CHAPTER 21

Changing Spaces—The Reshaping of (Elite) Education Through Internationalisation

Claire Maxwell

This book has specifically examined how policies and practices of internationalisation are shaping the meaning, provision and experiences of education through a multi-scalar lens. The chapters have variously focused on specific curriculum initiatives, examined the orientation of an educational institution, considered the effects within local education markets of internationalisation practices and more broadly teased out the stratificatory implications of these for national systems. Meanwhile, some chapters have taken a more regional or global perspective on these questions. What emerges clearly through the contributions within the book is the interdependence and connectedness of the flows of ideas, desires, people and education "products" between the local, national, regional and global (or "glonacal" as coined by Marginson and Rhoades 2002). The collection therefore seeks to consider similarities and differences across education spheres (early years, primary and secondary schooling, higher education—something not done to date; see Dvir and Yemini 2017) and offers some comparison between countries. In doing so, we hope, through the book, to have facilitated a deeper exploration of the ways in which processes of

C. Maxwell (✉)
UCL Institute of Education, University College London, London, UK

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internationalisation within education are continuing to inform and reconfigure which groups and which education institutions are attempting, and are successful in making claims, to being "elite" in today's various education spaces.

Many institutions would be hesitant to be associated with the concept of eliteness. Yet, it is my contention that where there are direct or indirect attempts to distinguish oneself from those in a particular geographical, ideological or social context, in ways that are suggestive of superiority, excellence and/or being facilitative of significantly beneficial outcomes for their constituents—this signals engagement with the process of elite claiming or elite making. This, in turn, influences how individuals and institutions are made sense of by others (Maxwell and Aggleton 2016a). Thus, claims of promoting mobility, of working towards producing particular subjectivities, and/or valorising certain types of knowledges and skills through practices of internationalisation are all understood as attempts to charter particular meanings of becoming and being elite (Meyer 1970; van Zanten 2009, 2016).

In developing the overall argument for this chapter, I offer a summary of the various practices of internationalisation highlighted by the contributions in this volume. The first, main contribution is to highlight four critical juxtapositions identified in the interpretation and implementation of internationalisation across various education spaces. I demonstrate that despite the origins of this work being channelled towards "international abroad" activities, most initiatives are now conceived of as "international at home". Then the chapter explores how particular conceptions of the international are accorded different values and translate into different orientations towards mobility. Third, I show that current internationalisation practices continue to embed the global North-South divide. Finally, I suggest that pragmatic articulations of internationalisation predominate, with little engagement made with the ideological imperatives introduced through the initial conception of internationalisation of education. This reading is made sense of within the neoliberally infused competitive paradigm that now infiltrates so many education spaces, and internationalisation is shown to have become a critical tool in the chartering of eliteness within education today. While some forms of internationalisation appear to be benefitting all, and others have the potential to offer opportunities for usurping dominant groups by those who are less well resourced; in the main, internationalisation practices within education are shown to offer yet a further mechanism for distinction making and positively privileging

particularly those who are economically wealthy. The contributions in this book therefore conclude that internationalisation has led to further stratification of local, subnational, national, regional and global education systems, but that the ways in which claims to eliteness are made and received are being rearticulated in important and new ways by these practices.

The second key contribution, which has emerged from reflections on the chapters contained here, emphasises the need to take a "glonacal", multi-scalar framework of analysis to this issue. I examine how global, national and local policies intersect with local community demographies and histories of education institutions in these spaces, which in turn shape the curricula offerings made and the development of student subjectivities in relation to internationalisation and orientations to mobility. To conclude I suggest that Thrift's (2009) theorisation of four spaces could be generative for investigating internationalisation in education—to understand what drives practices, what shapes the various outcomes these practices lead to and how new articulations of what constitutes elite education have emerged.

Practices of Internationalisation—Summarising Key Findings Using a Multi-scalar Perspective

Drawing on the contributions in this edited volume, what practices of internationalisation have been identified? Here I consider practices at the level of the curriculum, how they interact with the local community demography and shape student subjectivities. These in turn generate different kinds of mobility, varied types of relations with local communities, and construct institutional habitus (Schippling, this volume) or codes (Keßler and Krüger, this volume). Subsequently, I examine the effects of internationalisation practices in the organisation of education at a national level and the concomitant effects of these differences observed across education phases. Then, to conclude this section, I examine how internationalisation practices might be operating at a regional or even global level. The various juxtapositions which emerge from the uneven ways in which internationalisation becomes visible through particular practices are subsequently summarised and explored in the next part of this chapter.

Important alterations within curricula are highlighted throughout the book—from provision of bilingual and/or multilingual education, to student-exchange programmes, the promotion of global citizenship

education, introduction of the International Baccalaureate and other internationally or regionally recognised diplomas, and building links with (international) organisations. The continuing expansion of bilingual and multilingual education in various parts of the world, such as Germany (as highlighted by Deppe et al., in this volume), Brazil (Nogueira and Alves 2016) and elsewhere, demonstrates the extent to which a concern to prepare younger generations for a globally oriented future is altering educational provision. Even in early years settings—bilingual education is becoming increasingly embedded as an expectation, at least in some parts of the system (Mierendorff, this volume; Vincent and Ball 2007). Similarly, growth in the provision of the International Baccalaureate (Keßler and Krüger; Prosser, this volume; Resnik 2012, 2016) and other "international" qualifications (Yang 2016) in local and national education markets has had the effect of valorising particular future aspirations, forms of knowledge and orientations to the global (Howard this volume; Yemini and Dvir 2016).

Processes and practices of internationalisation also influence and are shaped by changing demographies within local and subnational education spaces. Thus, attempts by regional governments in eastern Germany to invest in their economies have resulted in the promotion of more schools with an "international" focus, in the hope of attracting multinational companies to locate their offices there—which, while not always resulting in an influx of "the global middle classes" (Ball and Nikita 2014), has stratificatory effects through local school choice-making systems. Similarly, with the increasing mobility of families and students for education and work, local institutions are having to adapt their provision—either in terms of the staff employed and opening hours offered (such as one of the early years providers featured in Mierendorff et al., this volume), or the study programmes offered to local and international-exchange students, who often have quite different needs (see Bloch et al., this volume).

Experiences of "the international", expectations of "being international", and the formation of "global citizens" also affect the formation of student subjectivities and their future imaginaries. As Howard argues in his chapter, focusing in particular on an elite school in Jordan, the commitment to global citizenship education informs the design of the campus itself, the demography of students and staff, the language of instruction, the type of pedagogy employed, sports provision, community service work and qualifications offered. This in turn affects how students understand themselves, their futures and their role in the wider world. Keßler and

Krüger (this volume) outline how the international school on which they focus articulates an institutional code that promotes individuality, reflexivity and tolerance, as forming the basis of an international trajectory. The authors go on to illuminate how students, with different biographies, interpret and extend such an institutional framing. While some students display a conscious involvement in seeking to practise an international orientation, others embody such an orientation more effortlessly, as it is already a core part of their biography. These different orientations, in turn, open up a range of possibilities and outcomes for students.

Therefore, when considering practices of internationalisation at an individual and institutional level, the chapters in this book highlight different forms of student and staff mobility, varied types of relations with local communities, and educational institutions that articulate and initiate a range of "institutional habitus'". Some institutions, for instance, appear to focus on receiving and meeting the needs of particular groups who are largely mobile in one direction—travelling from Country A to B, usually as immigrants. This group tends to have fewer economic and educational resources, despite their experiences of the "international", their "cultural" otherness and arguably evident resourcefulness to create new opportunities for themselves. These institutions tend to focus on promoting "inclusive diversity" as Peter (this volume) argues and take on a social pedagogic function (as claimed by Mierendorff et al. and Press and Woodrow, this volume). Meanwhile, other institutions position themselves as embodying and promoting "exclusive globality" (Peter, this volume), with seemingly few concerns about the stratificatory effects of such an orientation.

Different forms of mobility are also analysed in terms of the kinds of future destinations—local, national or transnational—that are promoted and expected. Thus, in some countries, the training of future business elites is still largely restricted to a nationally bounded trajectory through clearly articulated institutional wormholes (Nespor 2014), as demonstrated by Hartmann (this volume). Meanwhile, for some well-resourced families, secondary education in one "Western" country is seen as a stepping stone for pursuing university training in another education or national space (Kenway et al. 2013; Fahey 2014; Kenway, this volume), while yet other families choose exclusive education provision in their "home" country with a view to sending their children abroad for their higher education (Nogueira and Alves 2016; Yang 2016).

Breidenstein et al. (this volume) make a critical point through their analysis of the Berlin schooling market, with regard to the tension between

different interpretations and promotions of mobility—that the orientation or institutional habitus adopted affects the connection which is strived for with the local community within which one is physically/geographically located. Thus, one of the international schools featured in Breidenstein and colleagues' chapter seeks to act as a stepping stone for the global middle classes, where families and students are constantly moving and therefore disconnected from their local environment (Ball 2016), while another internationally oriented school emphasises the importance of engaging with and benefitting from the locality in which, however fleetingly, one is currently moving through. These two case study schools afford a very different importance to the local community, which in turn affects how young people develop a sense of identity, belonging and social responsibility (as also examined in Howard's chapter).

Schippling examines the changing or adaptive institutional habitus of one of the French *grandes écoles*, which is comprised of more than one institution, all of whom have slightly different foci and histories. Her chapter offers a fascinating insight into how differently academics at these two affiliated *grandes écoles* understand the benefits and challenges of internationalisation and how practices that develop in response to these imperatives begin to differentiate between these two institutions—their purpose, mode of engagement with others, student cohorts, and the future imaginaries produced for staff and students (see also Forbes and Weiner 2008 and compare with Forbes and Lingard 2015; Maxwell and Aggleton 2016b).

The authors offer important insights into the ways institutions respond to internationalisation in different parts of the world, and across different phases of the education system—be it to recruit more "international" students, to seek to position themselves within a regional or global education space (Bloch et al., Münch, Peter, Schippling), meet the demands of globally mobile parents (Breidenstein et al., Kenway, Mierendorff et al.), the desires of well-resourced local families (Kotzyba et al.), or a broader strategic investment by a government (Prosser). The findings from the chapters suggest that internationalisation practices in higher education are far more developed, globally oriented and homogenised than those within the early years sector. This, the authors argue, relates to the organisation, funding and societal values that drive these two sectors—though this is not without tensions and contradictions. Meanwhile, changes within primary and secondary school spaces are more varied when we examine for evidence of internationalisation practices, and lead to quite different positionings of institutions—depending

on geographical location, institutional history, local and national socio-political context.

Taking a national perspective, as Nogueira and Alves (2016) do for Brazil, and Kotzyba et al. and Deppe et al. (both this volume) do for Germany, leads the authors to categorise and evaluate the extent to which imperatives promoting internationalisation and the desire for a global outlook are engineered (Kenway et al. 2013; Kenway, this volume). This offers a critical way to begin the process of understanding just how effectively and deeply "internationalisation" is seeping into national (or subnational) education spaces, and the extent to which these are drawn on by institutions within the "market" for engaging in processes of distinction and position taking. Kotzyba et al. argue that secondary education in Germany is being reshaped by internationalisation processes. The researchers have found four different ways in which education is being internationalised in different parts of the system: at a most basic level—through the promotion of student exchanges and the imperative to learn a modern foreign language, found across differently tiered secondary schools; to a more engaged level—through the provision of bilingual education and the promotion of the International Baccalaureate diploma, usually only found in state-funded institutions based in urban centres (partly to meet the demands of the urban middle classes); the continuing existence of long-standing International Baccalaureate/international schools established decades ago in Germany; and finally, the newest development observed is the establishment of new schools and programmes, usually privately funded, oftentimes with links to multinational corporations. Though an attempt to categorise different forms of internationalisation is never without exceptions, and will not always be transferable across subnational or national boundaries, it does, as Deppe et al. attempt to do, offer the opportunity for tracing change over time more concretely, and thereby identifying ways in which national systems are being affected by processes of internationalisation (Resnik 2016).

Such categorisations also facilitate a careful analysis of how understandings of internationalisation are being formed (through government policy, local economic conditions, demands of constituents, the philosophy of a particular head teacher), how these are articulated and developed into institutional practices, and the effect this has on the composition of the institution's staff and student body, the curriculum and the destinations and values being promoted (as Keßler and Krüger, for instance, examine in their chapter). A useful way of conceiving of internationalisation within

such examinations might be to further develop and apply Resnik's (2012: 251) notion of the "thickness of the global". This would afford insights into what is being counted as "international" and how this links to "the global" and "the transnational", and emphasises difference or a desire for homogeneity across provision (nationally or internationally). Such careful thinking promotes more nuanced and theoretically rich interpretations of internationalisation practices within education and critically of their effect. As Yemini (2015) argues, internationalisation must be defined and understood through the outcomes of the practices that make it visible.

Although "internationalisation" is always linked to some conceptualisation of "the global", most of the chapters in this book consider the question in relation to specific social groups, individual institutions, subnational and national spaces (interestingly, only Münch directly considers the role of international policy-makers). Kenway and her colleagues (2017) have been seminal in arguing that some education institutions and specific social groups are networked into regional or global circuits of influence (see also Sandgren 2014), which therefore begins to loosen their ties to the "nation state". This "rearticulates" "choreographies of class" (Kenway et al. 2017: 5) and charters particular conceptions of "elite" through their associations with these particular social groups and institutions. "Institutional wormholes" (Nespor 2014) are therefore created and embedded at a regional or global level (see Münch, this volume in his discussion of elite universities). However, elite schools shape and rearticulate their charter, claiming eliteness usually in relation to the nation state within which they find themselves (McCarthy et al. 2014; Rizvi 2014; Maxwell and Aggleton 2016a), although the case of elite schools in Switzerland offers an interesting counterpoint to this argument, which is only now beginning to be researched (Bertron 2016). Research also continues to emphasise how nationally bounded trajectories into elite labour-market positions remain (van Zanten and Maxwell 2015; Mangset 2017; Mangset et al. 2017; Hartmann and Bloch et al., this volume).

Yet, Ball concludes that we need to distinguish between national and global elites, with the latter "constantly on the move" (2016: 71). Research on the transnational capitalist class (Robinson 2012; Sklair 2000) should urge us to consider the education practices of these groups, as a critical addition to examining how internationalisation practices of different social groups affect what it means to create an elite education. Kenway et al. specifically seek to understand the relationship between these economic (and social) groupings through examining the ways elite schools respond

to such "changing configurations of the global" (2017: 9). I would argue that some elite institutions may also be directly affecting how these transnational capitalist groups understand, engage with, and seek to benefit from such "educational products"—created by the emotional engineers propping up the elite education system (Kenway et al. 2013; Kenway, this volume).

Thus, research and writing about internationalisation and (elite) education needs to consider the drivers and articulations of such practices as coming from "the global"—arguably a transnational capitalist class, but also international policy-making and education bodies (Ball et al. 2016; Lingard et al. 2016); the national (government policy, organisation and funding of education); the subnational (regional government policy, economic and migration factors); and finally—the local (the particular demography of and resultant distinction-making practices found within the local education market, histories of particular institutions, biographies of particular education leaders and individual families and students). Arguably, a truly glonacal approach (Marginson and Rhoades 2002) is therefore needed.

Juxtapositions Created Through Practices of Internationalisation

The chapters in this book offer valuable insights into the varied outcomes of internationalisation practices for the configuration of an education space—which could be conceived of as juxtapositions (a term also used by Kenway et al. 2017). Four main juxtapositions have been identified: whether internationalisation practices are occurring "at home" or "abroad"; the value accorded to different forms of internationalisation which in turn affect the orientation of mobility; the embedding of the North-South global divide; and the tension between various values espoused within practices of internationalisation.

A first juxtaposition emerges when reviewing the ways curricula are being internationalised. While the movement of people abroad has often been thought of one of the first and primary internationalisation practices within education (Nilsson 2003), most of those curricula practices identified in the book could be largely defined as practices of "internationalisation at home" (Nilsson 2003). Although in secondary schools and universities, student exchanges abroad are encouraged, it would appear from most of the chapters that these are often only a rather small aspect of how internationalisation is

being practised and experienced today. Yet, newly emerging internationalisation practices—such as the expansion of satellite schools abroad, from the UK for instance (Bunnell 2008), the promotion of offshore schools from Canada into China (Wang 2017) or satellite university campuses overseas, offer new forms of "internationalisation abroad" (Nilsson 2003), which require further research. The balance for different institutions between internationalisation at home and abroad and how the particular balance shapes institutional habitus and student subjectivities means that experiences of internationalisation and their outcomes will be quite varied for different social groups and within different national or subnational education spaces.

The second juxtaposition identified through this collection is the way internationalisation is interpreted and the value it is accorded for differently located and resourced groups. Thus, economic or political migrants to a country, despite having significant cultural resources that relate to their experiences of international mobility, are assimilated into a national education system, where the social and pedagogical approach to their education often focuses on "inclusive diversity" (Deppe et al., Mierendorff et al., Peter, this volume). Meanwhile for families with higher levels of economic resources and the "right" kind of cosmopolitan capital (Maxwell and Aggleton 2016b; Breidenstein et al., this volume), internationalisation practices focus on "going global"—through student exchanges, community service programmes, learning other languages, gaining an internationally recognised diploma and having transnational future ambitions for study and work. In this way, increasing internationalisation practices found across the world will lead to very different outcomes (Yemini 2015). Highly resourced, arguably elite groups, reproduce outwardly focused mobility to secure potentially transnational futures, while some middle-class groups aspire towards these outcomes but their strategies to put such desires into practices are not as skilfully or successfully managed as in the case of the elite. Meanwhile those groups with the fewest resources remain locally fixed.

Deppe et al. and Kotzyba et al. (this volume) draw on Weber to suggest that some institutions promote positively privileging practices which have the effect of creating and maintaining an exclusive status for the institution and their constituents. Meanwhile, the groups with lesser valued economic and cosmopolitan forms of capital find the negative effects of these to be exacerbated within the currently emerging education structures. The research highlighted in this book offers clear evidence that lines of stratification appear to be, at least in part, driven by internationalisation practices. These are variously shaped by the socio-economic and political

context, but overall, economic wealth seems to positively privilege certain forms of cosmopolitan capital, which in turn influences the trajectories taken by institutions and social groups. Therefore, one way we might seek to differentiate between institutions and the groups they educate is to consider some as largely inwardly focused to the local, possibly subnational context, while others are outwardly focused to the global and are encouraged to be nationally or internationally mobile.

Linked to the above is a third type of juxtaposition which is increasing in significance through the growth of internationalisation within education—the North-South global divide. Internationalisation practices continue to model and reproduce a form of colonialism—through the increasing embeddedness of internationally recognised diplomas which are developed and bring profit back to organisations based in the North (Resnik 2016; Yang 2016; Prosser, this volume), the mobility of students from the South to the North for secondary and higher education (Brooks and Waters 2011; Fahey 2014; Nogueira and Alves 2016; Yang 2016), and the continued concentration of transnational corporate headquarters in northern, global cities, which many young people are now being encouraged to view as a desired future destination (Brown et al. 2011, 2015; Power et al. 2013; Windle and Nogueira 2015).

A fourth, critical juxtaposition highlighted by the contributions in this collection are the inconsistencies between values underpinning the purported rationale for internationalisation, the history of institutions and the outcomes of current practices. While the International Baccalaureate, global citizenship education and other forms of internationalisation explored here are imbued with humanist values (Goren and Yemini 2017; Keßler and Krüger, Howard, this volume), schools' and students' engagement with these curricula becomes largely instrumental for their own distinction and mobility, though humanist discourses may still legitimise the privileging impact of these practices (Howard 2013). Fahey and Prosser (2015: 1038) argue that global citizenship education "serves to create a kind of contemporary 'moral aristocracy'".

Similarly, Bloch et al. (this volume) highlight the long tradition of scientific universalism that has informed the purposes and practices of universities, to some extent untethered from the function of the nation state. However, in today's neoliberal context which promotes the competitive paradigm (Münch, this volume), where universities are now organisational actors within broader government agendas—internationalisation, rather than sustaining the value of universalism and a non-instrumental

desire for the generation of knowledge, appears to have become a stratificatory mechanism for distinction-making practices, as Bloch et al. (this volume) argue in relation to the German higher education landscape.

The dominance of neoliberal thinking within education may explain why many of the chapters in the book highlight pragmatic forms of internationalisation practices, without adequately exploring how exactly the ideological dimensions of internationalisation (Tarc 2009; Yemini and Fulop 2015) are interpreted and engaged with, though Howard (this book) considered this for the elite schools he researched. Press & Woodrow and Münch (both this volume) argue that a more instrumental usurpation of internationalisation and an acceptance of the paradigm that competition increases quality (and equity) of provision can in fact easily be refuted when we survey the evidence.

The Role of Internationalisation in Chartering New Understandings of Elite Education

Defining something as "elite" must be done with reference to space—geographical and temporal (Maxwell and Aggleton 2016a)—as well as placed within a circuit of social relations (Ball 2016). This is why a multi-scalar lens is critical (see also Breidenstein et al., Kenway, this volume). Such an approach to studying elites and internationalisation also invites an engagement with multifarious mobilities—in terms of the (un)constrained geographical but also affective and imaginative spaces constituents are invited to traverse.

Baker (this volume) argues that elite education institutions are central in constructing what is considered to be necessary and valuable knowledge, skills, attitudes and qualifications (see also Prosser 2016; Israël and Vanneuville 2017; Mangset et al. 2017; Ziegler 2017), and then, through the meritocratic discourses that are sustained in so many education systems (Koh 2014; Münch, this volume), the claim made to elite status of particular social groups and institutions is thereby legitimised (Gaztambide-Fernández 2009; Khan 2011; Gaztambide-Fernández et al. 2013; Lim and Apple 2015). Yet, as van Zanten and Maxwell (2015) have argued, it is also critical to understand how dominant groups, and the nation state or global education organisations play an equally important role in determining what is taught, the affective and discursive practices promoted within these education spaces (Maxwell 2015) and the orientations to mobilities which are promoted (Power et al. 2013). Aiming to understand what constitutes an elite education in a particular space therefore requires a multi-scalar approach.

The various contributions in this collection demonstrate how international education policy, government priorities, regional and local socio-economic-political contexts shape the specific ways internationalisation is defined, interpreted, implemented and responded to by various social groups—facilitating particular kinds of practices to come to the fore. In this way, particular forms of internationalisation have been shown to confer different kinds of status—positive or negative (as argued by Deppe et al., this volume)—and to have greater or lesser impact on measures oftentimes associated with "success". Through the chapters presented here it is possible to observe a range of agreed upon internationalisation practices, but depending on the particular space—early years or university, urban or in an area of economic decline, global North or South, employment sector or professional group, private- or state-funded secondary school, concentration of migrants compared to members of the so-called global middle class in a location—and the outcomes these make possible, claims to eliteness appear to be unequally distributed. Critical to this process is the extent to which constituents "buy-into" such claims, the visibility of the processes through which internationalisation practices confer status, and a broader, societal engagement and agreement that particular practices and associated outcomes are appropriate, right and legitimate (Meyer 1970; Salverda and Abbink 2013).

In sum, the contributions collected in this volume challenge some the "truths" which may be associated with the concept of "internationalisation" and international forms of education. The insistence on, and form of, physical mobility that is promoted largely focuses on internationalisation-at-home practices, over ones that focus on "abroad". It is only really in the imagination of futures that "international abroad" gains a strong foothold in most education institutions. Second, the encouragement of cultural diversity as originally linked to internationalisation has been rearticulated to mean that only certain types of "diversity" are positively privileged. Overall, a more pragmatic interpretation of internationalisation dominates, marginalising a willingness by education policy-makers, institutions and oftentimes social groups, to consider and find ways to take on the ideological imperatives of internationalisation, as originally conceived in the mid-twentieth century. As Howard (this volume) shows—seeking to engage with the ideological dimensions of internationalisation is fairly easy at a discursive level, but much more challenging, particularly for elite education institutions, at a programmatic and affective level when non-instrumental, and positively privileging outcomes are being sought.

Understanding Internationalisation and Elite Education Through Concepts of Space

Any consideration of internationalisation and how it is reshaping elite education thus requires us to engage with conceptions of scale and space. Different spheres of influence have been identified—international, national, regional and local policy; the composition and extent of mobility within local communities and desires around mobility of specific social groups; and local institutions with their own histories and networks, but who are also part of a broader education marketplace. Thus, the summary offered above of some of the key findings presented in the book was organised in a scalar way—from the local to the global.

Yet, as Gibson-Graham (2002) argue, "the global is local", where all spaces are hybrids of the global and local, but with different "thickness(es) of the global" (Resnik 2012). The global, at least as an imaginary frame of reference appears to be firmly encroaching on the discursive and affective structures influencing our everyday practices (Maxwell and Aggleton 2013)—whether it be individuals, communities and institutions, to different effect, as the writings in this book have highlighted. Thus, it might be useful to draw on some of the more theoretical work on "space" (and the constitution of space) to offer additional ways of considering how processes of globalisation are affecting practices of internationalisation that we observe, and to make sense of the varied outcomes these might have for different groups of people, institutions and the broader organisation of education systems. A range of theories could support this work—Appadurai's (1996) concept of scapes, and Stronach's (2010) development of "eduscape" (drawn on by Breidenstein et al., this volume); Burawoy et al.'s (2000) three axes of globalisation (which influenced Kenway et al. 2017); actor-network theory (engaged with by Resnik 2016 for instance); post-colonial theories (such as Massey 2005 or Soja 1989); and decolonial theories (as Prosser draws on for his chapter in this volume).

Focusing on just one example here, Thrift (2009) discusses four spaces. Here, I draw inspiration from Thrift's work to suggest ways in which his conceptualisation of space can help us analyse how the practices of internationalisation observed in this book create opportunities for some while fixing others in place, which leads to particular kinds of rearticulations of elite education—benefitting some more than others.

- Empirical space—the physical, tangible construction of space, which, in terms of education, would most likely represent the locality we inhabit and lead to considerations of how the architecture, demography, access to resources, ability to traverse the locality and so forth shape social relations (perhaps akin to Rowe's (2015) argument where she draws on Harvey's (2006) concept of relational space).
- Thrift's second kind of space—unblocking space—encourages an unfixing of our experiences of a particular space, where routine interactions are disrupted and greater degrees of mobility and fluidity are evident (spatial, intellectual, social). Arguably, the increasing imperatives to "internationalise" outlined through the book to a greater or lesser extent provide that impetus to disrupt and capitalise on new mobilities. While educational institutions and social groups have always had to respond to external influences or have themselves attempted to push for new perceptions and modes of working, arguably the current moment of globalisation means that relations are being shifted and rearticulated at a hitherto unknown level of intensity and speed (Appadurai 2006), driven in particular through transnational capitalism, technological advances and reach of "the media". What we need to examine, therefore, is the extent to which particular groups and institutions have access to such unblocking spaces or are able to engage with these kinds of spaces. That may facilitate a deeper analysis beyond how well-resourced particular groups or institutions are, to understand why particular internationalisation practices are taken up and implemented, and to what effect.
- Internationalisation brings with it a range of images (Thrift's third space) which can be visual but also more broadly discursive, that may act in concert or in opposition to the other influences seeking to unblock space. Kenway's "emotional engineers" (this volume) are critical to generating a desire and a particular image that seeks to express these desires more visibly, and creating economic and/or status gain within the education space. Think back to the promotional webpage messages outlined by Kenway (this volume) or the publicly distributed tables and maps shared by Bloch et al. (this volume) in their analysis of Germany's shifting higher education landscape. These powerfully convey how images can drive and affirm particular kinds of practices over others. Again, while many of these images are accessible to all, only a proportion will feel they are particularly relevant to them, or feasible to strive towards—an analysis

of why this might be, would be generative for understanding engagement with internationalisation.

- Thrift's fourth space is place space which most likely captures the kinds of spaces many of the contributing chapters sought to analyse—Olive Grove Academy in Jordan (Howard), the international school (Keßler and Krüger), *ENS de la rue d'Ulm* and *ENS de Cachan* (Schippling), Toytown Germany—the Berlin webpage discussion forum (Breidenstein et al.). Critically a place space conceptualisation seeks to emphasise the affective and other embodied potentials that are opened up through practices of internationalisation—a key element in understanding how eliteness is chartered through education. In place space, the "rhythms of being" (Thrift 2009: 92) are potentially reset and recalibrated. My contention is that positioning internationalisation as central to education, as feasible and desirable will facilitate the creation of particular place spaces within social groups, institutions or even local or national education systems. Taking such a conception may support an evaluation of whether or not the Ecuadorian government's desire to roll out the International Baccalaureate nationally (see Prosser, this volume), so that all its students benefit from this curriculum change equally, is likely to be effective.

Thrift's (2009) four types of space allow for an analysis of the physical and the visible, but also the imaginary and affective/discursive structures shaping education—policy, institutions, markets, curricula and subjectivities. Critically, it demands an engagement with the "glocal" (Gibson-Graham 2002) or "glonacal" (Marginson and Rhoades 2002) and the various ways and intensities through which the global becomes local in different spaces. Yet, as a sociologist it feels as if Thrift's conceptualisation could be further augmented by incorporating an understanding of how these spaces may intersect. We need to be able to carefully consider how the intersections between the first and second spaces lead to greater or less potential for unblocking, or how particular images in the third space drive particular practices of unblocking. To draw on a place space conception, we need to more accurately trace how the various actors and discursive/affective structures at the glonacal levels interact with one another to ultimately shape internationalisation practices and their outcomes.

Imperatives to internationalise surround us and are coming at us in all directions, yet how these are interpreted and practised will vary. Some of the chapters demonstrate that particular engagements with internationalisation may benefit many (increasing provision of bilingual education

across Germany; the introduction of the International Baccalaureate in Ecuador). Other chapters could be interpreted as suggesting new or previously less-resourced groups are using internationalisation practices to usurp others (see *ENS de Cachan*, a previously less prestigious *grandes école*; Parkin 1974). Yet, the main conclusion most authors draw is that internationalisation has become a further mechanism through which dominant groups and institutions navigate the continually shifting spaces of education, positively privileging particularly resourced groups over others, thereby increasing stratification within our education systems.

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Claire Maxwell is Reader in Sociology of Education at UCL Institute of Education, University College London. She has written widely on elite and private education—with a focus on England—and theorising the intersections between agency, privilege and affect in young women. Her recent work can be found in *Elite Education* (2016), *Sociology*, *L'Année sociologique*, *British Journal of Sociology of Education* and *The Sociological Review*.