

***Mobilities and Pedagogy: Introduction***

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The past decade or so has seen a proliferation of introductions, handbooks and companions to mobilities studies, all of which have played a crucial role in defining and developing the field. [1] These overviews have proven especially important in maintaining the purpose and integrity of mobilities scholarship as it has expanded into a multidisciplinary phenomenon whose status ('paradigm'? 'subject area'? 'field'?) has become increasingly hard to pin down (see James Faulconbridge and Allison Hui's introduction to *Traces of a Mobile Field* (2017) for further discussion of this).[2] Over time, these multiple applications and interventions have added ever more depth and complexity to what mobilities - as an interpretative framework - can achieve, but its popularisation has not been without risk. For example, there has been a tendency within (some) humanities research for 'mobility' to be understood merely as synonym for movement (e.g., transport, travel, migration etc) rather than the complex system of power-inscribed social, discursive and political mobile practices envisaged by Tim Cresswell, Mimi Sheller, John Urry and Peter Adey (albeit in slightly different ways). [3] Handbooks, encyclopaedia and special issues are thus invaluable in keeping the principles that first informed mobilities scholarship in view to new generations of scholars, and it is our hope that this double issue - on mobilities and/as pedagogy - will make a distinctive contribution to these ongoing debates. As every teacher knows, the 'classroom' (broadly conceived) is the one place where it is impossible to 'fudge' what a concept - or body of knowledge - means and why it matters, and we believe the nine papers gathered together here make an excellent case for why attention to pedagogy is a sure means of maintaining the rigour, as well as the innovation, of mobilities scholarship. Although the second decade of mobilities research gave rise to several important publications on 'mobile methods' more widely (see Note 1), this is the first publication to focus specifically on pedagogy, despite the fact most of us who conduct research in the field also incorporate it into our teaching and public engagement work.

‘Mobilities’ has featured on the academic curriculum in the UK for over two decades, with the founding proponents of the ‘mobilities turn’ - John Urry (Lancaster University) and Tim Cresswell (then at Royal Holloway) - both offering Masters’ modules on the topic from the early 2000s (see also Adey and Cook in 13.2). Indeed, the fact that mobilities has been taught for almost as long as it has been researched speaks volumes for its dynamism and appeal as a topic and reminds us of the role that generations of students - many of them now mobilities scholars in their own right - have played in developing core concepts and applications. With this long history in mind, we are especially pleased to headline the two issues with Judith Nicholson’s account of the first-ever mobilities pedagogy conference which took place at the University of Waterloo (Ontario, Canada) in 2018. This event brought together many of the world’s leading mobilities scholars, most of whom had already been teaching the subject for over a decade by this point. As a result, Nicholson’s reflections on the conversations which took place at the symposium provide us with rare insight into the crucial role practice-based learning has played in shaping the innovative theories and methods which have come to characterise the field. The word that best captures this dynamic intersection of theory, method and pedagogy is ‘experiment’, and Nicholson’s article documents several of the ingenious methods the symposium participants had devised to make their teaching exciting, thought-provoking and relevant.

Fuelling this experimentation is, of course, the dynamic multi-disciplinarity of mobilities research which has fed through into how the subject is taught. As editors, we are aware that mobilities concepts and approaches now feature on university curricula that span a wide expanse of subject areas in the arts, humanities and social sciences; for example: literary and cultural studies; film studies; visual art/arts practice; history; criminology, politics; tourism; planning and development - as well as those subjects - such as sociology, geography and transport history - which are thought of as the field’s parent disciplines. While some of the disciplines that are relatively new to the field - such as literary studies and history (outside of transport history) - are still at the stage of primarily engaging with the field through useful concepts (e.g., mobility/immobility, moorings and constellations),<sup>[4]</sup> it is striking how those which led the mobilities turn - notably sociology and geography - have embraced practice-led research in the visual (and other) arts to expand their range of methods and, indeed, pedagogies.

In recent times, the publications of artists Jen Southern and Kaya Barry have been especially influential in this respect,[5] and mobilities-related research grants now regularly include arts-practice elements.[6] Such practical engagements with mobility readily translate into innovative pedagogy, and our double special section includes a cluster of articles from colleagues based in the Centre for Mobility Humanities at the University of Padua (Italy) (Cisani, Rabbiosi, Peterle) where the teaching of geography and literary studies have been transformed by the adoption of methods associated with arts practice (from immersive field-work, to video-film making, to situated reading and walking practices). For scholars - and students - working with *representations* of mobilities (e.g. literature, film and cultural studies) there nevertheless remain some challenging methodological questions regarding how textual sources can be used to speak to 'real-world' mobilities given that the mobilities featured in fictional works frequently serve a narratological and metaphorical rather than a mimetic function.[7] It is therefore important that we remain alert to discipline-specific objectives and constraints, and recognise that it is not always possible to import research conducted in one field to another without first thinking carefully about the methodological premises upon which each is based.

As will be seen, a particular feature of this double special section is the international scope of the contributions. As editors, we were delighted that the response to our call for papers spanned three continents (Continental Europe, North America/South America, South Africa) as well as the UK. Not only does this speak to the globalisation of mobilities studies over the past decade, but also the diversity and decolonisation agendas which have informed mobilities studies from its inception and which remain at the forefront of many pedagogical concerns. Indeed, in her recent *Advanced Introduction to Mobilities*, Mimi Sheller argues powerfully for the way in which the world's most pressing emergency - climate change - is underpinned by issues of mobility justice that can *always* be traced back to ethnic and national inequalities. [8] This reminds us that all mobilities research - whether ostensibly about issues of equality and diversity or not - is, by definition, geo-politically and historically situated in some way. We therefore welcome the fact that our two issues feature three articles from the Global South (South Africa and South America) as they highlight the extent to which the histories of mobility and immobility can 'mean' very differently to non-Western subjects.

Further, the idea for commissioning this collection of articles on mobilities and pedagogy arose directly from Sarah Gibson's first-hand experience of teaching mobilities-informed courses (see article 13.1 following) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa in a context that would be very alien to most Western academics (e.g., class size and social demographic). It was the fact that mobility - as a pedagogic tool - has proven so *relatable* and engaging for this student body that caused Sarah to reflect that the time had come for mobilities scholars to evaluate the success of their analytic frameworks pedagogically as well as intellectually. What two-decades' worth of mobilities scholarship has unquestionably shown is that mobility is a concept that 'travels well' and has the capacity to engage current and future generations of students from all over the globe where more abstract and remote theories and approaches have failed. As Bradley Rink's article (13.1 following) demonstrates, it is never difficult to persuade students of the *relevance* of mobilities to their own lives - the challenge is to make a case for why we should spend so much time thinking about it.

### **Mobilities in and out of the classroom**

Rink was also one of the first scholars to identify the need for *reflective teaching practice* within mobilities studies, arguing that it was a logical development following on from the expansion of scholarship on mobile methodologies. Rink has perceptively argued that 'the question is not whether we *should* teach mobilities theory, but *how* we should go about doing it for the greatest impact.' [9] The question of *how* to teach mobilities highlights the importance of pedagogy within the development of mobilities studies. Questions of pedagogy are important as they are concerned not just with teaching practice but with the process of knowledge production. In his article 'Why Pedagogy?', David Lusted argues that pedagogy is important as it

addresses the 'how' questions involved not only in the transmission or reproduction of knowledge but also in its production. Indeed, it enables us to question the validity of separating these activities so easily by asking under what conditions and through what means we 'come to know'. [10]

The question of knowledge and knowing production was highlighted at the very inception of mobilities studies, where Mimi Sheller and John Urry questioned ‘how are our very modes of “knowing” being transformed by the very “mobiles” processes that we wish to study.’ [11]

As noted above, mobility, pedagogy and method articulate in multiple ways.[12] Indeed, the word ‘method’ etymologically reference teaching as it is derived from the Latin *methodus* meaning a way of teaching or going about, originating from the Greek *hodos*, meaning a road, a way or a pathway.[13] Yet while these mobile research methodologies have been transformed across ‘disciplinary, pedagogic and dissemination spaces’ [14], questions of pedagogy remain implicit rather than explicit in mobilities scholarship. This is a notable absence given that the term ‘pedagogy’ has always been associated with mobility (Cisani, 13.1 following). Again, the etymological origins of the term are revealing as pedagogy derives from the Greek word *pais* (child) and *agogos* (leader), with the *paidagogos* being a slave who walked (escorted or led) children to school. [15] Similarly, the word ‘curriculum’ has its etymological origins from the Latin *currere*, meaning ‘to run the course.’ [16] In fact, William F. Pinar suggests it is better to think of curriculum as a verb (*currere*) as this draws more attention to ‘the lived experience of the curriculum’ as opposed to the stasis implied in the planned curriculum. [17] Mobility, then, has always been central to education through its curriculum, methods, and pedagogy.

Whilst many traditional notions of the curriculum are static and sedentary in that any curriculum is an attempt ‘to *fix* a body of knowledge,’ it is important for us to reimagine the curriculum as ‘dynamic, open, flexible and without borders.’ [18] A static curriculum is often a ‘settled curriculum’ that is an effect of its settler colonial origins. [19] Rather than seeing a canonisation of mobilities scholarship as fixed within a curriculum, it is important reflect on how we, as mobilities scholars, can reflect on and contribute to an ‘engaged curriculum for higher education’ that is implicitly mobile and mobilising [20] This is especially true in the current context of debates on the transformation and decolonisation of the curriculum and higher education more widely.

Stasis and stillness (immobility) are often assumed in educational settings such as the classroom, laboratory, or lecture theatre. In discussions of teaching and learning,

it is the (indoor) classroom that is assumed to be the space in which teaching and learning takes place. Stillness (in the classroom) is frequently regarded as an ‘embodied disposition for scholarly engagement [and] the necessary precondition for academic success.’ [21] **Across the two issues, there are multiple - and varied - examples of mobilities scholars who have literally taken mobilities scholarship out of the classroom and replaced stillness and static with movement and exploration. For many of our authors, this is through the deployment of innovative fieldwork and auto/ethnography. For Rink and Gibson (see 13.1 following), both teaching in South Africa, this has meant prioritising student-centred (‘authentic’) learning which makes visible the power-inscribed role of mobility in everyday life and (in the case of Sarah’s module on South-African battlefields) the nation’s history. Meanwhile, back in continental Europe, Suzy Blondin and Justine Letouzey-Pasquier (also 13.1 following), report on the success of a Swiss teacher-training scheme in Switzerland which explored the benefits of fieldwork-based geography for primary school children, while Margherita Cisani (Italy) reflects upon two very different learning situations (secondary school and adult informal education) in which participants were invited to explore their embodied response to the landscape through cycling and walking respectively.**

However, it is also important not to conflate stillness in the classroom with passive-learning, and mobility with active-learning in a monolithic way. In a frequently-cited discussion of mobile methods published in 2014, Peter Merriman identified a tendency to conflate ‘methods for mobilities research’ with ‘mobile methods.’ [22] Similarly, as editors of this collection, we do not wish to conflate ‘pedagogies of mobility’ with ‘mobile pedagogies.’ Whilst Rink’s identification of the ‘pedagogies of mobility’ focuses on how to teach mobilities, [23] these pedagogies for mobilities research are not necessarily equivalent to ‘mobile pedagogies (Gibson, 13.1) or practice-based learning that has been inspired by the wide range of ‘mobile methods’ developed by Buscher and others. [24] Teaching and learning mobilities does not necessarily require the abandonment of conventional approaches to teaching and learning such as the classroom setting. However, teaching and learning on the move can offer innovative pedagogies for studying mobilities.

Before we conclude this introduction, it is also important that we situate our collections of articles within several related, but not integrated, disciplinary-specific

debates that also engage with learning and mobility. Indeed, there has recently been a turn to mobilities within education studies which has paid attention to ‘student mobilities’ [25] as well as the ‘academic mobilities’ of teaching staff. [26] Mobile metaphors have also been understood as a way of conceptualising the doctoral journey. [27] In addition, there has also been the contemporaneous discussion of ‘mobile learning’ (*m-learning*) and the related ‘critical mobile pedagogy’ which explores the integration of mobile media such as smartphones, tablets, and laptops into teaching and learning. [28] Similarly, within instructional research and design, there have also been important discussions on the need to develop a genre of teaching and learning termed ‘Learning on the Move’ [LOM.] that is characterised by viewing mobility as both content and process for teaching and learning. [29]

But teaching and learning ‘on the move’ (whether through physical movement or through the affordances of mobile media) is by no means the sole focus of this collection of articles gathered here. Rather, it is our hope that, taken together, this wonderfully diverse set of papers will make visible what has been taking place in our schools and universities, on a daily basis, for well over a decade and, in the process, dispel what Lee Schulman once described as the risk of ‘pedagogical solitude’. [30] Further, this is a collection which demonstrates just how inextricable mobilities research is from mobilities teaching and learning as evidenced by the fact that so many leading scholars in the field were keen to contribute. As such, the collection aims to continue the conversations already begun in disciplinary-specific contexts (see note 31 for examples) on the reflexivity required to consolidate and advance the benefits of mobilising pedagogy. Here it is important to register that these critically-aware conversations on mobilities and pedagogy have already begun to take place in disciplines such as Geography, Criminology, Sociology, Social Work, and Journalism [31] The collection thus aims to further open up this conversation on pedagogy and mobilities, critical reflections that contribute to the scholarship of teaching and learning mobilities, in ways which will which will hopefully result in improved student learning, improved quality of teaching as well as the production of enriching ‘new knowledge’ within mobilities scholarship itself.

## Notes

1. Peter Adey, *Mobility* (1st edition) (London and New York: Routledge, 2010); Monica Buscher, John Urry and K. Witchger (eds), *Mobile Methods* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011); Peter Adey, David Bissell, Keith Hannam, Peter Merriman and Mimi Sheller (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities* (London: Routledge, 2014); Marian Aguiar, Charlotte Mathieson and Lynne Pearce (eds), *Mobilities, Literature, Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Ole B. Jensen, Claus Lassen, Vincent Kaufmann, Malene Fruedendal-Pedersen and Ida Sofie Gotzsche Lange (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Urban Mobilities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2020); Monika Buscher, Malene Freudendal-Pedersen, Sven Kesselring and Nikolaj Grauslund Kristensen (eds), *Handbook of Research Methods and Applications for Mobilities* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2020); David Lambert and Peter Merriman (eds), *Empire and Mobility in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020); Mimi Sheller, *Advanced Introduction to Mobilities* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2021); Peter Adey and Kaya Barry, *Encyclopaedia of Mobilities* (forthcoming).
2. James Faulconbridge and Allison Hui (eds), *Traces of a Mobile Field: Ten Years of Mobilities Research* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017)
3. Inter alia: Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Western World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); Mimi Sheller and John Urry, “The New Mobilities Paradigm,” *Environment and Planning A*, 38 (2006): 207-226; John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007); Peter Adey, *Mobility* (1st edition) (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).
4. See Lynne Pearce’s review of *Empire and Mobility in the Long Nineteenth Century*, *Journal of Transport History*, Online First: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022526621992613> (February 2021).
5. See in particular this recent co-authored manifesto: Kaya Barry, Jen Southern et al, “An Agenda for Creative Practice in the New Mobilities Paradigm”, *Mobilities*, Online First: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2022.2136996>.
6. See for example the PUTSPACE project, “Public Transport as Public Space in European Cities: Narrating, Experiencing” (<https://putspace.eu>) and “Music, Migration and Mobility” (<https://gtr.ukri.org/projects>).



7. See Lynne Pearce, "Text as Means vs. Text as End in Itself: Some Reasons Why Literary Scholars Have Been Slow to Hop on the Mobilities Bus", *Transfers: International Journal of Mobility Studies*, 10 (1): 76-85 ; and "Mobilities" in *The Routledge Handbook of Literary Geography* (London and New York: Routledge, forthcoming).
8. Mimi Sheller, *Advanced Introduction to Mobilities* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2021).
9. Bradley Rink (2020) 'Mobilizing Theory through Practice: Authentic Learning in Teaching Mobilities', *Journal of Geography in Education* 44(1), pp.108-123, p.109.
10. David Lusted (1986) 'Why Pedagogy?', *Screen* 27(5), pp.2-14, pp.2-3.
11. Mimi Sheller and John Urry, 'New Mobilities Paradigm', p.212.
12. Büscher, M., Freudendal-Pedersen, M., Kesselring, S. and Grauslund Kristensen, N. (eds.) (2020) *Handbook of Research Methods and Applications for Mobilities*: Edwin Elgar; Büscher, M., Urry, J. and Witchger, K. (eds.) (2010) *Mobile Methods*. London: Routledge; Fincham, B., McGuinness, M., and Murray, L. (eds) (2010) *Mobile Methodologies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
13. Keohane, K. (2023) 'A portrait of the artist as a young teacher: James Joyce's walking-talking classroom', *Irish Journal of Sociology* 31(1) pp. 142-160, p.143.
14. Adey, P. et al. (2014) Introduction, *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*, pp.1-20, p.5.
15. B. Davis *Inventions of Teaching: A Genealogy* (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), p.143-144.
16. R.L. Irwin (2006) 'Walking to Create an Aesthetic and Spiritual Currere', *Visual Arts Research* 32(10), pp.75-82, p.77.
17. Pinar, William F. *The Character of Curriculum Studies: Bildung, Currere, and the Recurring Question of the Subject* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)
18. Nyna Amin (2016) 'Curriculum without Borders?', in *Disrupting Higher Education Curriculum: Undoing Cognitive Damage*, ed. by M.A. Samuel, R. Dhunpath, and N. Amin. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, pp.291-303, p.300.

19. Jonathan D. Jansen and Cyrill A. Walters *Decolonization of Knowledge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).
20. R. Barnett and K. Coate, *Engaging Curriculum for Higher Education* (SRHE and Open University Press, 2005)
21. Watkins M. and Noble, G. (2011) 'The Productivity of Stillness: Composure and the Scholarly Habitus,' in Bissell, D. and Fuller, G. (eds.) *Stillness in a Mobile World*, London: Routledge, pp.107-124, p.107.
22. Pete Merriman (2014) 'Rethinking Mobile Methods', *Mobilities* 9(2) pp.167-187, p.168.
23. Rink, 'Mobilizing Theory Through Practice'
24. Ananda Marin, Katie Headrick Taylor, Ben Rydal Shapiro & Rogers Hall (2020) Why Learning on the Move: Intersecting Research Pathways for Mobility, Learning and Teaching, *Cognition and Instruction*, 38(3), pp.265-280, p.273. Also see Leander, K. M., Phillips, N. C., & Taylor, K. H. (2010) The Changing Social Spaces of Learning: Mapping New Mobilities, *Review of Research in Education*, 34(1), pp.329–394; Alastair Roy, Sinan Tankut Gülhan, Dorota Bazuń and Mariusz Kwiatkowski (eds) *Knowledge on the Move: Studies on Mobile Social Education* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2023).
25. Inter alia: Chattaraj, D. and Vijayaraghavan, A.P. (2021) 'The Mobility Paradigm in Higher Education: a phenomenological study on the shift in learning space,' *Smart Learning Environments*, 8(1), pp.1-24; Ploner, J. (2017) 'Resilience, Moorings and International Student Mobilities: exploring biographical narratives of social science students in the UK,' *Mobilities*, 12(3), pp.425-444; Hannam, K. and Guereño-Omil, B. (2014) 'Educational Mobilities: Mobile Students, Mobile Knowledge,' in Dianne Dredge, David Airey, and Michael J. Gross (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and Hospitality Education*, London: Routledge, pp.143-154; Brooks, R. and Waters, J. (2016) *Student Mobilities, Migration and the Internationalization of Higher Education*, London: Palgrave Macmillan. Brooks, R. and Waters, J. (2018) *Materialities and Mobilities in Education*, London: Routledge; Kalervo N Gulson and Colin Symes (eds.) (2018) *Education and the Mobility Turn*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

26. Inter alia: Morley, L., Alexiadou, N., Garaz, S., González-Monteagudo, J. and Taba, M. (2018) 'Internationalisation and migrant academics: the hidden narratives of mobility,' *Higher Education*, 76, pp.537-554; Larsen, M.A. (2016) *Internationalization of Higher Education: An Analysis through Spatial, Network, and Mobilities Theories*, Springer; Maadad, N. and Tight, M. (eds.) (2014) *Academic Mobility*, Bingham: Emerald; Liu, T. and Willis, K. (2021) 'Cut and paste pedagogy?: Academic mobility, teaching practices and the circulation of knowledge,' *Geoforum*, 119, pp.11-20; Tamilla Mammadova (2023) *Academic Mobility Through the Lens of Language and Identity, Global Pandemics, and Distance Internationalization*, London: Routledge.
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28. A. Kukulska-Hulme and J. Traxler (eds.) *Mobile Learning: A Handbook for Educators and Trainers* (London: Routledge, 2005); Zane L. Berge and Lin Y. Muilenburg (eds) *Handbook of Mobile Learning* (London: Routledge. 2013); Helen Crompton and John Traxler (eds) *Mobile Learning and Higher Education* (London: Routledge 2018); John Traxler and Helen Crompton *Critical Mobile Pedagogy* (London: Routledge, 2021).
29. See the website for the LOM project: <https://www.lom-meshworking.org/> The articles in the special issue of *Cognition & Instruction* are: Ananda Maria Marin (2020) Ambulatory Sequences: Ecologies of Learning by Attending and Observing on the Move, *Cognition and Instruction*, 38:3, 281-317; Molly L. Kelton & Jasmine Y. Ma (2020) Assembling a Torus: Family Mobilities in an Immersive Mathematics Exhibition, *Cognition and Instruction*, 38:3, 318-347; Rogers Hall, Ben Rydal Shapiro, Andrew Hostetler, Helen Lubbock, David Owens, Colleen Daw & Douglas Fisher (2020) Here-and-Then: Learning by Making Places with Digital Spatial Story Lines, *Cognition and Instruction*, 38:3, 348-373; Josh Radinsky (2020) Mobilities of Data Narratives, *Cognition and Instruction*, 38:3, 374-406; Katie Headrick Taylor (2020) Resuscitating (and Refusing) Cartesian Representations of Daily Life: When

Mobile and Grid Epistemologies of the City Meet, *Cognition and Instruction*, 38:3, 407-426; Megan Bang (2020) Learning on the Move Toward Just, Sustainable, and Culturally Thriving Futures, *Cognition and Instruction*, 38(3), pp.434-444; and Kris D. Gutiérrez (2020) When Learning as Movement meets Learning on the Move, *Cognition and Instruction*, 38(3), pp.427-433.

30. Lee S. Shulman (1993) Forum: Teaching as Community Property, *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, 25:6, 6-7
31. Inter alia: Rink, 'Theorizing Theory through Practice'; O'Neill, M., Penfold-Mounce, R., Honeywell, D., Coward-Gibbs, M., Crowder, H., and Hill, I. (2021) 'Creative Methodologies for a Mobile Criminology: Walking as Critical Pedagogy,' *Sociological Research Online*, 26(2), pp.247-268; Mullally, G., O'Neill, M., de Bhailís, D., Tuohy, B., Breen, M., Duggan, A. and Ní Loinsigh, E., 2023. Walking, talking, [Re-] imagining socio-ecological sustainability: Research on the move/moving research, *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 31(1), pp.37-62; Lewis, S. (2021) 'The turn towards policy mobilities and the theoretical-methodological implications for policy sociology,' *Critical Studies in Education*, 62(3), pp.322-337; Goodyer A, Higgins M. (2013) Applying a Mobilities Paradigm to a Return to Social Work Programme, *Social Work Education*, 32(3), pp.397-410; Bui, M.N. and Moran, R.E. (2020) 'Making the 21st century mobile journalist: Examining definitions and conceptualizations of mobility and mobile journalism within journalism education,' *Digital Journalism*, 8(1), pp.145-163.