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Global citizenship education in Europe: Taking up the (hum)Man in teacher education in England

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ABSTRACT

This article explores possibilities for challenging liberal humanism, often expressed through cosmopolitanism, in global citizenship education (GCE) in European contexts, specifically England. Thinking with Sylvia Wynter's genealogy of the creation and universal imposition of *Man* as the dominant descriptive statement for the human and Walter Mignolo's critique of European cosmopolitanism, our research aimed to (1) understand how Euro-western liberal descriptions of humanity account for harmful legacies in GCE and (2) explore the possibilities offered from within this dominant imaginary to work against it and push it towards thinking and doing GCE otherwise. To do this, we "plugged in" Wynter's concepts of Man1 (the rational subject of the state) and Man2 (the [neo]liberal subject of the nation) to data collected from interviews with pre-service secondary school teachers in the humanities (English, modern foreign language, and history). Through this exercise we noticed discursive mechanisms by which Man sustains liberal humanism across the different disciplines and frames GCE largely through cosmopolitan notions of responsibility towards distant others and cultural competence. Nevertheless, we found the epistemic tools inherited from Man1 and traditionally used in the humanities can offer a starting point for different, albeit limited, engagements in GCE. These tools can be productively used to look for and interrogate tensions and contradictions within the dominant imaginary of Man and learn from perspectives and expressions of the human outside of its dominant descriptive statement. We conclude that Wynter's "embattled humanism" offers a pedagogical tool for GCE in teacher education and draw implications for further research.

KEYWORDS

Global Citizenship Education; coloniality; Wynter; cosmopolitanism; liberal humanism; humanities

Target 4.7 of the United Nations' sustainable development goals (SDGs) mandates all signatory countries to have, by 2030, ensured "that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development" through global citizenship education and other values-based approaches (United Nations, n.d.). The centrality of global citizenship education (GCE) within the SDGs brings back a commitment to values-based education and offers an opening for teachers and teacher educators to explore more ethical pedagogies in their teaching about global issues (Bamber et al., 2018; Sund & Pashby, 2018). More recently, the European Declaration on Global

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Education to 2050 has called for the acknowledgment of colonial legacies in global power dynamics in GCE (Global Education Network Europe, 2022). In doing so, the policy calls on those of us teaching about global issues in Europe to take up the colonial systems of oppression that have led to the multiple global crises we are currently facing (e.g., Andreotti, 2014; Stein et al., 2017).

Existing literature, however, signals that whilst teacher education programmes in England are seen as key to achieving target 4.7 (Bamber et al., 2018; Bourn et al., 2017), GCE is largely unembedded within teacher education (Hunt et al., 2011) or lacks the criticality needed to make meaningful changes in the way we teach about global issues (Yemini et al., 2019). This lack of criticality displayed within a teacher education context is arguably symptomatic of challenges faced by wider theoretical conversations in the field, which appear mostly locked in liberal discursive orientations (Pashby, da Costa, Stein, & Andreotti, 2020). Whilst offering an internal critique of Eurocentrism (Mignolo, 2021), liberal approaches per se might be unable to offer a deeper critique that challenges the status quo (e.g., Stein, 2015).

Responding to Heela Goren and Miri Yemini's (2017) call for a stronger and more critical bridging of theory and practice in GCE, this article "plugs in" data collected from interviews with pre-service secondary school teachers in the humanities with theory to explore possibilities for challenging Eurocentrism and fostering more ethical engagements with global issues in teacher education. The article is structured in four sections. Firstly, we introduce and discuss contemporary literature in GCE, particularly in relation to teacher education. Next, we engage with theory to critically examine the liberal humanist and cosmopolitan foundations of hegemonic conceptualisations of GCE. Particularly, we bring into conversation Sylvia Wynter's genealogy of the invention and over-representation of Man with Walter Mignolo's (2021) genealogy of top-down European cosmopolitanism to understand how Man and its description of humanity account for harmful representations of global issues. These ideas will then enable us to consider how internal critiques of Eurocentrism have been constrained by their position and are therefore unable to challenge these divisions. Thirdly, we discuss methodological considerations for our study. After that, we present the results from our engagement with interview data through Wynter's heuristic of Man. In the conclusion, we discuss emerging pedagogical implications and further research questions for GCE in teacher education programmes in the humanities.

The Prevalence of Liberal Humanism in GCE and Teacher Education

Research has repeatedly suggested that GCE is mostly conceptualised through liberal humanist discursive orientations even when some of these conceptions explicitly aim to critique the status quo (e.g., Pashby, da Costa, Stein, & Andreotti, 2020). Liberal humanist approaches emphasise the acquisition of global knowledge (about other cultures, ethnicities, and nationalities) and welcome the inclusion of different perspectives so long as they do not challenge the dominant one (Andreotti, 2014; Araújo & Maeso, 2012; Stein, 2015). Consequently, western students are constructed as "benevolent actors, granting knowledge, humanity, resources, or rights to those they perceive to lack them" (Stein, 2015, p. 245).

Goren and Yemini (2017) have found liberal humanist approaches in practice are expressed by what Laura Oxley and Paul Morris (2013) called moral and cultural

cosmopolitanism. Under the umbrella of liberal humanism, cosmopolitanism emphasises the extension of national identities towards a global community based on a sense of belonging to a common humanity (Appiah, 2007; Nussbaum, 2002). Moral cosmopolitanism focuses on ethical engagements with global issues based on universal moral principles; while cultural cosmopolitanism is more concerned with developing cultural awareness and understanding differences between cultures (Oxley & Morris, 2013).

Cosmopolitan approaches in GCE tend to emerge as a critique of the inadequacy of the nation-state to respond to the complexity of global issues and questions around identity and belonging within increasingly multicultural societies (e.g., Orłowski & Sfeir, 2020; Osler & Starkey, 2003). For scholars in the field, cosmopolitanism is a project truly committed to human rights because it “rejects the we versus they binary that works to differentiate groups of people as citizens and immigrants” (Orłowski & Sfeir, 2020, p. 20). By reorienting loyalty from the nation-state to humanity on earth, cosmopolitanism brings to the fore international organisations and universal moral-ethical values that call for an obligation to the human “other” and a sense of care and empathy towards them based on an ability to imagine what it is like to be in their shoes (Nussbaum, 2002, 2006). Hence, cosmopolitanism emerges as an internal critique of Eurocentrism, committed to planetary conviviality, cultural collaboration, and peaceful coexistence (Mignolo, 2021). It is, according to Goren and Yemini (2017), the most common approach to GCE in European school contexts, which might come as no surprise given education’s central role within liberal-democratic societies.

Liberal humanist approaches, including cosmopolitanism, are also prominent in teacher education (Estellés & Fischman, 2021). In England, where current policy documentation entirely neglects mentioning GCE, all teachers, regardless of their specialism, are to promote fundamental British values (Department for Education, 2014; Sant & Hanley, 2018). Working in the context of GCE within teacher education in England, Philip Bamber et al. (2018) found that pre-service teachers are confident in delivering the national education agenda (meeting the competencies of their professional development) but struggle to engage with moral and ethical questions arising in their teaching. More broadly, Bamber et al.’s findings illustrated Yemini et al.’s (2016) point that GCE, embedded within current liberal frameworks, seems to lack the criticality needed to make meaningful changes in the way we teach about global issues.

Indeed, despite their underlying influence in theoretical scholarship and popularity in practice, liberal humanist approaches to GCE have been strongly criticised for having a tendency to focus on individual actions rather than structural causes, stepping over colonial histories and legacies (Pashby, da Costa, Stein, & Andreotti, 2020; Stein, 2015). Furthermore, these approaches deploy a narrative of common humanity and morality as the starting point for conversations, which assumes western universality and effaces difference (e.g., Kim, 2020; Wang & Hoffman, 2020). In this way, liberal humanist approaches tend to reinforce white supremacy and objectify the “the other” as they become something for western (white) students to learn about (Stein, 2015).

Our starting position is, then, this dominant paradigm that is both incredibly limited and prolific in informing theoretical and practical work in the field. In grappling with this predominance of liberal humanism and the restrictions it poses for thinking about

GCE differently and more ethically, we are reminded of Audre Lorde's (2018) powerful assertion that "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (p. 89). Yet, speaking as three white educators, from Portugal, England, and Catalonia (Spain), liberal humanism (the master's epistemic tools) is a necessary inheritance. Also, despite our full agreement with the critiques of liberal humanism just discussed, we also agree that this approach offers a necessary common point of entry for ethical engagements in practice (Pashby, da Costa, & Sund, 2020). So, what conversations might become possible when we start from the colonial history and logics, rather than the claim of common humanity (Povinelli, 2021)? And how might this different starting point help us identify whose "humanity is projected as superior and universal" (Stein, 2015, p. 247)?

We specifically set out to explore the potential offered by GCE in teacher education in the humanities to develop an "embattled humanism" (Scott, 2000, p. 153)—a humanism mobilised from within and against the Eurocentric imaginary that created it, one that traces its assumptions so that they can be challenged, disinvested from, and reduced to their original position as one option among many (Mignolo, 2021). Scholarship from northern European contexts shows how decolonial theory can be helpful in targeting, unravelling, and challenging the colonial imaginaries that inform and are reproduced in education about global issues (Eriksen, 2018; Eriksen & Stein, 2022; Pashby & Sund, 2020; Sund & Pashby, 2020). We seek to build on this work by exploring how Eurocentric liberal constructions of the human animate pre-service teachers' conceptualisations of GCE, the discursive mechanisms by which they are constructed, and the openings for shifting conversations in GCE in teacher education. We draw on Wynter's (2001, 2003, 2006) genealogy of Man1 and Man2 as a placeholder/signifier for the normative epistemology framing the ways in which GCE is constructed in European education contexts.

Theoretical Framework

Decolonial scholarship has largely shown how liberal humanism, including cosmopolitanism, has long been a project undermined by its place of enunciation (Mignolo, 2011, 2021). Cosmopolitan ideals of planetary conviviality were developed alongside the invention of the nation-state and rights declarations, and all of these developments contributed to the creation of the modern/colonial imaginary framing GCE today (e.g., Stein, 2015). For Mignolo (2011, 2021), we cannot debate cosmopolitanism without going back to the epistemic roots from which this project emerged. The work of Wynter (e.g., 2001, 2003, 2006) helps us target these roots, whilst shedding light on the colonial logics that shaped them.

Wynter has shown how humanism, which Europe "discovered" during the Renaissance period, is intrinsically linked to colonialism (Scott, 2000) and positions Man as "the only viable expression of humanness" (McKittrick, 2006, p. 124). Wynter's contribution is particularly relevant in the context of this article because it uncovers how the language of Man/human has been developed and deployed in knowledge production in Europe to legitimise the creation, and maintenance, of a range of systems of oppression that are sustained through, and reproduced in, GCE (see e.g., Kim, 2020; Wang & Hoffman, 2020). So, rather than taking for granted cosmopolitanism's question

of “how to live better together,” we join Rinaldo Walcott (2015) in first interrogating “why we do not live well together in the first instance” (p. 197).

According to Wynter (2001, 2003, 2006; see also Wynter & McKittrick, 2015), the invention of Man happened through a partial break with the theocentric (Christian) descriptive statement of the human in two key epochs—the Renaissance (Man1) and the Enlightenment (Man 2). Wynter (2003) argued this creation was built on, and served to justify, the invention of humanity’s other and is at the core of

all our present struggles with respect to race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, struggles over the environment, global warming, severe climate change, the sharply unequal distributions of the earth resources ... [and the] refugee/economic migrants stranded outside the gates of the rich countries. (pp. 260–261)

Man1 (*homo politicus*) emerged out of developments in the physical sciences and new political ideas of social order. It described the human as the rational man of the state, guided by universal moral values and laws acquired through education (Sant et al., 2024), in opposition to the “irrational” and non-Christian Native (Wynter, 2001, 2003; see also Mignolo, 2021). In this hybrid (religious–secular) cosmology, Man1 is still attempting to reach closer to God. Hence, Christianity provided the foundations to link rationality and morality with the justification for promoting a new civic social order, managed through rational and moral principles (Mignolo, 2021). In this period, cosmopolitan ideals were based on the existence of a Christian God that cared for all of its creatures, and this faith was used to argue for the humanity of Indigenous people, who were eventually granted “rights” if they converted and were educated through Christianity (Mignolo, 2021). Still, these rights created the frame for the distinction between all of God’s creatures and people. And from this point onwards, it was no longer a question of

thinking of men or human beings ... but of thinking of different people and relating to them through a new structure of power and rights: the right to possess, the right to dispossess, the right to govern those outside the Christian realm, the right to dictate, the right to declare war. (Mignolo, 2021, pp. 203–204)

Even though Indigenous people were forcefully converted to Christianity, when their rights appeared in contradiction to those of Europeans (e.g., to settlement and commerce), the latter were upheld (Mignolo, 2021).

In the Enlightenment, the internal critique and break with theology saw the full establishment of the nation-state and the definition of the “rights of man and of the citizen” by Emmanuel Kant (Mignolo, 2021, p. 204). The ideal global society became conceptualised as the peaceful coexistence of nations. People without a nation or without “pure” European blood (only existent in England, France, and Germany) presented a challenge to this conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism. Kant built on the colonial difference created in the Renaissance by arguing Indigenous and enslaved people were impossible to educate and, therefore, unable to acquire moral maturity and autonomy. Cosmopolitanism was once again imagined via a set of exclusions that constructed those who fit the category of Man (therefore human) and those who did not, and education was crucial to justify and ensure such separation (Wynter, 2006).

Kant's writings established a logic for a racial understanding of the nation and the hierarchisation of peoples that was further supported by work in the biological sciences, for example Charles Darwin's theory of evolution (Wynter, 2003). Kant's and Darwin's principles, together with the continued expansion of capitalism, led to the establishment of Man2 (*homo economicus*). In this secular cosmology, based on the principle of survival of the fittest through natural selection, Man is the expression of the superior white species, who holds a job and provides for the family and the economy.

Cosmopolitanism continued to develop within this cosmology through the creation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights after World War II and the export of market democracy since the 1990s (Mignolo, 2021). The sovereignty of nations established by Kant was replaced by the categorisation of developed and developing countries, with human rights serving as the guise for interventions that aimed to spread liberal—and later market—democracy (Mignolo, 2021). The western elite and its dominant culture was once again reinforced and set as the universal measuring stick for compliance (Mignolo, 2021), while education (including GCE) continued to be a key tool to reinforce the superiority of the progressive, civilised, morally superior West (Andreotti, 2006).

Re-thinking cosmopolitanism through the invention and overrepresentation of Man (1 and 2), we can see how the ideas of the human and humanity were constructed through the creation of a class of sub-humans. This classification was key to justify and legitimise the expropriations of land, enslavement of peoples, and extraction of resources, first by Europeans and later other westerners. It helps us challenge the claim that cosmopolitanism, or liberal humanism more broadly, does away with the division of “us” and “them” by showing how cosmopolitan ideals and projects were complicit with its creation in the first place. This invention of the human, and humanity's lack, is done first through the construction of a hierarchical separation between rational (closer to God, good, Euro-westerners) and irrational (closer to nature, evil, irrational Indigenous and enslaved people) with Man1, and then through the division between the selected (white, middle-class people) and the dysselected (impoverished and racialised people) with Man2.

In this world-producing imaginary, “non-western, non-white people can only, at best, be assimilated as honorary humans” (Wynter, 2003, p. 329). This assimilation into Man was enabled by cosmopolitanism through a logic of salvation by “conversion” (Renaissance), “civilisation” (Enlightenment), “modernisation” (1950s), and finally by “market democracy” (beginning in the 1990s). Moreover, in all its different iterations, cosmopolitanism was never able to challenge the colonial construction of “infidels,” “uncivilised,” “underdeveloped,” and “non-democratic” as not human (Mignolo, 2021, pp. 190–191).

We argue Wynter's heuristic is helpful in targeting the modern/colonial imaginary framing (and limiting) theoretical conversations in the field (as highlighted by Pashby, da Costa, Stein, & Andreotti, 2020) and making visible the epistemic roots of at least some of the challenges we are facing in GCE. These roots include, for example, the prevalence of the nation-state as the point of origin for global citizenship (Curley et al., 2018), the emphasis on individual rationality and universal morality (Stein, 2015),

and the hierarchical divisions between those of “us” in the global North (selected) and “them” in the global South (dysselected; e.g., Ideland & Malmberg, 2014; Kim, 2020).

Importantly, Wynter (2003, 2006) has shown that the collective production of our modes of being human (those who fit Man’s descriptive statement and those who do not) already includes the masking of their creation. This socialisation into the order of Man then structures and informs our mechanisms for knowledge production, which (no matter how oppositional) end up rearticulating it. This vicious cycle means that it is easier for us to change the content of the curriculum in GCE than it is to redefine its terms (Mignolo, 2021) and might explain why we remain within circular conversations in the field, mostly around liberal discursive orientations (Pashby, da Costa, Stein, & Andreotti, 2020).

We understand, with Wynter (2003, 2006), that the human is an epistemic construct, and Man a heuristic model (Weheliye, 2014) that offers a discursive formation through which we understand what being human is (and what it is not) and through which we have learned to make sense of ourselves and others. As such, the human requires a meta level of analysis that focuses not only on the knowledge being produced but also on the epistemic frame from which this knowledge enunciates. The first barrier to doing so is that we (as European educators and researchers) are deeply socialised within a Eurocentric conception of the human, which relies on actively producing as absent, silencing, and marginalising other perspectives and expressions of humanness (Wynter, 2003, 2006). Hence, David Scott (2000) described Wynter’s philosophy as an “embattled humanism,” one that works with the epistemic tools inherited from Man, against its over-representation. A first step is, then, to confront Man and its constitutive mechanisms.

Methodological Considerations

In this article, we aim to explore the potential of Wynter’s work to contribute to methodological and pedagogical approaches to GCE in teacher education in the humanities that (1) make visible the discursive mechanisms by which Man frames conceptualisations of GCE, which in turn sustain its dominance, and (2) look for possibilities for challenging Man and redescribing the human outside the terms of its current dominant paradigm.

We see the humanities (e.g., ancient and modern languages, history, and English; Roberts, 2021) as disciplines that explicitly take up “the human” and, because of that, offer a promising space in which to deconstruct and dislodge this universal and ahistorical idea of humanity. These are disciplines that have a history of critical engagements with taken for granted assumptions about knowledge, although they have continuously been placed at the margins of mainstream education (e.g., Massip Sabater, 2022; Porto & Zembylas, 2020; Walshe, 2017). In England, as in other contexts, we are seeing an attack on humanities departments in universities, which are being closed across the country. Similarly, most of the humanities subjects in schools tend to take on a secondary role in the curriculum, which is more focused on STEM subjects (e.g., Harris & Reynolds, 2018). The marginalisation of the humanities might speak partially to their nature as subjects that foster critical engagements and different

ways to experience and understand the world, which have the potential to challenge the status quo.

In this article, we draw upon data collected through a wider comparative project, which aimed to examine how pre-service teachers in the humanities across four contexts (Catalonia, Colombia, England, and Pakistan) would conceptualise citizenship and global citizenship education (see Sant et al., 2024). In 2016, we asked 97 students who were studying to become secondary school teachers across the different geographical contexts to answer a qualitative survey. Then nine volunteers were invited to expand on their perspectives in one-to-one interviews. In this initial comparative study, interviews were chosen to enable the acquisition of a more in depth and insightful understanding of the data collected through the qualitative survey.

In what follows, we engage with data extracts from interviews with the five participants (whose names have been changed) who accepted the invite in England. We conducted these interviews with students completing their Postgraduate Certificate in Education, which qualifies them to teach in secondary schools with pupils aged 11–16 or 11–18. The course comprises a university-based component and intensive practice in two or three schools. Katherine, a white British woman, and Matt, a white British man, were both studying to become history teachers; Adilah, a South Asian British woman, was studying to become an English teacher; and both Robert, a white British man, and David, a white Spanish man, were studying to become modern foreign language (MFL) teachers.

In line with the initial project, we asked students about their views on the purpose of education, their understandings of citizenship education and GCE, and the extent to which they saw teaching citizenship and GCE as part of their responsibilities as teachers in their specialist subjects. For the purposes of this paper, we focus solely on the portion of the interviews that related to GCE and prompted students to reflect on what they thought defines a global citizen and global citizenship education, the extent to which they felt that educating “global citizens” was their responsibility as a teacher, how GCE relates to their specialist subject area, and how they would go about teaching global citizenship in their disciplines. These questions are relevant since teachers’ understandings and beliefs about GCE impact the ways in which they teach about global issues (Estellés & Fischman, 2021). Because the initial project was designed partly to examine the Postgraduate Certificate in Education programme’s level of emphasis on GCE, we did not offer participants any form of scaffolding to help them answer the questions as we wanted them to draw on their own knowledge and experience of the topics.

Drawing on data collected from a previously established project, we were committed to working within/against Eurocentric methodologies that centre the subject and approach the data as a “coherent narrative that represents truth” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. viii). Aware of this “representational trap,” we instead drew on the data as a jumping off point for critical reflections about liberal humanism in GCE by “plugging in” theory and data (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Specifically, we drew on (“plugged in”) the heuristic of Man1 (the rational, knowledgeable subject of the state who abides by universal moral principles) and Man2 (the naturally selected because biologically superior, civilised, (neo)liberal subject of the nation) with the data transcripts.

Our approach did not assume transparency or objectivity in the participants’ reflections about GCE. Nevertheless, we acknowledge we were looking for something. Our

reading of the data largely focused on identifying *residues* of Man—elements constitutive of this descriptive statement of the human that have been repurposed in today’s social practices and narratives (Lowe, 2015, drawing on Raymond Williams, 1977). For example, a couple of participants referred to GCE as helping students see global issues through other people’s perspectives. To us, this signalled an assumption of universal moral principles (Man1) that can be applied across all cultures. Yet, whilst looking for something, we were mindful to consider multiple and contradictory alternatives. We paid special attention to openings in the data that might point to ways in which we can challenge the current dominant imaginary informing our approaches to GCE. “Plugging in” our heuristic with the data was a long process that entailed a lot of reading and re-reading with/against Man, trying to notice or sense it, and discussing how our different and multiple interpretations might help us (re)think GCE.

In this process, we also took seriously our ethical position as researchers. We followed Jeong-eun Rhee (2021) and Katherine McKittrick (2021) in their commitment to challenge colonial logics in research itself by recognising that knowledge is always partial and co-constructed in engagement with others. Hence, we engage with pre-service teachers’ perspectives not to criticise them but to think with and learn from them, aiming to draw fresh insights for GCE in teacher education practice. We see our work in this article as a conceptual product of crafting in which we deploy our theoretical lens to converse with small pieces of data. We do so not to generalise any findings but to help us rethink GCE within and against the reductive descriptive statements of Man (Rose, 2019).

Our methodological approach has limitations. As researchers and educators, we are deeply socialised within a Euro-western onto-epistemology, which has markedly influenced the research design and analysis, defining what we are able to notice in the data and foreclosing other possibilities for research design and analysis that might have been possible from a different position. Additionally, drawing on the concepts of Man1 and Man2 established a specific bias towards the data that pre-defined what narratives would get pulled, leaving behind others that are also present or could emerge from a different analysis. As such, we reinforce that in our methodological approach and our emphasis on thinking-with, we aim to shed light on new possibilities rather than attempting to make claims about the truth.

“Plugging In” Man and Conceptions of GCE

Below, we plug in extracts of our data from interviews with pre-service teachers and Wynter’s concepts of Man1 and Man2 to addresses our two research aims: (1) make visible the discursive mechanisms by which Man frames conceptualisations of GCE, which in turn sustain its dominance and (2) look for possibilities for challenging Man and redescribing the human, outside the terms of its current dominant paradigm.

Making Visible the Mechanisms of Man in Pre-Service Teachers’ Conceptions of GCE

Pre-service teachers provided a range of conceptions of global citizenship and GCE that illustrate well the wide array of perspectives available within the “kaleidoscope”

of liberal humanism (Araújo & Maeso, 2012, p. 1267) and highlight multiple mechanisms through which GCE is constructed and sustained by the imaginary of Man. Within this diversity, moral and cultural cosmopolitanism offer indeed the most prominent conceptual backgrounds for reflections (Goren & Yemini, 2017).

Moral cosmopolitanism came through in reflections about GCE that emphasised a sense of responsibility and care for others around the world, imaginative thinking (putting oneself in other people's shoes), and independent thinking. These reflections carry with them the descriptive statement of Man1—the rational (therefore good) subject of the state who acts according to universal moral principles. David's (MFL) understanding of global citizenship illustrated this perspective. For him, a global citizen was

someone that cares about other cultures, other people's feelings, someone that ... basically, I would define it as good, open minded, good person, which cares about what's going on in the world.

Similarly, Robert (MFL), mentioned global citizenship was about

speaking out when you see injustices or things that you consider unfair occurring in maybe other parts of the world, and maybe encouraging people in other parts of the world or facilitate them to stand up for their own rights.

For Katherine (history), GCE was also about "taking responsibility [for] the wider global society," which she explained requires students to have context (geographic, cultural, historical) and is a process supported by putting "the students' minds in kind of the shoes of the people of the time as well as the place."

Cultural cosmopolitanism was perhaps more explicitly referred to in the interviews (especially within MFL and English) as pre-service teachers spoke about global citizenship as being "open minded" (David and Robert) and GCE as being about developing geographical and cultural awareness (David, Robert, Katherine, and Adilah). For David and Robert, learning a foreign language was key because, as Robert explained, it "opens you automatically to the wider world." For David, this openness would then promote travelling. As he explained, "the next step obviously would be to just travel and try to use it, so then as soon as you start travelling, you are a global citizen." Also, in line with cultural cosmopolitanism, David, Robert, and Adilah saw GCE as largely supporting the development of cultural competencies through language learning and developing an understanding of other cultures. Whilst David and Robert highlighted the importance of learning Spanish and all the different cultures that speak that language, Adilah mentioned the centrality of English for global citizenship. She said it

is spoken around the world and I think it's important to educate through English ... it could bring everybody together through the language ... There's a lot of migration as well. People migrate from one country to another as well, so English becomes a bridge language ... So it's inevitable that if you have a person, a family emigrating from one country to another, they can pick up their studies at a quicker pace through the English language.

For Robert, cultural competence was also developed by pushing students outside of their comfort zones and making them aware of "different ways of viewing the world,

different ways of how people live, and something simple like attitude to food, attitude to sleep, attitude to rest, attitude to work.” He also highlighted that GCE ought to show students not all issues can be resolved within the nation-state, explaining that “some issues ... need international agreements or cooperation to be solved. For example, refugee crisis, global warming.”

On the one hand, understandings of GCE informed by moral cosmopolitanism align explicitly with a liberal discursive orientation, highlighting for example openness, care, and universal moral values (Pashby, da Costa, Stein, & Andreotti, 2020). On the other hand, cultural cosmopolitanism speaks to the intersection of neoliberal and liberal approaches to GCE, based on developing a sense of cultural competence that aligns neatly with the needs of the global economy (Andreotti, 2014; Pashby, da Costa, Stein, & Andreotti, 2020; Stein, 2015). This neoliberal–liberal cosmopolitan approach, which on the surface appears to assume cultural equality, hints at residues of Man2, implying a cosmopolitan ideal of a peaceful coexistence of nations whereby the civilised/superior individuals learn about other cultures.

Interestingly, none of the participants related their understanding of global citizenship and GCE to their social identities and positions within global power structures. Instead, they referred to their experiences of education (Matt, Robert, and Katherine), travelling (Adilah and Robert), living abroad (Robert), and being connected with people around the world through social media (Adilah). Matt and Katherine referred to their own learning of history. For example, Katherine said “I think from my side, learning history has kind of enabled me to explore maybe places and people’s lives that I wouldn’t get to personally experience.” Matt referred to a module he took during his undergraduate studies that allowed him to challenge the assumption that burkas were oppressive and notice that this was a discourse constructed by the West. He was committed to passing on this knowledge, specifically to his white male students, and explaining “that some people wear burkas, that’s their history and ... they are wearing it as a beacon of their faith.” Robert based his reflection on being “an MFL teacher, someone that spent a lot of time living abroad,” and Adilah’s discussion of GCE seemed to be based on travelling and international connectedness via social media:

I am of the opinion that a global citizen is everybody, because we belong to a large community that lives on the globe so to speak. We travel a lot, we move around a lot ... we communicate via social media as well, and we could be on our computers, in the United Kingdom, but communicating with somebody on the other side of the world so we might as well be there.

We read participants’ faith in education as inherently good and their commitment to delivering their subject’s curriculum to promote global citizenship as reflecting a dominant worldview that continues to inform conversations in GCE today. This emphasis on acquiring more knowledge to become globally competent aligns with neoliberal discourses in GCE (Stein, 2015) and assumes the acquisition of more knowledge will lead to the resolution of our global problems (Kester, 2022; Stein et al., 2022). The emphasis on “discovering” world knowledge is also rooted in our over-represented descriptive statement of Man (Knight, 2019).

With the acquisition of more knowledge being the way to produce globally minded citizens, those people who do not fit the descriptive statement of Man came through

the interviews mostly, if not only, as the objects of that knowledge. For example, Robert referred to “foreigners” and “refugees” as global issues to discuss in GCE and Matt was concerned with telling the “white boys” in his class about the “Muslim girls.” To us, these references spoke to an implicit othering that is rooted in Man2 and relies on a double exclusion: first based on who is legally a citizen of the nation and second on who belongs to the nation (see e.g., Curley et al., 2018; Kester, 2022; Sant, 2017).

The emphasis on acquiring knowledge through travelling speaks to an intersection between neoliberal and liberal discursive orientations in GCE by focusing on knowledge acquisition via cultural awareness (Pashby, da Costa, Stein, & Andreotti, 2020). Moreover, travelling and global connectedness were (and continue to be) key for the dominance of Man, first through colonialism and the encounter with other-than-humans (Man1) and then through the imperial political projects of further expansion and wealth acquisition (Man2; McKittrick, 2006). Colonial and imperial “travelling” is what allows “us” (white Euro-western citizens) to easily move around the globe and also what facilitates the “legal” extraction of resources outside Euro-western geopolitical contexts to develop the digital technologies that currently support our “global connectedness” (Mignolo, 2021).

Looking for Possibilities Within/Against Man to Conceptualise GCE Otherwise

Even within a liberal humanist frame, participants brought criticality to their reflections and gestured towards possibilities for thinking within/against Man to conceptualise GCE otherwise. We saw these possibilities being opened in two different ways: (1) by identifying and reflecting on contradictions within the dominant imaginary of Man and (2) by looking for alternative ways to describe/express the human.

One way to bring about criticality appears to be through the acknowledgment of contradictions within liberal humanism itself. In their reflections, Matt and David seemed to identify tensions within our current paradigm of Man2 and construct GCE as a response to them. Interestingly, their critique of Man2 seemed largely supported by the tools of Man1 (i.e., through an emphasis on education and independent thinking). When Matt reflected on his education, he brought up experiences that helped him challenge taken-for-granted assumptions about the “others of Man,” particularly noting that these assumptions were socially constructed rather than an accurate representation of reality. Consequently, for him, GCE was about understanding that “the world didn’t start yesterday and that we need to be very understanding of its context.” Only through this critical historical analysis can students realise that they are not “liberating a woman from her hijab” and that “Africa is not poor.” For David GCE was about independent thinking geared towards taking political action by “forming individuals ... that are ... not gonna just do what, for example, the government at the minute says.” These critical discussions signalled a critique of Man2. Matt seemed to be challenging the Eurocentric categorisation of peoples as selected/dysselected (e.g., Wynter, 2003), and David the assumption that the nation-state is looking after all of its citizens. This critique of Man2 might have also been present in Robert’s thinking in his interview when he shared that he was uncomfortable with the fundamental British values policy (Department for Education, 2014), hinting at its divisive nature.

The methodological reflections around embedding GCE in the curriculum also uncovered some key tensions that we found could have opened the door for critical engagements with Man's dominance in GCE. MFL and English pre-service teachers, for example, started from the point that English and Spanish are global languages but also that this is far from meaning singularity. In her reflection about including English literature in the curriculum, Adilah commented that perhaps rather than saying English, we might refer instead to "Englishes." Adilah acknowledged that English is a widespread language and

you find that there's a lot of writing that takes place around the world. You've got the American literature, you've got the Canadian, you've got the Asian sub-continent literature.

Similarly, David expressed frustration at Spanish always being associated with Spain. He pointed out that "there are many more people outside Spain speaking Spanish." For Robert, learning Spanish might also challenge students' insular attitudes. As he ironically put it, "I mean, how is everyone not English?" This tension between the existence of a global (common) language and the many different cultures that speak it offers a possibility for asking questions about the colonial history of the universalisation of some European languages and how they were key in imposing a Eurocentric onto-epistemology that allowed for the assimilation/marginalisation/eradication of difference. There is also an opening for considering the current level of cultural diversity within English- and Spanish-speaking contexts as local forms of resistance to that domination.

Pre-service teachers found another way to bring criticality to GCE by looking for alternative ways to describe/express the human. We refer back to Matt's reflection about his education experiences and the counter-hegemonic knowledge he acquired through them. During the interview he recalled engaging with Arab feminist writings from the 1990s and how this allowed him to deconstruct his Eurocentric perspective about oppression among Muslim women, concluding that

This whole peace and sovereign stuff, they used it to justify their colonialism, they said "look how horribly they treat women, they make them use headscarves, how appalling ... we have to tame them" ... and when I grew up there was no other way to interpret a hijab than self-oppression.

Engaging with counter-hegemonic histories and alternative ways of knowing can offer a starting point for unravelling the mechanisms by which Europe created and imposed its descriptive statement of Man to stand for the human. For us, Matt's reflection offers an example of learning from/with (as opposed to learning about; Andreotti, 2021) and illustrates what this learning can mean in terms of challenging liberal humanism from within. As Wynter explained, "if you move outside these limits [of Man], look at other cultures and their other conceptions, then look back at the West, at yourself, from a trans-genre-of-the-human perspective, something hits you" (Scott, 2000, p. 206).

The application of these critical gestures in reflections about GCE practice, nevertheless, remains challenging. As we saw previously, for David and Robert, GCE practice

was still largely based on fostering individual changes based on the acquisition of more knowledge for a better understanding of “the other.” And for Matt, reflections about implementing GCE pivoted back to liberal pluralist approaches that relied on including multiple perspectives in the conversation and presenting the “two sides” of the argument (i.e., right wing vs. left wing). Thus, critiques of Man2 appear to remain framed and limited by their enunciative position, speaking back to the deeply rooted nature of liberal humanism in GCE and the strong chance that perspectives outside Eurocentrism are read from and assimilated within its epistemological framing (Eriksen & Stein, 2022; Pashby, da Costa, Stein, & Andreotti, 2020). Nevertheless, this compromised position can be a pedagogical space if we commit to learning from it rather than focusing on overcoming it by acquiring more (of the same) knowledge.

Conclusions

Pre-service teachers’ reflections offer important insights into the ways in which a Eurocentric epistemology (Man1 and Man2) is sustained and reproduced in conceptualisations of GCE. In our reading of the data, these conceptions appear to remain informed by moral cosmopolitanism, concerned with promoting responsibility towards “the other” (rooted in universal moral values), and cultural cosmopolitanism, concerned with supporting the acquisition of competences (acquired through knowledge about other cultures and travelling). Importantly, these conceptions largely overlooked global power inequalities and individual positionality (Andreotti, 2014) as well as complicity in harm (Andreotti, 2006). Even as GCE was thought through a more critical perspective (e.g., in David’s and Matt’s cases), this criticality was then foreclosed by a liberal pluralist approach to practice, showing how constrictive the curriculum can be for teachers attempting to challenge the status quo. As such, these findings reinforce an understanding of Man’s curriculum as a powerful tool to structure our knowledge of ourselves and others (Snaza & Tarc, 2019).

Despite the epistemological and curricular challenges pre-service teachers were working with, they gestured towards critical engagements with GCE by speaking of the importance of independent and critical thinking, countering hegemonic knowledge, and taking action. As such, we are reminded that the humanities have a history of using Man’s epistemic tools to engage in (at least internal) critiques of Eurocentrism, which is possibly what has placed these disciplines under continuous attack from the political establishment. However, the data also highlights why this position is still limited: because it enunciates from within (and thus is unable to fully challenge) Man’s descriptive statement. As Marina Garcés (2020) argued, a key issue with European modernity is that the commitment to critical thinking was never turned to the European project itself. We use this learning to reflect on ourselves as researchers and educators too. Learning, teaching, and reflecting from this necessarily compromised position means we might have no other choice than to draw on, as Lorde (2018) put it, “the master’s tools” to dismantle “the master’s house.” However, we might be able to do so in different, more reflexive, ways.

We found Wynter’s heuristic of Man1 and Man2 offers a helpful tool to perform a meta-level analysis of the dominant imaginary from within which the humanities

operate and counterbalance the inherited/wilful disavowal of contradictions within Eurocentrism that shape critical thinking in these disciplines. This is a tool that teacher educators can also use as an anchor to support reflections that target Eurocentrism in their subject specialism and school curricula. Making room to develop more ethical reflections about teaching in teacher education programmes is key because pre-service teachers face pressures for institutional compliance as soon as they start working in schools (Bamber et al., 2018; Biesta, 2015).

Wynter's heuristic can offer a tool to tap into the dominant imaginary of Man and support a tracing of its residues in approaches to GCE in teacher education. Nevertheless, this tool might only take us so far and further work will be required to decentre Man and to make room for the absences that are actively produced by it. Alongside internal critiques, the counter-hegemonic knowledge Matt spoke of is important. Learning from "the borders"—outside of Man's dominant descriptive statement (Mignolo, 2021)—might be a helpful way to start turning the "absences" created by Man into "presences." This will look differently in each specialist subject, but it will likely require looking outside the academic cannon. A starting point for teacher educators and pre-service teachers to identify what they do not know could be to raise questions about what they think they know and are given in the curriculum of their subjects (Subedi, 2013), acknowledge and address possible tensions and contradictions (Pashby & Sund, 2020), and trace their own assumptions and understandings about global issues to wider dominant perspectives (Andreotti, 2014). We raise some questions that might support this critical inquiry into the curriculum: Who is the human assumed to be and/or (over) represented in the curriculum? What colonial histories shape this construction of the human? Against/in spite of whom? How does this dominant view of who the human is (and who the human is not) contribute to the reproduction of global systems of oppression? What is presented as "what is" (fact/reality)? What knowledge supports/corroborates "what is"? How has that knowledge gained the authority to do so? Are there other ways of knowing that would enunciate alternatives to "what is"? Where are they? Why are they not present in the curriculum? What other ways of knowing and being human can we learn from to make room for the absences produced in the curriculum?

Our work might have implications for further research and scholarship in GCE and teacher education. Considering that each subject specialism will have its own methods for knowledge production and categorisation, framing the way we see, think, and relate to the world (McKittrick, 2021), we think it would be interesting to delve deeper into the different disciplines separately. We suspect Wynter's heuristic can be differently embraced within disciplinary boundaries as well as across them. Other researchers might wish to explore questions such as the following: What are the residues of Man in English/MFL/history and how do these residues impact approaches to GCE? In what ways does each discipline navigate the complexities, complicities, and contradictions between Man1 and Man2? More broadly, GCE researchers might also wish to consider and investigate the possibilities of other heuristics as a counterbalance for traditional (liberal) forms of criticality.

Our conclusions might also shed some light on those seeking to promote engagements with GCE otherwise, particularly by gesturing towards an "incommensurable"

approach to GCE that acknowledges the limitations of “existing scripts for thought and action” and open spaces for other forms of engagements with the world (Stein, 2015, p. 247). For us, this approach requires that we move away from a liberal cosmopolitan GCE that takes on “the globe” from above (universal human rights, moral values, ethical principles) and outwards (starting from self, nation-state, culture). However, “moving away” might not mean leaving aside. Perhaps moving away might mean moving into and against—taking liberal humanism as a point of entry and (un)learning from within it by delving into the possibilities that its contradictions, tensions, and challenges bring.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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