# Chapter 2
# Out and About in Global Cities


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**Abstract** This chapter considers childhood in the context of global cities, taking the space of the city as a site of everyday life and its multiplicity of cultural practices. Informed by cultural theory concerned with spatial practices, the practice of place, and the ways that everyday life is implicated in the formation of culture (Certeau, 1984), and drawing on the work of scholars from the transdisciplinary field of global studies, the chapter explores how social imaginaries of the global city are enmeshed within broader contexts, cultures and world events. Through a discussion of city spaces, events and activities available to children in the public spaces of global cities, local histories and everyday practices of art, politics, play and culture are shown to extend beyond what might otherwise be designated as "local", and to instead be porous to the space and time of elsewhere. Images from galleries, museums and parks illustrate multiple entanglements between embodied practices in children's lifeworlds and social imaginaries of global childhoods, which in turn take place in dialogue with dynamic global forces that continue to shape social imaginaries of global childhoods.

**Keywords** Global childhoods · Global cities · Spatial practices · Porosity · Lifeworlds

A concern of the *Global Childhoods* project has been the ways that education policy and practices intersect with children's everyday school experiences and their learning and lives beyond the classroom. The research has endeavoured to better understand these intersections, and it brings two key concepts—global cities and global childhoods—into dialogue, contributing both to empirical and theoretical aspects of the study. This chapter considers how these concepts, together with theories of spatial and representational practices, can be drawn upon to inform our thinking about how everyday childhoods, global cities and researcher positionalities intersect to

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shape understandings about the texts and practices of place and space. Following this discussion of some of the conceptual terrain (Certeau, 1984; Pink, 2015; Sassen, 2005; Wolfrum, 2018) in which the study is located, the chapter explores how visual texts, built and natural environments contribute to dynamic and continually evolving meanings about contemporary childhoods in global cities.

Ethnographic studies for the *Global Childhoods* project were conducted in Hong Kong, Singapore and Melbourne, which we have referred to, following Saskia Sassen (2005), as "global cities". Perhaps not surprisingly, the transdisciplinary field of global studies has not reached consensus around its central terms, constructs and features, hence it is important to note that these remain the subject of ongoing debate (Steger & James, 2019). Sassen's (2005) concern with global cities usefully spans a broad range of economic, financial, technological, social and geopolitical domains characterised by "networked cross-border dynamics" (p. 40), and cities are understood as central sites around which these dynamics coalesce. This view of cities is about more than their function as financial hubs for global markets. As Sassen (2005) points out, "Major cities have emerged as a strategic site not only for global capital, but also for the transnationalization of labor and the formation of translocal communities and identities" (p. 38).

This thinking is of course situated against the broader backdrop of contemporary globalisation, and the predominance of neoliberal terms and rationalities that cast it primarily in economic terms. While an in-depth discussion of globalisation will not be undertaken here, it is important to note that globalisation has a long history (Sachs, 2020), and is hardly a new phenomenon. However, its configuration in recent decades has placed "tremendous pressure on local settings and institutions such as schools and universities, on the very nature of intellectual and pedagogical processes, and on the social subjects and lived communities formed in these domains" (Goel et al., 2021, p. 641). The persistent emphasis on the centrality of markets significantly contributes to:

> the view that globalization is largely an economic phenomenon, in which markets play a fundamental role in reconfiguring the nature of social relations. So globally ubiquitous has this mode of thinking become that it can appropriately be referred to as a "social imaginary". (Rizvi, 2017, p. 1)

Indeed, neoliberal social imaginaries that give primacy to global markets (and the wealth and power that accrue to them) have played no small part in the reconfiguration of social processes such as education in market terms in recent decades. But these imaginaries, it should be remembered, are also intertwined with other imaginaries of place and culture that long preceded those of globalised markets. This is particularly true of cities, and Sassen's positioning of global cities as sites not just of commerce and trade, but of community and culture, calls to mind the ways that cities have come to represent a vast array of competing and contrasting ideals and imaginaries.

Literature, for example, as von der Thüsen (2005) points out "has both celebrated the city as the supreme expression of wealth, of energy, of the amalgam of living styles and, conversely, as representative of modern society's ills, its anonymity, egotism, oppression and anxiety" (p. 2). Sassen's positioning of global cities as sites

of community and culture calls to mind the long history of cities as places of human activity, and the relationships between people and place that refuse to be defined in wholly economic terms, such that "On the symbolic level, the city is seen as an image of something larger than the city itself" (von der Thüsen, 2005, p. 1). Importantly, Highmore (2014) cautions against trying to understand notions of the city in ways that would "separate the physical presence of the city from all those metaphors, tropes, and complexes of representation through which the city is lived" (p. 26). Thus, in this consideration of global cities, social, spatial, symbolic and physical (both natural and built) structures are understood as being porous (Wolfrum et al., 2018) to one another, to global forces, and to the interconnected web of people, practices, histories and politics of both "here" and "elsewhere".

## 2.1 Childhoods, Education and Global Cities in Dialogue

But what of *childhoods* in the metaphorical and material contexts of global cities? The sociology of childhood has done much to shift understandings about the changing nature of childhood both as a social construct and as a relational category of lived experience, or as Prout and James (1990) put it, "the social institution of childhood: an actively negotiated set of social relationships within which the early years of human life are constituted" (p. 7). Understanding childhood in this way invites considerations of the discursive interplay between context, culture, representation and experience—in other words, between the material, symbolic and affective aspects of childhood in "the practices of everyday life" (Certeau, 1984) and its relational, spatiotemporal and geopolitical domains.

While the focus of the *Global Childhoods* project is on childhoods in global cities, it is important to note that the impact of global forces is not felt only in cities. Indeed, as Karen Wells (2021) rightly points out, the reach of global forces extends to political economies, childhoods and lifeworlds everywhere. Of particular interest here, however, are the ways that discourses of childhood in global cities reflect a different kind of "normative global child" (Cregan & Cuthbert, 2014) than that which emerged out of children's rights, welfare and protection-based discourses that underpin the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989), and which are at the centre of numerous child advocacy campaigns and interventions in which childhood is invoked "as a kind of sacred icon of global civil society" (Nieuwenhuys, 2010, p. 294). A wide range of visual and policy texts, including those from the study sites of Hong Kong, Singapore and Australia (e.g.: Crome & Saltmarsh, 2022; Saltmarsh & Lee, 2021), also construct the normative child in terms that are less concerned with childhoods in need of improved rights and material conditions, and more focused on conveying a sense of childhood as a site of optimism, opportunity, enjoyment and self-actualisation.

For example, Saltmarsh and Lee (2021) observe that many early childhood education policy texts pertaining to children, education, learning and play, rely heavily on depictions of smiling, laughing, happy children "as though happiness can be both

assumed and obliged" (p. 308). The normative child in this respect is constructed in ways that overtly suggest and tacitly imply that individual success and happiness are co-implicated, and fall within the purview of governments to secure for national social and economic benefit. Within these contexts, the pervasiveness of contemporary neoliberal ideals in what Wells (2021) refers to as a particularly Western "globalizing model of childhood" (p. 13), highlights the persistence of economic discourse across multiple domains of everyday life. Wells (2021) argues that "This model of childhood constructs healthy childhood as one that orientates children towards independence rather than interdependence and towards school-based rather than work-based learning, and separates them from the wider forces of politics, economy and society" (p. 13). Indeed, a key epistemological concern of this project lies in how these pervasive discourses tether learning and economic participation to well-being and success, taking inadequate account of the "*multiplicity of cultural places*" (Certeau, 1997, p. 66, original emphasis) across which agentive, meaningful lifeworlds traverse.

For Sassen (2004), it is noted that global cities also "help people experience themselves as part of global nonstate networks as they live their daily lives. They enact some version of the global in the micro-spaces of daily life rather than on some putative global stage" (p. 651). For children growing up in the porosity of global cities (Wolfrum, 2018; Wolfrum et al., 2018; Zöhrer, 2018), the spaces and activities of everyday lifeworlds are porous to the ubiquity of "elsewhere", and the international "flows" of people, capital, technologies, images and ideas (Appadurai, 1996) that give global cities their distinctive character. But they are also porous to local ways of being, knowing and doing, to culturally specific as well as culturally diverse logics and practices, positionalities, histories and anticipated futures within which the "here and now" is also situated. It is here, in the intersection and interconnectedness between the global and the local, that we can explore dimensions of lifeworlds that are available to children in the public spaces, activities and events of global cities.

Such a consideration is necessarily partial and incomplete, reflecting the impermanence that characterises images and activities in public domains, disparities of social, cultural and financial capital that so often determine access and participation, as well as the contingent and serendipitous nature of so much ethnographic work (Rivoal & Salazar, 2013). The following section begins with a brief discussion of the theoretical and methodological orientations to this topic, before turning to a consideration of everyday images from cities where the *Global Childhoods* project was conducted.

## 2.2 Walking in Cities: Researching (In, and Out of) Place

The analysis undertaken in this chapter is informed by cultural theories that emphasise the importance of moving across epistemological borders and boundaries, acknowledging that "The practices of knowledge are always trans-disciplinary in the sense that they involve contexts, methods, and instruments institutionally assigned to

different disciplines" (Bergonzi et al., 2014, p. 416). Transdisciplinary knowledge work has considerable resonance with the *Global Childhoods* project, which has involved a team of transnational collaborators researching in global cities. This chapter focuses on the ways that the metaphor of travel has been taken up in the humanities and social sciences to explore the connections between conceptual and geographic mobilities. Kenway and Fahey (2009), for example, refer to this in terms of the "travelling research imagination", which they see as involving both "epistemological and geographical travel" (p. 10). The metaphor of travel is an important one not just for researching across transnational and epistemological borders, but also for the analysis of cultural texts, signalling how theoretical concepts "can now travel across disciplines creating an extended field of contemporary cultural thinking" (Pollock & Bal, 2007, p. xv). In this way of thinking, then, travel "becomes the unstable ground of cultural analysis" (Bal, 2007, p. 1), as the nature of interdisciplinary inquiry not only constructs objects in particular ways, but also unsettles, unmakes and reconfigures both the original conceptions of the objects as well as the questions that have been asked in relation to them.

Here we are particularly interested in how visual methodologies and ethnographic techniques can be brought into "encounter" (Pollock & Bal, 2007) in ways that simultaneously construct, problematise and rethink cultural texts and practices from multiple perspectives. As cultural analyst Bal (2007) argues, "You do not apply one method; you conduct a meeting between several, a meeting in which the object participates so that, together, object and methods can become a new, not firmly delineated, field" (p. 1). Recognising that analysis is itself implicated in constructing its objects of inquiry, such an approach is not inconsistent with that of Certeau, for whom methodology "is a way of being in, and communicating with and about the world—a contact zone for the writing of culture, rather than the analysing of culture per se" (Saltmarsh, 2015, p. 34). As is the case with the *Global Childhoods* project, this orientation acknowledges the work of research collaborators in creating, collecting, archiving and interpreting visual texts of relevance to a particular study as itself a cultural practice. This enables researchers to query their own research traditions and positionalities, and to investigate how cultural images and practices might be brought into encounter with broader social landscapes and imaginaries in multiple ways, rather than—as is sometimes the case in transnational studies—endeavouring to compare sites, or alternatively, to produce coherent narratives about each study site. Such an approach supports considerations of the ways in which multiplicities of place and culture in everyday life intersect with multiplicities of researcher perspectives, and the implications of these multiplicities for international and interdisciplinary research practice.

As interdisciplinary researchers interested in the connections between childhood, education and culture, our team's research in global cities has necessarily involved engagement with questions of travel in this epistemological sense, which in turn informs thinking here with respect to the embodied practices of space and place. For Pink (2015), "the idea of place as lived but open invokes the inevitable question of how researchers themselves are entangled in, participate in the production of, and are co-present in the ethnographic places they share with research participants, their

materialities and power relations" (pp. 33–34). Travelling to, between and within the lived but open places of global cities is one means by which we can experience and stage encounters between these "shared entanglements" (Pink, 2015), in both a geographical and epistemological sense. The public spaces of playgrounds, shopping centres, museums and galleries, train stations, buses and city streets are familiar to those on our research team, both in the places where each live and work, as well as those in which they may only be temporary visitors. They have also, at different points in the collaboration, occupied spaces as outsiders "looking in", and at other times, as insiders "looking out". Like other inhabitants and visitors, they are, as Certeau (1984) puts it "ordinary practitioners of the city" (p. 93), for whom spatiality can be understood not just as a site or category of analysis, but as also entangled within "a larger cultural construct incorporating the play between social, imagined and represented spaces" (Pollock, 2003, p. xxxv). Certeau's consideration of walking through the city illustrates how walkers use, and therefore create the space of the city as a "practiced place":

> if it is true that a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities **...** then the walker actualizes some of these possibilities. In that way he makes them exist as well as emerge. But he also moves them about and he invents others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements. (1984, p. 98)

Importantly, the "practices of place" by various members of our research team as they have walked through global cities, observed, photographed and later compared images, ideas and interpretations, continue to work their way into research publications that endeavour to narrate these observations, experiences and meaning-making practices. Yet, Certeau (1984) notes that these "stories about places are makeshift things" whose "heterogeneous and even contrary elements fill the homogeneous form of the story" (p. 107). To further explain, Certeau notes:

> Things *extra* and *other* (details and excesses coming from elsewhere) insert themselves into the accepted framework, the imposed order. One thus has the very relationship between spatial practices and the constructed order. The surface of this order is everywhere punched and torn open by ellipses, drifts, and leaks of meaning: it is a sieve-order. (1984, p. 107)

So it is that ethnographers, in particular, undertake spatial practices that are partial and fragmentary, and whose meanings and "leaks of meanings" tell partial stories. These, in turn, may involve serendipitous, unplanned or accidental moments in field research (Fujii, 2014; Rivoal & Salazar, 2013), the importance of which "lies not in what they tell us about the particular, but what they suggest about the larger political and social world in which they (and the researcher) are embedded" (Fujii, 2014, p. 525). These embedded stories and entanglements occur in dialogue with the everyday "public habitat of images" (Rose, 1999, p. 86), both informing and informed by the broader global flow not only of neoliberal rationalities but also individual, familial, cultural and social practices of place, everyday life and childhoods in global cities.

## 2.3 Out and About: Spaces, Places and Times

For many, the very concept of a city calls to mind its provision in the public domain—those locations, buildings, structures, institutions and public facilities that exist beyond the private spaces of homes and the shared yet relatively contained spaces of schools and classrooms. However, architects and urban planners argue for an understanding of cities as porous (Wolfrum et al., 2018), with the notion of porosity helping to bridge "architectural features and qualities of the built environment on the one side and the socially produced space of a complex urban society on the other" (Wolfrum, 2018, p. 17). Chapters in this and other volumes in this series address questions of children's everyday lives, documenting examples of homelife through re-enactments of their after-school activities, and through ethnographic visits to their schools and classrooms. Through that work, we considered the intersections and considerable porosity between children's school and out-of-school activities.

However, this section builds on the idea of porosity to suggest that just as the spaces between public and private, natural and built, learning and leisure, are porous, so too are the encounters and "shared entanglements" (Pink, 2015) that take place within and in relation to them. These may be physical encounters with co-present others, such as when attending sport or playing at the park, or they may be a/synchronous, technologically mediated encounters with others. In addition to the porosity created through television, movies, internet and other popular culture in global circulation, porosity between self and other/elsewhere can also occur through shared or intersecting histories, music, art and other sites of meaning-making and the making of lifeworlds. The analysis that follows considers examples from, first, galleries and museums, providing brief snapshots of the ways that children are invited to engage, together with their families, in local and global entanglements. The analysis then moves on to consider outdoor play spaces, and the ways that the COVID-19 pandemic has not only shaped what is or is not possible under shifting public health restrictions, but has also brought entanglements between local and global into sharp focus in the everyday lives of children growing up in global cities.

The images below, taken in 2019 during a visit to Hong Kong, and then Singapore, provide a small sample of ways in which visitors to galleries and museums are invited to engage with both local and global. At the National Gallery of Singapore (NGS), for example, children and families walk together through a wide range of artworks, artefacts and exhibits, some of which are interactive and others which are experienced as architectural features. For example, the walkway in Figs. 2.1 and 2.2 begins with a wooden ramp up to a plexiglass covered opening that creates the optical illusion of stepping into/onto a starry void, followed by another that leads over the top of carefully curated artefacts and seemingly endless stacks of books. The illusion creates a sense of self in relation to a broader universe of stars and endless space, but also of human history, art and literature.

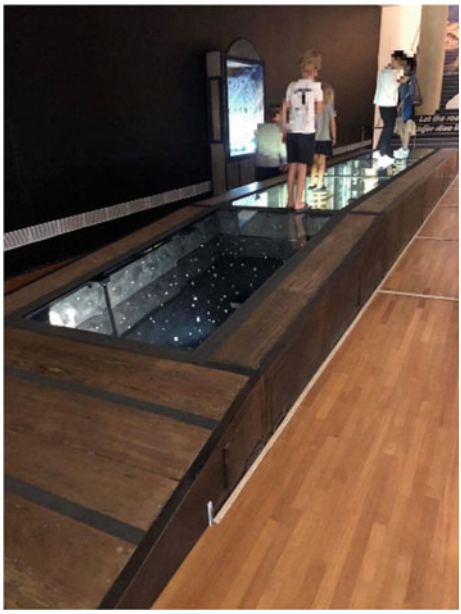

**Fig. 2.1** Walkway over illusion of starry void, NGS

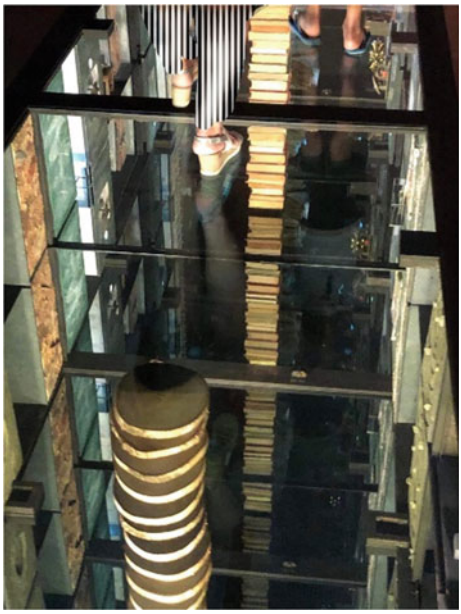

**Fig. 2.2** Walkway over artifacts and stacked books, NGS

**Fig. 2.3** Music installation, NGS

**Fig. 2.4** Art talk with visitors to NGS

Figure 2.3, on the other hand, is an interactive music installation as part of the second Gallery Children's Biennale held in 2019,[1] with soft balls that children can throw at the chimes to create musical sounds. Through engagements with activities and events such as these hosted by public galleries, museums and so on, "the uniqueness or new-ness of the materiality of a museum can open up possibilities for the unexpected, or for improvisatory practice to unfold" (Hackett et al., 2018, p. 484). Similarly, Fig. 2.4 shows a scene with a speaker giving a participatory public talk to visiting children and parents on the political nature of art, inviting them to think about the ways that certain sculptures and paintings might cause visitors to the gallery to think about people and ideas that impact on lives in different parts of the world.

[1] https://www.nationalgallery.sg/see-do/programme-detail/28983205/gallery-children039s-biennale-2019-embracing-wonder.

Families accompany children through these installations and activities, a reminder that meaning-making practices in these public spaces are not just individual experiences, but are shaped in the context of the visitor group. As Kirk and Buckingham have elaborated "the children are visiting the museum within the social context of their families, and other members of the group influence many aspects of the children's lives, including their interests and areas of focus within the museum" (2018, p. 59). To this could be added, that these shared experiences with families and others speak also to shared encounters with life beyond home and family, and the significance of these to children's everyday lifeworlds.

A similar example from Hong Kong pertains to the exhibition titled "Botticelli and His Times"[2] was a highly anticipated public event in Hong Kong following a months-long period in which public museums, galleries, playgrounds and other facilities had been closed in the Hong Kong government's efforts to contain the COVID-19 pandemic. For children and families in Hong Kong, including those who participated in our study, and members of our research team, getting "out and about" in their global city had been significantly curtailed, due to lockdowns, school closures and other measures impacting on the daily lives of Hong Kong residents. The exhibition marked an important collaboration between the Hong Kong Museum of Art (MOA) and the Ufizzi Gallery in Florence, Italy, and featured works by Botticelli, Perugino, di Credi and other Italian Renaissance masters. Attending had the air of celebration—despite the necessary electronic sign-ins and social distancing measures—and brought spatial practices of the city into dialogue with the travel of images and ideas.

As visitors made their way past the final artworks in the exhibition, they came upon an interactive display, featuring easels and drawing supplies, walls bearing openings surrounded by empty frames through which they could have their photos taken, and a life-size cut-out of Lorenzo di Credi's Venus, next to which was placed a rack of clothing items that children could use to clothe the largely naked Venus (Figs. 2.5–2.8).

The quiet solemnity of the exhibition showcasing some of Europe's most significant art works, gave way to this playful, interactive space, and in so doing created encounters in which children could exercise agency and creativity as participants in a global art event. The humour of dressing the naked Venus with modern-day clothing was not lost on children, and there was much amusement as they conferred with parents and siblings, transforming the nude Venus into a parody sporting an array of sneakers, t-shirts and other items. In the immediate moment, the elsewhere was not elsewhere at all—its porosity was entangled with the local and the tangible, rendering it malleable within the terms of children growing up in a contemporary Asian global city.

Just as porosity in cities can be seen and experienced in carefully curated interior architectural spaces, it is also at work in other, less formal spaces such as gardens, parks and other venues for outdoor leisure. Parks and play areas designed for children are a good example, given the extent to which they are frequented by families, offering

[2] https://hk.art.museum/en_US/web/ma/exhibitions-and-events/botticelli-and-his-times-masterworks-from-the-uffizi.html.

**Fig. 2.5** Interactive display for children's drawing, MOA

**Fig. 2.6** Interactive display with replica of Botticelli's Portrait of a Young Woman, MOA

an informal relational space for family time, where children can run, climb and play. Zöhrer describes the porosity between private and public in this way:

> With the aim of enabling communication, interaction, and improvisation, the concept of the porous city provides architecturally designed elements of pervasion and multiple-coded spaces on all different levels and scales. These elements are not buildings, objects, or architectural artifacts but rather thresholds or transitions, created as relational spaces connecting the inside with the outside or the private with the public. (2018, pp. 58–59)

What may be interesting to consider is the extent to which such spaces also function in the porosity between here and elsewhere. In global cities such as Hong Kong, cultural diversity is woven into the everyday, and linguistic, ethnic, socioeconomic and other categories of difference are porous to interconnected histories and continually renegotiated cultures both local and global. A useful example is seen in the parks and playgrounds closed off from public use for extended periods of time after the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic. Benches where parents, grandparents and

**Fig. 2.7** Choosing clothes for replica of Lorenzo di Credi's Venus, MOA

**Fig. 2.8** Dressing replica of Lorenzo di Credi's Venus, MOA

helpers typically sit while children play on equipment were largely roped off, sometimes leaving available room for only one person to sit. Not that it much mattered, because playground equipment, too, was taped or netted to prevent its use, as seen in Figs. 2.9–2.12 below.

As noted elsewhere in this edited collection, when the *Global Childhoods* project commenced, the fieldwork was conducted prior to several major events that would subsequently contribute to our thinking about the changing nature of childhood both as a social construct and as a relational category of lived experience. Walking through Hong Kong's many parks during the pandemic, I have watched with interest as children wearing masks play with balls, scooters and bikes, as roped off playgrounds function as perpetual if silent reminders of the intersection of the local with the global. For children and families, the closure of outdoor spaces was also coextensive with school closures and social distancing measures, restricting play, interaction and the practice of place in everyday lifeworlds—a disruption between "spatial practices and the constructed order" (Certeau, 1984, p. 107). Recent research conducted in Europe (e.g. Venter et al., 2020; Weinbrenner et al., 2021) and in global cities in Asia (e.g. Lu et al., 2021), shows that for many families affected by pandemic restrictions, public outdoor spaces were practised in a variety of ways. In some cases, proximity to nature parks and urban forest during lockdowns and social distancing measures offered alternatives both for social interaction as well as engagement with the natural world as a site of exercise, learning and creativity:

**Fig. 2.9** Netted stairs on children's play equipment in a Hong Kong playground during pandemic

**Fig. 2.10** Roped off slide on Hong Kong children's playground during pandemic

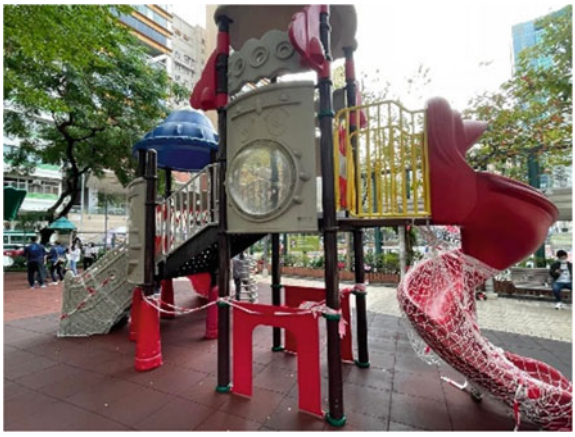

**Fig. 2.11** Hong Kong children's playground blocked from access during pandemic

> for many families that had to care for their children at home, the forest became a kindergarten and a playground. Many young participants no longer met with friends in cafés but in the forest. Gyms were moved into the forest. Off the trails, people used tree stumps to meditate on them. By providing many opportunities for very different activities, the forest serves as a substitute—or functional equivalent—on many levels. (Weinbrenner et al., 2021, n.p.)

Even during periods when facilities such as play equipment were inaccessible, the use of green spaces increased during the pandemic, and has been associated with social resilience and a greater sense of social cohesion (Lu et al., 2021).

**Fig. 2.12** Roped off ramp leading onto children's play equipment on Hong Kong playground during pandemic

The porosity of the city, its built and natural environments and its public and private spaces, and the lifeworlds of its inhabitants, are everywhere entangled with global events and their shaping of a shared world history. Here, in parks and playgrounds restricted from use, is an example of how even that which is closed off, visible yet inaccessible, can function in terms of the "lived but open" (Pink, 2015, p. 33) space of the global city. Elsewhere, I have argued (Saltmarsh, 2022) that childhood, both as a social category and constructed imaginary, is necessarily inseparable from the broader actualities within which it is situated. In order to understand the porosity of global cities (Wolfrum, 2018), one needs to only look into the ways that "here" and "elsewhere" are entangled in both tangible and symbolic ways at sites designed for and used by children.

## 2.4 Conclusion

Being "out and about" is part of the everyday lifeworlds of children growing up in global cities. While the term "global cities" is used throughout this book in reference to the cities where the *Global Childhoods* project was conducted, it is important to acknowledge the porosity within and between the cities at the centre of our research. As images from galleries, museums and parks illustrate, the spatial practices of children and families in these global cities are enmeshed in broader contexts, cultures and world events than what might otherwise be designated as "local". Similarly, local histories and everyday practices of art, politics, play and culture speak into the space and time of elsewhere. This chapter, therefore, suggests a reconsideration of such dichotomies, drawing instead on notions of porosity and entanglement, in order to explore multiple entanglements between the ways that embodied everyday practices in children's lifeworlds take place in dialogue with dynamic global forces that continue to shape social imaginaries of global childhoods.

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