*.

The OECD

- Head of Policy Advice and Implementation Division, *Directorate for Education and Skills of the OEC.D*
- Head of Division, *responsible for PISA*.
- Senior analyst, *Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)*.
- Senior Project Manager, *PISA*.
- Economist, *Employment Analysis and Policy Division at the OECD Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs*.
- Analyst, *PISA*.

Geographica

Utges av Kulturgeografiska institutionen vid Uppsala universitet.

Published by the Department of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University.

- Nr 1 Melissa Kelly: *Onward Migration: the Transnational Trajectories of Iranians Leaving Sweden*. Sweden, 2013.
- Nr 2 Sara Johansson: *Rytmen bor i mina steg: En rytmanalytisk studie om kropp, stad och kunskap*. Sweden, 2013
- Nr 3 Pepijn Olders: *Continuity and Change: Essays on path-dependence in economic geography and good food*. Sweden, 2013
- Nr 4 Jon Loit: *En stad i världsklass – hur och för vem?: En studie om Stockholms sociala stadsplanering*. Sweden, 2014
- Nr 5 Sofie Joosse: *Is it local?: A study about the social production of local and regional foods and goods*. Sweden, 2014
- Nr 6 Ann Rodenstedt: *Living in the calm and safe part of the city: The socio-spatial reproduction of upper-middle class neighbourhoods in Malmö*, 2014.
- Nr 7 Jasna Seršić: *The Craftsmen's Labyrinth and Geographies of Creativity*, 2015.
- Nr 8 Magdalena Cedering: *Konsekvenser av skolnedläggningar: En studie av barns och barnfamiljers vardagsliv i samband med skolnedläggningar i Ydre kommun*, 2016.
- Nr 9 Hele Kiimann: *Coastal Livelihoods: A Study of Population and Land-Use in Noarootsi, Estonia 1690 to 1940*, 2016.
- Nr 10 Mattias Gradén: *Storskalig vindkraft i skogen: Om rationell planering och lokalt motstånd*, 2016.
- Nr 11 John Guy Perrem: *Encountering, regulating and resisting different forms of children's and young people's mobile exclusion in urban public space*, 2016.
- Nr 12 Patricia Yocie Hierofani: *"How dare you talk back?!" Spatialised Power Practices in the Case of Indonesian Domestic Workers in Malaysia*, 2016.
- Nr 13 Kajsa Kramming: *Miljökollaps eller hållbar framtid? Hur gymnasieungdomar uttrycker sig om miljöfrågor*, 2017.
- Nr 14 Chiara Valli: *Pushing borders. Cultural workers in the restructuring of post-industrial cities*, 2017.
- Nr 15 Marat Murzabekov: *Political Pasture. A Governmentality Analysis of Community-Based Pasture Management in Kyrgyzstan*, 2017.
- Nr 16 Taylor Brydges: *Made in Canada. The strategies, spaces and working lives of independent designers in the Canadian fashion system*, 2017.
- Nr 17 Sara Nordin: *Relational Destination Development. Case Studies on the Significance of Tourism Networks*, 2017.
- Nr 18 Sara Forsberg: *Going places. Local settings and global horizons in young people's education and work trajectories*, 2018.

Serien Geographica utges av Kulturgeografiska institutionen sedan 2013. Den ersätter den tidigare serien Geografiska Regionstudier. Nedan följer en lista över tidigare publikationer.

The series Geographica is published by the Department of Social and Economic Geography since 2013. The series was preceded by Geografiska Regionstudier. A list of early issues is presented below.

Geografiska regionstudier

Utgivna av Kulturgeografiska institutionen vid Uppsala universitet

- Nr 1 *Uppsala län med omnejd* [The County of Uppsala with Environs], 1958:
Del I Gerd Enequist och Lennart Hartin: *Folkmängd, odling och industri* [Distribution of Population, Cultivated Areas and Manufacturing Industries].
- Del II Björn Bosæus: *Resor till arbete och service. Regionindelning* [Travel to Work and Service – Regional Division], 1958
- Nr 2 *Uppsala län* [The County of Uppsala]. Inga Söderman: *Jordbruksnedläggning och storleksrationalisering 1951-1961* [Changes in Number and Size of Farms in Uppsala County 1951-1961], 1963.
- Nr 3 Maj Ohre: *Förorter i Mälars-Hjälmarområdet* [Suburbs in the Mälars-Hjälmar region], 1966.
- Nr 4 Hans Aldskogius: *Studier i Siljanområdets fritidsbebyggelse* [Studies in the Geography of Vacation House Settlement in the Siljan Region], 1968.
- Nr 5 Maj Ohre-Aldskogius: *Folkmängdsförändring och stadstillväxt. En studie av stora och medelstora stadsregioner* [Population Change and Urban Sprawl – A Study of Large and Middle Size City Regions], 1968.
- Nr 6 Hans Aldskogius: *Modelling the Evolution of Settlement Patterns – Two Studies of Vacation House Settlement*, 1969.
- Nr 7 Hans Ländell: *Marknad och distrikt. Metodstudier med anknytning till företagslokalisering* [Market and Market Areas – Some Methods of Analysing the Location of Economic Activity], 1972.
- Nr 8 Hans Ländell: *Analys av partihandelns lokalisering* [Analysis of the Location of Wholesale Trade], 1972.
- Nr 9 Sune Berger: *Företagsnedläggning – konsekvenser för individ och samhälle* [Plant Shut-down – Consequences for Man and Society], 1973.
- Nr 10 Lena Gonäs: *Företagsnedläggning och arbetsmarknadspolitik. En studie av sysselsättningskriserna vid Oskarshamn's varv* [Plant Shut-down and Labour Market Policy – A Study of the Employment Crises at Oskarshamn's Shipyard], 1974.
- Nr 11 Jan Strinnholm: *Varutransporter med flyg. Flygfraktstudier med empirisk bevisning av flygfrakt i Sverige, utrikeshandel samt flygfrakt över Atlanten* [Goods Transport by Air – Air Freight Studies Empirically Illustrated with Data from Sweden's Foreign Trade and Air Freight via Arlanda], 1974.
- Nr 12 *Uppsala – Samhällsgeografiska studier* [Uppsala – Studies in Social Geography], Red: Maj Aldskogius, 1977.
- Nr 13 Jan Öhman: *Staden och det varjedagliga utbytet* [The City and the Everyday Exchange], 1982.

- Nr 14 Magnus Bohlin: *Fritidsboendet i den regionala ekonomin. Vart fritidsbusägarnas pengar tar vägen* [Second Homes in the Regional Economy – Where the Cottagers' Money Goes], 1982
- Nr 15 *Kulturgeografiska perspektiv. Forskningsbidrag från Uppsala 1985* [Perspectives on Human Geography – Contributions from Uppsala 1985], Red: Hans Aldskogius, Ragnar Bergling, Sölve Göransson, 1985.
- Nr 16 Mengistu Woube: *Problems of Land Reform Implementation in Rural Ethiopia: A Case Study of Dejen and Wolmera Districts*, 1986.
- Nr 17 Ali Najib: *Migration of Labour and the Transformation of the Economy of the Wedinoon Region in Morocco*, 1986.
- Nr 18 Roger Andersson: *Den svenska urbaniseringen. Kontextualisering av begrepp och processer* [The Urbanization of Sweden – Contextualization of Concepts and Processes], 1987
- Nr 19 Mats Lundmark och Anders Malmberg: *Industri lokalisering i Sverige – regional och strukturell förändring* [Industrial Location in Sweden – Regional and Structural Change], 1988.
- Nr 20 Gunnel Forsberg: *Industriomvandling och könsstruktur. Fallstudier på fyra lokala arbetsmarknader* [Industrial Change and Gender Structure. Case Studies on Four Local Labour Markets], 1989.
- Nr 21 Kjell Haraldsson: *Tradition, regional specialisering och industriell utveckling – sågverksindustrin i Gävleborgs län* [Tradition, Regional Specialization and Industrial Development – The Sawmill Industry in the County of Gävleborg, Sweden], 1989.
- Nr 22 Naseem Jeryis: *Small-Scale Enterprises in Arab Villages – A Case Study from the Galilee Region in Israel*, 1990.
- Nr 23 Inga Carlman: *Blåsningen. Svensk vindkraft 1973-1990* [Gone With the Wind – Windpower in Sweden 1973-1990], 1990.
- Nr 24 Bo Malmberg: *The Effects of External Ownership – A Study of Linkages and Branch Plant Location*, 1990.
- Nr 25 Erik Westholm: *Mark, människor och moderna skiftesreformer i Dalarna* [Modern Land Reforms in Dalarna, Sweden], 1992
- Nr 26 Margareta Dahlström: *Service Production – Uneven Development and Local Solutions in Swedish Child Care*, 1993
- Nr 27 Lena Magnusson: *Omflyttning på den svenska bostadsmarknaden. En studie av vakanskedjemodeller* [Residential Mobility on the Swedish Housing Market – A Study Using Markov Chain Models], 1994.
- Nr 28 Göran Hallin: *Struggle over Strategy – States, Localities and Economic Restructuring in Sunderland and Uddevalla*, 1995.
- Nr 29 Clas Lindberg: *Society and Environment Eroded – A Study of Household Poverty and Natural Resource Use in Two Tanzanian Villages*, 1996.
- Nr 30 Brita Hermelin: *Professional Business Services – Conceptual Framework and a Swedish Case Study*, 1997.

- Nr 31 Aida Aragão-Lagergren: *Working Children in the Informal Sector in Manaus*, 1997.
- Nr 32 Irene Molina: *Stadens rasifiering. Etniska boendesegregation i folkhemmet* [Racialization of the City – Ethnic Residential Segregation in the Swedish Folkhem], 1997.
- Nr 33 Urban Fransson: *Ungdomars hushållsbildning. Processer på en lokal bostadsmarknad* [Young People's Household Formation – Processes within a Local Housing Market], 1997.
- Nr 34 Mekonen Tesfahuney: *Imag[in]ing the Other[s] – Migration, Racism and the Discursive Construction of Migrants*, 1998.
- Nr 35 Staffan Larsson: *Lokal förankring och global räckvidd. En studie av teknikutveckling i svensk maskinindustri* [Local Embeddedness and Global Reach – A Study of Technological Development in the Swedish machinery Industry], 1998.
- Nr 36 Andreas Sandberg: *Integrationens arenor. En studie av flyktingmottagande, arbete, boende, förenings- och församlingsliv i tre kommuner* [Arenas of Integration – A Study of Refugee Policy, Employment, Housing, and Social and Community Affiliations in Three Swedish Municipalities], 1998.
- Nr 37 Malin Almstedt: *En plats i planeringen. En studie av områden av riksintresse för det rörliga friluftslivet* [A Place in Planning – A Study of Areas of National Importance for Outdoor Recreation], 1998.
- Nr 38 Anna-Karin Berglund: *Lokala utvecklingsgrupper på landsbygden. Analys av några lokala utvecklingsgrupper i termer av platsrelaterad gemenskap, platsrelaterad social rörelse och systemintegrerad lokal organisation* [Local Development Groups in the Countryside of Sweden – Place-Related Communitarity, Place-Related Social Movement, System-Integrated Local Organisation], 1998.
- Nr 39 Marie Nordfeldt: *Hemlöshet i välfärdsstaden. En studie av relationerna mellan socialtjänst och frivilliga organisationer i Stockholm och Göteborg* [Homelessness in Swedish Welfare Cities – A Case Study of Local Government and Voluntary Sector Relations in Stockholm and Göteborg], 1999.
- Nr 40 Susanne Johansson: *Genusstrukturer och lokala välfärdsmodeller. Fyra kommuner möter omvandlingen av den offentliga sektorn* [Gender Structures and Local Welfare Models – Four Municipalities Confront the Transformation of the Public Sector], 2000.
- Nr 41 Jan Amcoff: *Samtida bosättning på svensk landsbygd* [Contemporary Settlement in the Swedish Countryside], 2000.
- Nr 42 Susanne Stenbacka: *Landsbygdsboende i inflyttarnas perspektiv. Intention och handling i lokalsambället* [Countryside Living From the Perspectives of Newcomers – Intentions and Actions in the Local Community], 2001.

- Nr 43 Karin Tillberg: *Barnfamiljers dagliga fritidsresor i bilsamhället – ett tidspussel med geografiska och könsmässiga variationer* [Daily Leisure Trips of Families with Children in a Car-Based Society – A Time Puzzle Involving Geographical and Gender Differences], 2001.
- Nr 44 Eva Andersson: *Från Sorgedalen till Glädjehöjden – omgivningens betydelse för socioekonomisk karriär* [From the Vally of Sadness to the Hill of Happiness – The Significance of Surroundings for Socio-Economic Career], 2001.
- Nr 45 Katarina Mattsson: *[O]likehetens geografier – Marknaden, forskningen och de Andra* [Spaces of [Dis]Similarity – The Market, Science and the Others], 2001.
- Nr 46 Kristina Zampoukos: *IT, planeringen och kommunerna* [Information technology and Municipal Planning in Sweden], 2002.
- Nr 47 Daniel Hallencreutz: *Populärmusik, kluster och industriell konkurrenskraft – En ekonomisk-geografisk studie av svensk musikindustri* [Popular Music, Clusters, and Industrial Competitiveness – Economic-Geographical Studies of the Swedish Music Industry], 2002.
- Nr 48 Per Lundequist: *Spatial Clustering and Industrial Competitiveness – Studies in Economic geography*, 2002.
- Nr 49 Katarina Pettersson: *Företagande män och osynliga kvinnor – Diskursen om Gnosjö ur ett könsperspektiv* [Entrepreneurs as Men and Subordinated Women – The Gnosjö Discourse in a Gender Perspective], 2002.
- Nr 50 Lars Larsson: *När EU kom till byn, LEADER II – ett sätt att styra landsbygdens utveckling* [EU in the Village: LEADER II, Governance, and Rural Development], 2002.
- Nr 51 Martin E. Gustafsson: *On Specifying and Estimating Economic Growth as Spatial Process – Convergence, Inequality, and Migration*, 2002.
- Nr 52 Said Abbasian: *Integration på egen hand – En studie av invandrade kvinnoföretagare i Sverige* [Integration through Self-Employment – A Study of Female Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Sweden], 2003.
- Nr 53 Emma Hedlund: *Informationssamhällets geografi – IT, arbetsplatserna och rummet* [The Geography of the Information Society – IT, Space and the Workplace], 2003.
- Nr 54 Sigrid Hedin: *Åter till släktens mark? En studie av markåterlämning i Estlands svensksbygder efter Sovjetunionens sammanbrott* [Back to Family Land? A Study of Land Restitution in the Former Swedish Settlement Areas of Estonia after the Collapse of the Soviet Union], 2003.
- Nr 55 Ann Grubbström: *Sillar och mulvadar – Jordägande och etnicitet i Estlands svensksbygder 1816-1939* [Herrings and Moles – Land Ownership and Ethnicity in the Estonian Swedish Settlement Areas 1816-1939], 2003.

- Nr 56 Susanna Heldt Cassel: *Att tillaga en region. Den regionala maten i representationer och praktik – exemplet Skärgårdssmak* [The Taste of Archipelago – Representations and Practices in Regional Food Projects], 2004.
- Nr 57 Erika Lind: *Housing the Nation? Post-Apartheid Public Housing Provision in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa*, 2004.
- Nr 58 Louise Simonsson: *Environmental Assessments of Landscape Changes – Inter-disciplinary Studies in Rural Tanzania*, 2004.
- Nr 59 Michael Gentile: *Studies in the Transformation of Post Soviet Cities – Case Studies from Kazakhstan*, 2004
- Nr 60 Karin E. K. Dawidson: *Property Fragmentation – Redistribution of Land and Housing during the Romanian Democratization Process*, 2004.
- Nr 61 Charlotta Hedberg: *Finland-Swedish Wheel of Migration – Identity, Networks and Integration 1976-2000*, 2004.
- Nr 62 Anders Waxell: *Uppsalas biotekniska industriella system – En ekonomisk-geografisk studie av interaktion, kunskapsutbredning och arbetsmarknadsrörlighet* [The Uppsala Biotech Cluster – Economic-Geographical Studies of Interaction, Knowledge Spillover and Labor Mobility], 2005.
- Nr 63 Johan Jansson: *Internetbranschen i Stockholms innerstad – En studie av agglomerationsfördelar, sociala nätverksrelationer och informationsflöden* [The Internet Industry in Central Stockholm – A Study of Agglomeration Economies, Social Network Relations, and Information Flows], 2005.
- Nr 64 Peeter Maandi: *Change and Persistence in a Reformed Landscape. A geographical analysis of land reforms and landscape change in Muhu and Rapla municipalities, Estonia, c. 1840 to 2003*, 2005.
- Nr 65 Markus Lundkvist: *Accident Risk and Environmental Assessment – Development of an Assessment Guideline with Examination in Northern Scandinavia*, 2005.
- Nr 66 Camilla Palander: *Områdesbaserad politik för minskad segregation – En studie av den svenska storstadspolitiken* [Area-based policy to stop segregation – a study of the Swedish metropolitan policy], 2006.
- Nr 67 Åsa Bråmås: *Studies in the Dynamics of Residential Segregation*, 2006.
- Nr 68 Thomas Nedomysl: *Migration and Place Attractiveness*, 2006.
- Nr 69 Lena Molin: *Rum, frirum och moral: En studie av skolgeografins innehållsval* [Space, Curriculum space and Morality. About school geography, content and teachers' choice], 2006.
- Nr 70 Ingegerd Landström: *Towards Collaborative Coastal Management in Sri Lanka? A study of Special Area Management planning in Sri Lanka's coastal region*, 2006.
- Nr 71 Danielle van der Burgt: "Där man bor tycker man det är bra." *Barns geografer i en segregerad stadsmiljö* ["Where you live you like it". Children's Geographies in a Segregated Urban Environment], 2006.
- Nr 72 John Östh: *Home, Job and Space – Mapping and Modelling the Labor Market*, 2007.

- Nr 73 Henrik Mattsson: *Locating Biotech Innovation – Places, Flows and Unruly Processes*, 2007.
- Nr 74 Magnus Lagerholm: *Kunskap och innovation i ett moget kluster – En ekonomisk-geografisk studie av aluminiumindustrin i Småland-Blekinge* [Knowledge and Innovation in a Mature Cluster. An Economic-Geographical Study of the Aluminium Product Cluster in Småland and Blekinge, Sweden], 2007.
- Nr 75 Dzamila Bienkowska: *Arbetskraftens rörlighet och klusterdynamik – en studie av IT- och telekomklustren i Kista och Mjärdevi* [Labour mobility and cluster dynamics – A study of ICT clusters in Kista and Mjärdevi, Sweden], 2007.
- Nr 76 Atle Hauge: *Dedicated followers of fashion – An economic geographic analysis of the Swedish fashion industry*, 2007.
- Nr 77 Daniel A. Bergquist: *Colonised Coasts – Aquaculture and emergy flows in the world system: Cases from Sri Lanka and the Philippines*, 2008.
- Nr 78 Petra Sundlöf: *Segregation och karriärposition – En studie av bostadsomgivningens betydelse för utbildning, sysselsättning och inkomst bland yngre i Stockholmsregionen*, 2008.
- Nr 79 Emma Holmqvist: *Politik och planering för ett blandat boende och minskad boendesegregation. – Ett mål utan medel?*, 2009.
- Nr 80 Frida Andersson: *Performing Co-production: On the logic and practice of shopping at IKEA*, 2009.
- Nr 81 Kenny Jansson: *Tillsammans: Bidrag till den etniska boendesegregationens geofilosofi*, 2009.
- Nr 82 Markus M. Bugge: *Creative Distraction: The Digital Transformation of the Advertising Industry*, 2009.
- Nr 83 Jakob Nobuoka: *Geographies of the Japanese Cultural Economy. Innovation and Creative Consumption*, 2010.
- Nr 84 Tobias Fridholm: *Working Together. Exploring Relational Tensions in Swedish Academia*, 2010.
- Nr 85 Zara Bergsten: *Bättre framtidsutsikter? Blandade bostadsområden och grannskapseffekter. En analys av visioner och effekter av blandat boende.* [Better prospects through social mix? Mixed neighbourhoods and neighbourhood effects. An analysis of the purpose and effects of social mix policy], 2010.
- Nr 86 Jenny Sjöholm: *The geographies of (making) artwork. The field, the art studio and the art scene.* 2010.
- Nr 87 Jörgen Lindell (red.): *Storstäder och tillväxt. Om storstadsregioners roll, betydelse och utmaningar för hållbar ekonomisk utveckling*, 2011.
- Nr 88 Lina Hedman: *Residential Mobility and Neighbourhood Effects: A Holistic Approach*, 2011.
- Nr 89 Anna-Klara Lindeborg: *Where Gendered Spaces Bend: The Rubber Phenomenon in Northern Laos*, 2012.

