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Preservice teachers' views of global citizenship and implications for global citizenship education

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ABSTRACT
Global citizenship (GC) is becoming increasingly significant as a desirable graduate attribute in the context of increasing globalisation and cultural diversity. However, both the means and ends of GC education are influenced by a divergent range of conceptualizations. The aim of this research project was to investigate preservice teachers' understandings of global citizenship, with a particular focus on cultural diversity. Preservice teachers (PSTs) participated in interviews, and findings indicated that they were uncertain about the idea of global citizenship, sought harmony and a desire for sameness in culturally diverse relationships, and held ethnocentric, paternalistic and salvationist views about the 'Other'. Drawing on these findings, we present a framework incorporating technicist, humanistic and postcritical conceptions as a tool for analysis of GCE approaches, their means and ends.

Within many higher education and schooling contexts, global citizenship (GC) is becoming increasingly significant as a desirable graduate attribute (Marshall 2011; Tichnor-Wagner et al. 2016; UNESCO World Report, 2005; Wang et al. 2011). However the ways in which GC is envisioned is highly contested. For example Gardner-McTaggart (2016) argues that the notion of global citizenship education (GCE) holds conflicting perspectives, diverse imaginaries, and complex macro-systemic demands which present a number of significant challenges for GCE in the twenty-first century. Pressing questions such as 'GCE *for what purpose; and GCE for whose benefit?*' are critical to the unfolding of this work. Within teacher education, questions about the ways in which pre-service teachers (PSTs) frame their own understandings of GC become important as these understandings are likely to shape the curriculum and pedagogical directions in schools. Therefore, the purpose of this research study was to explore PSTs' understandings of GC; and to consider the ways in which these understandings align with different theoretical perspectives.

While GCE is potentially extremely broad in scope (including for example, ICT matters, environmental issues, increased migrancy flow effects, and cognitive adaptive skills), in this research we focus on the ways in which PSTs understand cultural difference, and relationality with the Other, where Other is defined as one who is different to oneself (Levinas, trans. 1987). The intention upon completion of this research was to develop a framework as a tool for analysis of GCE, with a focus upon ethical relationality with the Other.

Currents in global citizenship education

In recent years there has been significant interest and growth in the field of GCE. The growth in GCE has not been uniform but rather has developed in diverse directions based on different foundational

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conceptualisations and ideological currents within society. In the following section we examine three approaches to GCE: technicist; humanist; and postcritical.

Drawing upon an international body of research, Marshall (2011) attributes the growth of GCE to a global crisis, defined by Todd (2009) as 'rampant capitalism, vast international migration, ecological fragility, technological interconnectivity, cultural hybridity and reconfiguration of political power' (23). Others attribute the growth of GCE to the rise of global knowledge economies, not seen as a crisis, but rather as progress. For example, Rizvi (2009) suggests that a vision for corporate cosmopolitanism shaping global capitalists will aim to develop young people as 'culturally flexible and adaptable' concerned with 'strategic economic possibilities' (268). Marshall (2011) builds on the work of Young (2008) suggesting that this particular imaginary contributes to a *technicist* approach; what Zhao (2012) names the economic imperative perspective. Marshall (2011) argues that this form of technicism is market driven; essentially preparing young people to effectively contribute to global, neoliberal knowledge societies. Such societies are adaptations and teleological progressions from the Enlightenment, liberal humanistic projects (Andreotti 2010).

Marshall (2011) identifies a second conceptualisation of GCE: a global social- justice instrumentalism that 'requires an emotional and often active commitment to, and understanding of, particular interpretations of economic, political, legal or cultural injustice' (418). This is what Wang et al. (2011) calls a critical resistance perspective. Based upon liberal and critical *humanist* constructs of human rights and freedoms, and predominantly normative understandings of what is right, true, just and fair, this form of GCE focuses on the need to develop critical global citizens who understand and care for a common humanity, and who will take action against injustice (see for example, Oxfam 2006). Marshall (2011) suggests that a global social-justice conception of GCE is often marginalised in schools, particularly where there is a predominantly liberal humanistic, rather than critical focus.

Marshall (2011) traces a third emergent GCE conceptualisation which seeks to address limitations inherent within technicist and humanist approaches. She highlights the works of Andreotti (2010), Rizvi (2009) and Todd (2009) that situate GCE within postcolonial and poststructural theoretical frameworks. These scholars and others (see for example Pashby 2011; Shultz, Abdi, and Richardson 2011; and Taylor 2012) argue that the liberal humanist GCE discourses have given rise to salvationism and paternalism. Paternalism and salvationism are fuelled by uncritical, ahistorical, and ethnocentric ideals that subscribe to universalist notions of progress and development obtained through global neoliberal policy and universal human rights and freedoms (see for example, UNESCO 2005). Critical GCE projects are no less immune to this critique when founded upon modernist Eurocentric epistemological and ontological positions such as fixed, stable, universal conceptualisations of knowledge which place emphasis on harmony and consensus. In fact critical pedagogical approaches have been problematised because of their focus on universal ethnocentric norms, scripted predetermined solutions, and even actions that lead to further complicity and implication (Bruce 2013; Ellsworth 1989; Todd 2004).

Responding to these limitations, Marshall argues that a third way is emerging within GCE that is *interrogative* of post-industrial, knowledge society shifts (Andreotti 2010; Prasad 2005). We use the term *postcritical* GCE to describe this third conceptualisation, as it signifies an interrogation of the limitations of a critical GCE framework practised within a modernist paradigm; while also signifying a continuation of the social justice agenda (Bruce 2013, 2018). Postcritical readings of GCE have been made by Prasad (2005), Andreotti (2010), Mignolo (2011), and others (see for example, Wang et al. 2011). Prasad (2005) draws an important distinction between *questioning* modernity (such as the employment of cognitive adaptation to adapt to knowledge society shifts) and *interrogating* modernity (what Andreotti (2010) describes as *epistemological pluralism)*. Epistemological pluralism is an interrogative reading of globalisation which exposes the 'dark side of modernity' (Mignolo 2011) and

frames the need for the pluralization of knowledge [through a belief that] the current system is inherently violent in its (mono)epistemic practices and unsustainable both in terms of exploitation of natural resources and human labour and in terms of how relationships are constructed (Andreotti 2010, 8).

Engaging with poststructural and postcolonial ideas (see for example, Lather 1992), *postcritical* GCE projects are emerging within preservice teacher education and schooling contexts, as a response to existing limitations of the framing of cultural difference and diversity, including relationality with the Other (Andreotti 2011; Bruce 2013).

Ultimately, the approaches to GCE that we have presented highlight the diverse epistemologies and imaginaries behind these conceptualisations. Each perspective offers opportunities and limitations. Many of these epistemologies surround our society and form an integral part of our milieu, underpinning our understandings and assumptions. The reality of practice is more nuanced than the categories we have presented here; however the categories help to identify the currents informing GCE in society. Without rendering these assumptions more visible, there is a danger that GCE may be envisioned and enacted in ways that align with and shore up the forces that have contributed to the current global crisis.

Preservice teacher education and cultural diversity as key tenet of GCE

In a comprehensive literature review of preservice teacher's (PST's) views of cultural diversity between 1985 and 2007, Castro (2010) found that White PSTs typically failed to recognise racial inequality, held deficit views and had lower expectations of culturally diverse students, denied the existence of significant cultural differences, and failed to see themselves as cultural beings. However, Castro did report that more recently a greater acceptance of cultural differences has developed. He attributes this shift to the rise in globalised, post-industrial knowledge societies which include increased technological interconnectivity, demographic diversity, and migrancy flow.

Nevertheless, this notion of 'greater acceptance toward cultural difference' by PSTs has been critiqued as problematic, where notions of 'diversity' and 'acceptance of diversity' have in many contexts become useful as performative marketability (Ahmed 2012; Andreotti 2010; Bruce 2018). That is to say that the Other (or Otherness) has become either commodified, or used for market productivity; what one may call the technicist 'performativity of the Other'. For example, many educational institutions use images of the 'Other' on their websites to promote the diversity of their organisation in order to appeal international students and demonstrate the organisation's ethnic diversity. A critical view would see this as 'brownwashing', whereby images of students who exhibit otherness are used to gain financial advantage without the institution necessarily making any meaningful commitment to diversity. Such an approach aligns with technical-economic instrumentalism, and terms such as 'diversity' and 'difference', have become almost non-terms for their ubiquitous use in institutions and in everyday contexts which serve dominant already privileged ways of knowing and being (Ahmed 2012). Alternatively, taking a strengths-based view, a technicist approach to GC can be viewed as an important step in recognising the contribution that the Other can make to the economic realm and thereby inviting the Other into formerly monocultural organisations.

Regarding the contextual politics of knowledge including the production of privileged knowledges, Castro (2010) found that PSTs lacked complexity in their understandings of this circulation of power and implications for understandings of cultural difference. He attributed this lack of complexity within PSTs' psyche, to the 'uncritical adoption of cultural assumptions that limit one's critical consciousness of structural and institutional inequity and White privilege' (207). Responding to the findings of the literature review, Castro (2010) suggested that future research needs to begin with preservice teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and prior experiences about cultural diversity upon entry in to initial teacher education in order that appropriate culturally responsive curricula may be developed and implemented. Responding to the gap in research, this research explores PSTs' understandings of GC in their first semester of study.

Methodological approach

The purpose of this qualitative study was to investigate first year preservice teachers' understandings of GC, with a particular focus on relationality with the Other, and to consider the ways in which these understandings aligned with different theoretical perspectives. The intention upon completion of this study was to use the findings to inform the development of a framework of PST conceptualizations.

Sample and participants

Participants were first year PSTs undertaking study within a four year programme of study toward a Bachelor of Education. This programme prepares PSTs to teach in Aotearoa/New Zealand schools, years 7–13. The university is in an Aoteaora/New Zealand city and the demographics indicate that it is a relatively monocultural city, with small 'pockets' of racial-ethnic minority groups.

All first year PSTs were invited to participate in an unstructured interview during the first month of their study. Twenty-one participants indicated that they would like to be interviewed. After contacting each of the 21 participants via email and phone, 16 participants agreed to be interviewed. Prior to the interview, participants were invited to complete a survey in order to gain insight into their demographic backgrounds. Eleven participants were male and five were female. Twelve participants were under the age of 20 and four were over 20. Fourteen participants indicated that they were Caucasian, of European descent. The remaining two participants were Māori (indigenous). Very few participants had experiences abroad. Twelve participants had never lived, studied or completed community service abroad. The remaining four participants had limited experiences abroad, mostly in cultures similar to their own. Ethical approval was gained through the university.

Interview process

The interview questions were designed to develop an in-depth understanding of participants' views of GC. At the start of each interview participants were briefed and engaged in general conversation to help them feel at ease. Kvale (1996) suggests a number of effective interview strategies including open body language, active listening including the use of encouraging prompts, and the use of clear and structured questioning. These strategies were used during the interviews. In order to minimise inter-viewer bias, the questions were structured and that the same wording and sequence was used throughout (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2000). In addition, the interviewer did not define GCE for the PSTs but rather helped them to explore their own ideas about what it meant to them. After the interviews were transcribed, data was coded in a number of different ways (Creswell 2012). Firstly, in order to generate themes, data was coded according to research questions, then participant narratives, and finally theoretical perspectives. Each time provided a different perspective and eventually themes began to emerge. Frequent patterned responses and common threads inter-connected to generate clear themes.

Findings

With a particular focus on relationality with the Other, there were a range of themes that emerged from the data including: uncertainty about a definition of GC, harmony and a desire for sameness, ethnocentrism, paternalism and salvationism, and social justice. Many participants were uncertain about the idea of GC, and they sought clarification from the interviewer during the interviews. The themes of harmony, ethnocentrism, and paternalism and salvationism reflected a liberal huma-nistic perspective. Participants often demonstrated a belief in universal truths, knowledge and right-ness, and a desire to help the Other. In so doing many participants seemed to position themselves as

privileged and entitled to privilege. It could be argued that this seemed to demonstrate at times, a lack of awareness within participants of the social, cultural, and historical 'making' of privilege. Participants who showed a concern for social justice, demonstrated some degree of critical thought and self-reflexivity, an awareness of their own complicity, and a desire to take social action for change. The following sections explore these themes further.

Uncertainty about global citizenship

The vast majority of participants struggled to define GC and related concepts. Participants uncertain of the term *global citizen* or *global citizenship* were sometimes able to respond instead to the idea of *world-mindedness*, or *global mindedness.* The following excerpts were typical of the responses given when asked about the term *global citizenship.*

SONYA   So is global citizenship like how, like what's your definition?
TOM   I'm not really sure to be honest.
BILLY   A global citizen, I've never really thought about the concept of a global citizen before, so …

Limited understandings of GC could often be traced to participants' limited experiences of travel abroad, as well as limited multicultural experiences within Aotearoa/New Zealand, and exposure to GCE within schools. Sam indicated that his own experiences were limited, and that those around him were mostly '*pretty ignorant*'. Simon (a recent immigrant) commented on his observations of limited experiences and engagements with difference within Aotearoa/New Zealand and about how '*insular* New Zealanders are. He reported that news broadcasts were primarily focused on national issues rather than international; as too were student's understandings of themselves in relationship to other places.

Limited understandings of GC contributed at times, to confused responses. Participants often responded to GC questions by discussing local issues, initiatives, and by describing local contexts. The response below typified this occurrence.

INTERVIEWER   What do you think influences the development of someone as a global citizen?
TANIA   Probably how they are at home and at school and with their friends, I think sometimes kids can be real nice to their teachers and their parents because they know they're going to get told off if they're not but then sometimes when they're with their friends they just can be quite mean.

The respondent's dependence on local experiences to explain GC points further to a lack of global awareness. When asked if there were specific school curriculum or activity events that influenced participant understandings of GC, again the responses below signal a predominantly local perspective. This comment is made in the context of the Christchurch earthquakes of 2010–2011.

MATT   Yeah, we sponsored, we had a [school] competition that sponsored a child [in a foreign country] and whatever [group] could raise the most.., we also did like food bank, so you'd bring in a can each day, so that's pretty much for Christchurch.

Other than the global child sponsorship example given by Matt, all other examples participants gave related to local acts of charity.

Findings related to this theme of uncertainty about GC indicate that many participants were unclear about the concept, had limited or no exposure to the ideas of GCE in schools, and had limited experiences abroad and with people from culturally diverse backgrounds. Furthermore, many participants responded to GC questions with geographically localised examples. This limited understanding of GC indicated that PSTs had not been exposed to GCE and suggested that rather than a regurgitation of definitions learnt, PSTs were drawing on currents within society to understand and define this term for themselves. If this is the case, then these interviews provide a powerful window into how these societal influences are enacted on PSTs and revealed through their understandings of GC.

Harmony and desire for sameness

All of the participants wrestled with the notion of sameness and difference. For some, it was quite literally something '*to be dealt with*'; for others there was an obvious tension between their own '*right*' beliefs, and the right of others to believe otherwise. The overwhelming desire in almost all interviews was to achieve harmony either through an emphasis on sameness – '*we are all the same*' – or through the acceptance of difference, so long as they themselves remained unaltered by it. This latter perspective is also reflected in the theme, ethnocentrism (and universalism[1]). The following narratives reveal a desire for harmony through either an emphasis on sameness or through a '*respect*' for differences.

Jerry strongly emphasised the belief that GC is about harmony through personal relationships which leads to understanding differences. This is his way of '*dealing with*' it'. For Jerry it seemed that cultural difference was very much something that needed to be '*dealt with*' and he used this term a number of times through the interview. An example he gave was the way that he was taught to fear others who were different to him at school, including '*the big Māori [indigenous] boy*' who was '*scary*'. Jerry expressed a desire to learn culturally responsive pedagogies at university, perhaps as a tool for '*dealing with*' different students when he begins teaching.

Like a number of other participants John believes that '*we are all just the same*'. John spoke of a world he wanted to see where:

> … there's no racism, there's no differences, we're all just people living in the same place having fun, supporting each other, that's what it means to me, global citizenship … We're all human beings, we all have two eyes. why look at the differences between us when in the long run we're all the same. Why not be friends with them, why not help them out when we can?

For John, others are seen as the same as us and in need of our assistance. What it all comes down to, John concluded, is '*respect one another*'. The example he gave was:

> This Muslim chick who I'm emailing is telling me all these things and giving evidence for her beliefs, and I went, you know that's cool, you go hard with that but I will do my stuff my way.

For John, harmony was based on respect for individual autonomy, and this included his way of communicating with a '*Muslim chick*'. Like John, Sonya is also a Christian and she explained how she believes that:

> The whole point of [Christianity] is that you don't judge people, and you accept all kinds of people and make everyone feel like they belong and are loved even like with all their differences.

Sonya highlighted the way in which society today tends to be more respectful of differences. She noted that these ideas are '*more pushed these days, to be accepting of like different types of people and like the unjudgemental type thing*'. John and Sonya both emphasised respect for difference while remaining stable within their own beliefs. Remaining unaltered by encounters with the Other was something that Sam was able to articulate. Through attending a multicultural school, Sam indicated that he had developed a greater awareness of cultural differences than those who attended a mono- cultural school: '*I think I'm more aware of all their cultural differences*'; however, he didn't believe that this experience had altered his beliefs in any way. Similarly, for Sam, GC was very much '*just an awareness issue*' that encompassed his definition, his experiences, and his beliefs about teacher education. This emphasis on harmony often involved awareness and seeking out similarities or common ground.

But the final narrative we use here to explore the theme of harmony (and a desire for sameness) reveals that beneath the surface of one being accepting of the Other, is a desire for 'them' to become like 'us'. Nigel was born abroad and has lived abroad in a number of different countries. He considers himself to be globally aware and indicated that he has learned to relate to the Other through a range of personal experiences. He attributes these multicultural experiences to a disposition that '*is not so quick to judge*'. However, like many other participants, Nigel appeared to struggle with the tension

between sameness and difference. '*All these people are all so different*', he reflected on global travel, '*but at the same time, we're all so similar*'. While considering himself to be accepting of the Other, the interviewer challenged him to question whether or not there are still resistances within himself to differences. Nigel gave an example:

> every time I've gone to another country I've tried my best to interact with those cultures, not to bring my Western culture into theirs, force it upon them. One thing I hate is when other cultures come to New Zealand and for example and then try and force their culture, and keep what they've got from their home here, this isn't embracing New Zealand culture.

Significantly, Nigel sees himself as leaving his culture behind as he travels, or as he says, he doesn't bring his '*Western culture*' to a place or an encounter. He has very strong views on the idea that people ought to not bring their culture into Aotearoa/New Zealand which aligns with assimilation. For one who has travelled a great deal and who saw himself as non-judgmental and accepting of difference, this prejudice was a surprising admission and apparent contradiction.

A desire for harmony and a search for sameness seemed to be a way of minimising conflict for many participants. Often fear of differences was both explicitly and implicitly discussed. Participants appeared to be particularly keen to demonstrate how open and accepting of difference they were, and yet as Nigel's story above seems to indicate, this demonstration also revealed an unresolved tension for many of the participants reflected ethnocentric ideology.

Ethnocentrism

Part of a desire for harmony among participants seemed to be linked to a reduction of the risk/threat of difference, conflict, and complexity. Many participants sought after a 'right' way of being. Thus responses grouped within this theme of ethnocentrism include the desire for – and a belief in – universalism as something necessary for human progress, and the framing of difference within an ethnocentric (often hegemonic) world view. This was particularly important for a number of participants who were concerned that there ought to be a 'right' way of teaching GCE, and that a 'right' response was both necessary and important. Their views were consistent with liberal humanism perspectives, and this included a desire for certainty, resistance to complexity, and an anxiety to provide a rational response that would calm the rough waters of difference and diversity. Some participants were also eager to provide right responses during the interview, asking me directly on numerous occasions if what they said was '*right*'.

Simon's experiences of travel, that included a number of fearful intercultural encounters, led him to the conclusion that teachers needed to be prepared to give a 'right response'. He concluded by saying that this is a '*struggle*', not really knowing *cwhat your views should be*'.

> SIMON   It's funny, because I struggle with what is the teacher's view of the world, what are you meant to say to people, and kids, and what are you meant to give off. I just don't know, I've got no idea … you could have anybody saying one thing, one opposing view to another, depending as a pupil, depending who you went to see as a teacher, depending on your experiences. So I struggle with that, I don't really know what your views should be on religion or anything.

Simon appeared to be wary of conflict in the examples he gave, and expressed concern about conflicting views arising in the classroom. Striving for universal beliefs appeared to be desirable for him.

Similarly, John was guided by universalism. Indeed, John had a strong Christian conviction about how he ought to live his life and this included '*strong beliefs*' about what is right and wrong. Wrestling with the tensions between sameness and differences, John, like a number of other participants explained: 'I believe what I believe is correct just as much as any Christian does … *but who is anyone to judge; you do it your way, I'll do it my way, let's just have fun doing it*'. This statement appears to reflect a tension that is inherent in both universalism and absolute relativism, where one firmly believes there is a right way of being but this is complicated when others also believe in a right way but it is a different right way.

Links between universalism and ethnocentrism were also evident where participants described a view of superiority or dominance over the Others' beliefs, both epistemologically and morally, and I use the term *hegemonic ethnocentrism* here to reflect this idea. The following excerpts reflect this view:

LUCY	Um, well due to our culture, we're quite [we] care about each other and stuff, whereas I don't know if this is true, but like in Japan they're like quite for themselves, like you know, because there's this bigger population they have to be more kind of greedy, like..
INTERVIEWER	That would be your perception.
LUCY	But that's probably just due to the way I've been brought up, I don't know.
INTERVIEWER	What do you think influences the development of someone as a global citizen?
JESSIE	I'd say that probably comes down to their culture, like um to an African citizen, probably doesn't think about what's [going on]. They don't really get the same view of what we do so they don't really see the whole big picture, whereas because we are in such a media society, we can see what's going on everywhere. We can get more of an idea of an idea of what's going on with life, rather than just where we are.

Here Lucy makes moral assumptions about the Japanese, based on what she has been taught growing up, and Jessie believes that people in Africa don't have access to media, nor do they get the '*bigpicture*' in the way that we do here. Lucy and Jessie make rationalistic assumptions and stereotype nationalities in these excerpts. Both scenarios reflect a form of ethnocentric hegemony as participants position themselves and their own cultures as superior to others. Furthermore, Jessie seemed to be motivated to learn about other cultures in order that she might be able to educate immigrants towards an Aotearoa/New Zealand way of being.

JESSIE	Well, there is an element that they will need to get used to our culture as well, but we kind of need to have an understanding of their culture if we want to educate them in ours. It's sort of. you can't do one without the other.

The idea presented here of 'understanding … their culture [so that we could] educate *them in ours*', seemed to confirm a form of hegemonic ethnocentrism. Perhaps it was this attitude of hegemonic ethnocentrism that created a resistance to GC being taught at universities. It was interesting to note that more than half of all participants did not think that GC should be taught to all students at university. While some students thought that GC was relevant to some subjects only, others argued that making GC a compulsory part of the curriculum would create resistance to ideas.

DAVID	What I think of that, if you're teaching them, if they're closed minded towards that, it won't really change their mind and they will probably just become negative … or something like that … Yeah, I think it's just going to, not necessarily a resistance, a greater resistance but kind of just shutting off …
SARAH	I think they could [include global citizenship at universities], yep, but I think if you pushed it too hard it might push students away. Because if you think of someone that's trying to bring a new idea and they come in and try and get you to get into it. I guess if you gave someone lots of information about it and offered it rather than pushed it, it would work.

Both David and Sarah expressed concerns that if GC was taught at university, it could create a '*greater resistance*' to understandings of difference and diversity. If GCE was taught, they both cautioned against use of a forceful pedagogical approach.

In this theme of ethnocentrism many participants appeared eager to seek after a 'right' way of being and this seemed to lead, in some instances to a desire for and a belief in universalism as something necessary for human progress, as well as the framing of difference within an ethnocentric (often hegemonic) world view. For a number of participants finding a right way of being was important including a right way of teaching about diversity and GC.

Paternalism and salvationism

Eight of the sixteen participants discussed the provision of charitable assistance to those in need as an important concept within GC. This seemingly benevolent perspective was repeated often throughout the interviews and appeared to reflect a combination of both paternalistic and salvationist approaches to those 'in need' of help. John's perspective was characteristically paternalistic. The following excerpts seem to indicate the ways in which he sought out opportunities to 'help' those in need, believing that they would be grateful for his assistance.

> JOHN [I can] have an idea of what it's like to live in China without being there, because I can see it on the internet, I can see it on the TV and although I don't know anyone in China I can still have an impact on them, whether it's them watching, I don't know, a clip I put on YouTube or myself raising money for them … The impact doesn't have to be observed to be noted I guess … Why not be friends with them, why not help them out when we can?

John appeared to be excited about the opportunities that technology brought to global connectivity as a way to 'know' others. Furthermore, he saw potential in the way that technology could be used to 'reach out' to those in need.

Lucy typified the salvationist response. She attributed her understandings of those living abroad to media and schooling, and these understandings centred upon 'deficit' issues of greed, aids, poverty and 'challenges' in the Middle East. While Lucy heard responses from other students in her class when stories were told of Aids in Africa, as '*oh it's just like their normal life*', she believed that '*you should obviously care and it should affect you*'. She felt mostly that people living abroad needed us to care about them, because their lives were more difficult than those of New Zealanders. For Sarah, her salvationist perspective was partially shaped by a visit to an orphanage within a materially poor community abroad. Based on this experience Sarah is making plans to return to teach at the orphanage school upon graduation. Tania inferred that her sense of obligation to care for those in need was a burden to her, and how she felt guilty when she wasn't taking action to help.

> TANIA .people now are in so much need we can't just keep being greedy and think about ourselves because there's such a need for other people needing that help and attention rather than just ourselves all the time.
> INTERVIEWER So do you think those ideas shape your actions in any way?
> TANIA Yep, all the time, I think about it as much as I can, and do it as much as I can, sometimes I get lazy but then I have something happen. and think you can't be like that anymore, and then change, and then kind of go back to your normal life. you try as much as you can to help others, [but] doing things continuously is a bit of a challenge, but people should try.

Tania appeared to be conflicted by her desire to enjoy her lifestyle, and a desire to help others in need. She inferred guilt when observing that sometimes she got '*lazy*'. David was also motivated by a sense of guilt and the salvationist feelings of obligation. When reflecting upon the impact that World Vision campaigns (both child sponsorship and for the 40 h famine) in schools had, he observed:

> DAVID I kind of feel responsible for the poverty stuff that happens.
> INTERVIEWER Like responsible as in a sense of guilt or just a responsibility to act or …
> DAVID Yeah, it's kind of a responsibility to act, just to try and fulfil it where I can, and try and help.

More than half of all participants indicated a desire to help the (mostly majority world) Other through acts of benevolence. For many participants this appeared to be motivated by an ethnocentric view as they indicated that they were in a position of privilege and excess, and therefore had an obligation to help the Other.

Social justice

Responses relating to social justice reflected a desire within a number of participants to take action to bring about social justice. Many responses were largely apolitical and accepting of rational,

normative cultural practices, consistent with a critical humanistic perspective. As the excerpts indicate, the level of discussion and critique evident in many of the participant responses seemed to lack complexity. However, for some participants there was an awareness of their own complicity, as well as a desire to both think critically and take action on a range of issues. Regarding action and agency, participants' responses varied greatly. Some did see that their own action could make a difference, while others believed action was necessary at a political level and doubted their own efficacy. Four participants described how critical thinking at school in History, Social Studies, and Religious Studies, resulted in thinking differently about religious and cultural differences. The following excerpts reflect Nigel and Tania's thoughts on this issue:

NIGEL   [Studying History] kind of gave me a bit more of a sensitivity to these other people, I want to understand it a lot more, and I'm not so quick to judge, like just I remember that when I was at school the big thing was the war on Terrorism, and you kind of have to look at two sides of the story, whereas when we were young, this is bad, this is good, this is bad, and it gives you a lot … to think more critically about things, and I have to say that all those History based classes, English based classes give you a lot more understanding of who you are as a global citizen maybe? Does that make sense? … and like you see more than one side of the story, you just kind of, if you're going to look at a problem, you need to look at both sides of the problem, not just go with it.

TANIA   People, when they are judging other religions, and wars and all that sort of thing they kind of just don't really understand the whole concept of it, they are very quick to judge and then. do actions that might not be that wise, and if people, in history and stuff how they'd just persecute people for their religion they should realise that what they believe isn't necessarily what other people will believe as well because they've all got different cultures and stuff and so by being aware that other cultures have different ways of life, just because it's not yours, you don't need to like cause anything against them.

TANIA   And so we learnt about all the religions and went around different churches and kind of looked around and saw how they were, whereas we'd have been told not to.. um be like oh that's weird because that's not our place to judge it, but that's how they are.

Nigel commented that through understanding historical origins of war, he was '*not so quick to judge*' Tania also commented that a lack of understanding leads to people being '*quick to judge*' While visiting a range of religious sites during a Religious Studies class in school, Tania's beliefs shifted from the idea that different people are '*weird*' to a belief that she will not '*cause anything against*' those whom are different. For Nigel and Tania, critical thinking led to an acceptance of difference and being able to peacefully exist alongside. Such approaches sit more within critical humanism because of its acceptance of difference.

A postcritical approach (which moves beyond acceptance to a position where the Other may have something to offer us) was shown by Sonya after reflecting on a short term visit to Fiji. Unlike other participants whose travels seemed to lead them to think ethnocentrically, or paternalistically, Sonya engaged more critically with her encounter with the Other. For example, she observed that '*Westerners*' saw people living in Fiji as living in poverty; yet she saw otherwise. Her recollections were of meeting people who *had* 'this real enjoyment of life … ours is involved around money but it's just so cool over there, like it just wasn 't [focused that way]'. *She was aware that many desired to* become more '*Westernised*' but she was wary of this desire.

But I expect, like sometimes, they're just desperate to change their culture when their culture is so good, like if they came over here, and saw … [how people live] there's a lot of like, people who are very screwed up because of the way [we are].

Consistent with a postcritical perspective, Sonya demonstrated the ability to interrogate matters of social and environment justice. Sonya, drawing upon postcritical perspectives was somewhat aware of her own limitations, and her own complicity in social injustices she had encountered.

Discussion

Through the course of the research it became apparent that PSTs had no exposure to GCE prior to university study. As mentioned in the findings, this provided a window into societal influences on

PSTs' conceptualisation of GC. At the beginning of the research we were cognisant that there are a diverse range of theoretical readings of GC and were somewhat surprised to find that PSTs' responses were overwhelmingly liberal humanist. The notion of development framed within an idea of teleological human progress was expressed as a desire to develop as rational, autonomous and moral beings, who both know what is right, and do what is right for themselves and for others. A search for harmony and sameness also revealed a modern humanistic world view. Participants (almost entirely) revealed a teleological understanding of the world based on a linear and seamless idea of development. The ideal of modern metropolitan and technological societies embedded in modern nation states was upheld by most participants as a universal goal. Threats to this project were perceived as a problem. Almost all participants tended to see the Other (represented as cultural difference) as lagging behind, and tended to see their responsibility as helpers and leaders in the quest for universal modernisation, perceived also as human evolution. Almost all participants tended to project normalised ideals/ideas as universal and collectively shared, and seemed to be unaware of the production of normalisation and inequality, of critiques of common sense ideas, and of different perspectives on development.

It is clear from the findings that most participants had very limited experiences within culturally diverse settings, and with people from cultural backgrounds different to their own. Where differences did occur, most participants sought to simplify – even nullify difference, by focusing on notions of harmony through emphasising sameness in describing these encounters. This seemed to be for many a way of coping with, and '*dealing*' with difference. In light of the findings of this study, we have questioned the extent to which culturally diverse encounters have served to create opportunities to challenge stereotypes, and we wonder if they have only served to further foster ethnocentric views. The interviews provided some further insight in to this query. Where culturally diverse encounters did occur, participants tended to respond to these encounters either by focusing on sameness (and thus minimising difference), or through a projection of ethnocentric lenses, further entrenching participants' predetermined and fixed views of development, progress, and 'rightness'. Similar to Campbell and Walta (2015), our findings indicate that PST encounters with Others do not necessarily develop a deeper appreciation for cultures that are different to their own.

Castro (2010) found that PSTs lacked complexity in their understandings of cultural difference and contextual politics of knowledge and ideas of privilege, and this is also one of the findings of this study. Participant responses toward understandings of difference were most often simplistic and motivated by a desire to reduce difference to notions of sameness. Castro (2010) attributes such a lack of complexity to the 'uncritical adoption of cultural assumptions that limit one's critical consciousness of structural and institutional inequity and White privilege' (207). In the studies that Castro (2010) examined, he found that cultural assumptions stemmed from universalist and meritocratic beliefs contributing to a myth of equality. While this study did not uncover myths of equality, the interview analysis does provide an indication of the universalist views of participants' understandings of cultural difference, including ethnocentric notions of development and progress.

Ethnocentrism is defined by Cooper (n.d.) as:

> a term applied to the cultural or ethnic bias—whether conscious or unconscious— in which an individual views the world from the perspective of his or her own group, establishing the in-group as archetypal and rating all other groups with reference to this ideal. This form of tunnel vision often results in: (1) an inability to adequately understand cultures that are different from one's own and (2) value judgments that preference the in-group and assert its inherent superiority (para 1).

Essentially ethnocentrism is 'the projection of one's own view as universal' (Andreotti 2012, 2). This projection situates other ways of knowing either as 'knowledge not worth knowing', or as that which is inaccurate or inferior. From this viewpoint it is difficult to understand that there are other ways of knowing and being in the world that are *truly* worth knowing. On this latter point, there was just one interviewee (Sonya) who reflected deeply about other ways of knowing and being after her time in Fiji. As explained in the results chapter, Sonya was skeptical of some '*Westerners*' cultural practices

particularly '*around money*' which in her view, led to people becoming '*very screwed up*' She saw people in Fiji living different material lives and having '*real enjoyment of life*'. Through her narrative Sonya demonstrated an ability to consider Other ways of knowing and being – not just as awareness or acceptance – but through expressing a desire to *learn from the Other* (Biesta 2012) in a way that could speak to the deficit she saw within her own culture.

For all other interview participants, an ethnocentric (universal) approach was expressed through an overwhelming desire to minimise difference by focusing on sameness. Cultural encounters with the Other resulted in a range of emotions including fear, indifference, frustration, and guilt. For participants who had experienced fearful encounters with the Other, there seemed to be a desire to either '*deal with*' difference, or to avoid difference through minimisation or to manage it as a problem through interpersonal dispositions leading to a focus on sameness. For others, like Sam, feelings of indifference rooted in individual (as opposed to systemic understandings of diversity) were indicative of his belief that understanding the Other was '*just an awareness issue*'. With the exception of Sonya's deep level of reflection, it appeared that all other participants remained unaltered by cultural encounters with the Other. In some cases (like with Jerry, Sam, and Nigel) culturally diverse experiences seemed to serve to further consolidate ethnocentric views, as well as the maintenance of a stable, unified sense of self.

The consolidation of ethnocentric views is further illustrated through the way in which participants interpreted either their own experiences abroad, or their understandings of people's lives abroad. Both experiences and understandings invoked within some participants feelings of guilt and a desire to act in paternalistic and/or salvationist ways. Andreotti (2012) defines paternalism as 'seeking affirmation of authority/superiority through the provision of help and the infantilization of recipients' and salvationism as 'framing help as the burden of the fittest' (2). Consistent with an ethnocentric worldview, some participants expressed genuine desires to 'make a difference' and planned to do so through acts of paternalism and salvationism. For example, John believed that he could positively impact people living abroad who were, in his view, in need of his assistance. A number of other participants expressed feelings of guilt about their own perceived positions of privilege which invoked a sense of obligation to act benevolently to help the Other; seen as in need of assistance. While benevolence is not an inherently unethical act, it is highly problematic when motivated by ethnocentric views which project a right way of being, of development, and of progress which does not account for Other ways of knowing and being (Heron 2007; Jefferess 2008; Zemach-Bersin 2007).

The final theme from the interview analysis – social justice – largely reflected a critical humanist perspective, or a *critical resistance perspective* (Wang et al. 2011). Five of the 16 participants demonstrated the ability to think critically and act justly to redress social justice concerns. Regarding critical thought, four participants attributed learning experiences at school to partial shifts in their thinking about cultural differences. For example, both Tania and Nigel explained the way in which raised awareness of the Other's journey, including historically and politically situated contexts, meant that they '*weren't so quick to judge*'. All four of these participants attributed learning experiences in schools to a greater acceptance of difference, and to being able to exist more peaceably alongside those who are culturally different.

Towards an analytical tool for conceptualising GCE

This notion of existing 'peaceably alongside' may be understood through an expansion of the ideas of Lingis (1994), Bauman (1995) and Biesta (2006). Developing these ideas further, Figure 1 provides an illustration of the way in which engagement with the Other may be understood, and the way in which this is likely to vary according to different GCE perspectives.

We present this figure as a tool for thinking about how we engage with the Other. We see conceptualisations of GCE in practice being informed by a variety of different influences which overlap (as do the spheres in the Venn diagram) and have diverse pedagogies and outcomes. We do
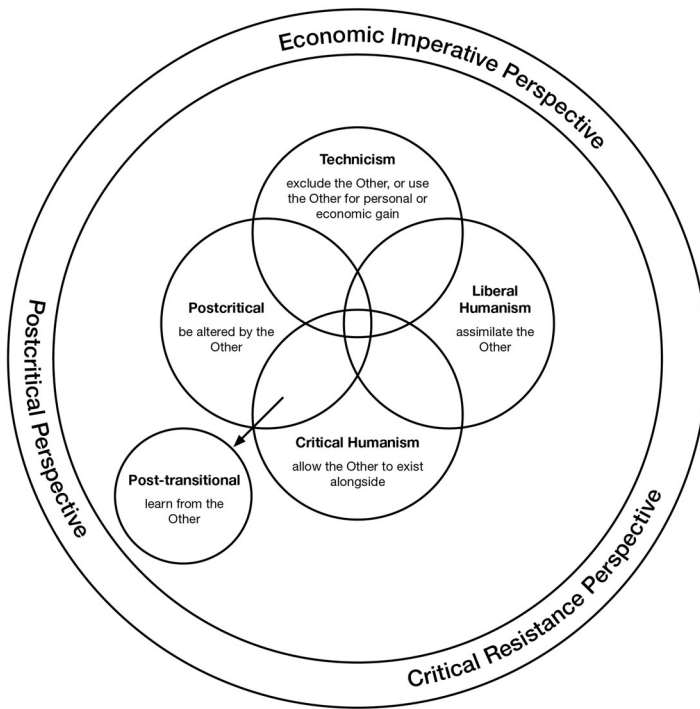
Figure 1. Varying Perceptions of Relationality with the Other within GCE.

not wish to indicate that there is a teleological relationship between technicist (least advanced) and postcritical (most advanced). For example, it may be argued that technicism framed within neo-liberal discourses, is likely to either exclude the Other, or use the cultural difference of the Other for personal or economic gain. Similar to the idea of performativity of knowledge (for economic productivity), 'performativity of the Other', views the Other (and cultural difference) as valued for its performativity and utility in the marketplace (Ahmed 2012; Andreotti 2010). Where the Other does not have value, and does not 'fit within the cognitive, moral or aesthetic map of the world' (Bauman 1995, 1), they are as Bauman suggests 'spat out' and excluded from normative participation in society. During the interview process, evidence of a technicist desire to exclude, to alienate, or to 'use' the Other for personal or economic gain was not found. However, this position is important to signal here, as it is evidenced in educational policy direction. For example, Bolstad (2012) argues that diversity and engagement with cultural difference are important skills for advancing knowledge societies. This is because 'the changing global environment requires people to engage – and to be able to work – with people from cultural, religious and/or linguistic backgrounds or world views that are very different from their own' (3). This desire to 'work with the Other' is situated within neoliberal discourses *(economic imperative perspective)* which promote the advancement of the economy in part through the ability to 'use' difference. Perhaps the reading we present here is too cynical, but there is present an unavoidable undertone of 'utility of Otherness' for economic advancement.

The liberal humanism view that seeks to assimilate the Other was suggested through participant narratives and requires some explanation here. For Bauman (1995), drawing on the work Levi-Strauss to assimilate is the capacity to 'devour': to make like us. In this study, it seemed that participants sought to 'make like us', not so much by expressing a desire to change the Other, but by a persistent focus on sameness; or what Popkewitz and Fendler (1999) describe as *norms of sameness*. For the majority of interview participants, the reduction of difference through a focus on the idea that 'we

are all the same' seemed to foreclose any possibility for engagement with the alterity (the very difference) of the Other. Thus, the liberal humanist response to the Other is to focus on inclusive practices which will enable participation into normative society, and this is done through the minimising/erasing of the alterity of the Other.

Optimistically, Bauman (1995) and Biesta (2006) signal the way in which postmodern communities are arguably more open to engagement with the Other. We argue this is the case within a critical humanistic, or *critical resistance perspective* (Wang et al. 2011), as the Other is welcome to exist peaceably alongside normative ways of being, so long as the rational, normative subject remains unaltered by encounters with alterity. That is to say, within a critical resistance perspective, there is still the idea of a rational, stable and unified sense of self, and this stabilisation does not really enable an alteration through relationality with the Other. A key goal within the critical resistance project is to change injustices in the world for/with the Other, where change has been predetermined and scripted by the rational normative subject. A small number of participants in this study were eager to undertake global and local acts of justice, toward a more fair and equitable world, but his/her sense of self did not appear to be altered by this viewpoint, even for those participants who had majority world[2] experiences. Rather participant narratives often expressed paternalism and salvationism in their desire to 'help'.

As explained earlier, Sonya was the one exception in this case, as the majority world experience she had in Fiji led to the possibility of learning from the Other. Exercising self-reflexivity, Sonya began to consider Other ways of knowing and being in the world, and she began to explore the possibility of learning from the Other. In Figure 1, we indicate that this shift in perspective from a critical resistance perspective (which includes paternalism and salvationism) toward a postcritical perspective may be enabled through a post-transitional perspective. The post-transitional perspective of learning from the Other involves – through exercising self-reflexivity – a critique of one's own frame of reference, and a desire to 'know' the Other, or to access the Other's knowledge. This desire is motivated by a type of 'reverse ethnocentrism' which is focused upon Other knowledge which may lead to toward self-betterment for the stabilised rational subject (Bruce 2013); however there may also be, as is the case with Sonya, an openness to thinking Otherwise and this could lead to ethical responsibility toward the Other as suggested by the final, fourth stage: a postcritical perspective.

This notion of learning from the Other is distinct from the idea of being taught by the Other (Biesta 2012); which is in part, the possibility of being altered by a radical encounter with alterity. It is this notion of alteration to a stable sense of self toward an ethical responsibility toward the Other that the final, fourth perspective encapsulates. Biesta (2012) explains that when one aspires to learn from the Other, she already has in mind what the Other can teach her. Whereas to be taught by the Other, is to be in a position of openness toward the Other; and what will be taught cannot be predetermined, scripted, or known: It is a mystery and the motivation is non-violent, ethical responsibility toward the Other. A postcritical perspective, among other things, is concerned with the exploration of alteration through a radical encounter with alterity, framed within an understanding of ethical responsibility toward the Other (Bruce 2013; Levinas 1981). However, a postcritical approach could easily blend with the technicist when the Other is seen as a commodity in a postcritical project to achieve transformation. In this way, the figure indicates transitions and blends between the different conceptualisations.

We argue that postcritical approaches to GCE are crucial to disrupting the hegemonic structures and belief systems which have brought us to this global crisis. Technicist and humanistic approaches serve largely to shore up and reinforce the status quo. While postcritical approaches require substantial re-envisioning of GCE, teacher educators are beginning to explore the pedagogical possibilities of postcritical perspectives for preservice teacher education as a means of advancing and improving GCE (Bruce 2018; Gardner-McTaggart and Palmer 2018).

Conclusions

While different conceptions of GCE coexist, the findings of this research suggest that PSTs draw predominantly upon humanistic perspectives in order to make sense of cultural difference, particularly the way in which they understand and relate to the Other. The findings indicate that the majority of participants come from cultural backgrounds where people are 'mostly like them'. Where they did discuss encounters with the Other, responses were often ethnocentric including a universalising focus on sameness, and a paternalistic and salvationist desire to 'help'. As an outcome of this research, we present an analytic tool to explore current and possible approaches to GCE. Such analysis asks us to consider not just if GCE works, but for whom it works and to what end. Findings of this study suggest that teacher education (at least in the context where we work) as 'more of the same', is unlikely to interrupt ethnocentrism. Therefore, it is necessary to consider *otherwise*. A postcritical GCE approach offers one possibility which may work discursively by inviting PSTs into an ethical encounter with alterity through an openness to being taught by the Other (Andreotti 2011; Bruce 2013, 2018; Biesta 2012). Further research into this, and other possibilities for GCE are needed in order to build on this work and explore further the implications of this analytical tool for the field.

Notes

1. Universalism is defined here as a belief in universal ideals/ideas; that is, regardless of context, there is a right way of knowing and a right way of being and acting.
2. The majority world is often referred to as the third world, the developing world, or the global south. We prefer use of this term as it refers primarily to the idea that the majority world has a much larger population. Thus as a minority world inhabitant, we find it serves as a reminder that our ways of being and knowing are not superior, majority, nor complete.

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