

(Un)becoming tourist-teachers: Unveiling white racial identity in cross-cultural teaching programmes

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To cite this article: Judith Enriquez-Gibson & Ian Gibson (2015) (Un)becoming tourist-teachers: Unveiling white racial identity in cross-cultural teaching programmes, *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning*, 10:2, 107-120, DOI: 10.1080/22040552.2015.1113845

ABSTRACT

The importance of cross-cultural experiences in teacher education has become more pressing than ever. The composition of schools across Australia is increasingly more diverse, therefore it is pertinent to examine and develop pre-service teachers' worldview and culturally sensitive dispositions critical for teaching in predominantly multicultural classrooms. This paper examines whiteness and otherness within the notion of *tourist gaze* and its implication in the development of racially aware teachers in cross-cultural teaching programmes and mostly in retrospect, a programme that could dismantle the naturalisation of privilege identities and structures.

It presents students' dispositions and observations about cultural and pedagogical practices different from their own. The fragmented journal accounts of participants were juxtaposed using the active methodology of bricolage and represented through critical reflection and racial understandings. This enacts a provocative stance between the personal and analytical towards becoming white teachers by turning one's gaze of the non-white other towards the self-as-white.

KEYWORDS

Tourist gaze; pre-service teachers; cross-cultural immersion; teacher education; bricolage; whiteness

Introduction

The need and value of cross-cultural immersion programmes as an integral part of teacher education is not new (Howsam, 1976; Taylor, 1969). With the diversity of school populations due to the increasing number of immigrant children in Australian schools, it is important that pre-service teachers develop culturally sensitive dispositions if they are to be effective teachers (Bryan & Sprague, 1997; Germain, 1998). More recently, the teaching profession in Australia has become increasingly white (Austin & Hickey, 2007; Hickey & Austin, 2009). It is not unique to Australia's teaching profession. In fact, in the United States, there are approximately 82.7% public school teachers and 88.3% private school teachers (Goldring, Gray, & Bitterman, 2013). Many universities and schools of education, particularly in the United States, require teacher candidates to take a course in multicultural education or promote issues of diversity, social justice and equity within their curriculum (Quezada, 2004). However, developing *empathy* and a sense of 'otherness' requires more than a group discussion with peers from diverse cultures and backgrounds and assigned readings from a multicultural education textbook to comprehend the elusive nature of diversity or race and to shift one's worldview or habits of the mind. Sleeter and colleagues (Sleeter, 2000–2001; Sleeter, Torres & Laughlin, 2004) acknowledge the fact that a large proportion of white pre-service teachers are on the one hand increasingly aware of the diverse cultural backgrounds of children in the classroom and on the other, demonstrate little awareness of cross-cultural background, knowledge and experience, especially of their white racial identity. Effective teachers develop *dispositions* through direct encounters and personal engagement with different life experiences (FERENCE & Bell, 2004; Sleeter, 1995). Many pre-service teachers end up with an oversimplification of the meaning of 'diversity' and its implications to the success of all students (Cushner, 2004; Nieto, 2000). Cross-cultural immersion programmes can counteract these oversimplified meanings and bring the depth

of knowledge and experiences that students need to change their dispositions towards students of other cultures.

Studies have shown that cross-cultural experiences can lead to increased personal and professional competence, cultural understanding and sensitivity, and openness to cultural diversity (Quinn, Barr, Jarchow, Powell & McKay, 1995; Wilson, 2001; Zhao, Meyers & Meyers, 2009). However, studying broad programmes in universities are limited if not next to none when it comes to presenting the same opportunities for students in primary and secondary education (Quezada, 2004). There are different models that have been implemented in cross-cultural programmes: (1) universities having their own global education programmes where international opportunities are available; (2) universities that are part of a consortium that includes other universities who are partnered with host country universities; and (3) universities that are partnered with NGO's. The last model is the model used for this programme and includes short-term intensive immersion where students are accompanied by faculty or a tour leader who can help students process and reflect on their experiences and bridge those experiences to their future classrooms (FERENCE & BELL, 2004). The first two models are more elaborate as they include five to eight weeks of teaching both locally and abroad (Quezada, 2004). In identifying the different models of cross-cultural programmes available to pre-service teachers, the structural privileging of white racial identity does not solely lie in the subjectivities and personal experiences of pre-service teachers in this paper, As pointed out by Lowenstein (2009), there is a bigger picture of whiteness that must be considered. For instance, the persistent 'white instruction' (Cuban, 1973), which relies on transmission-oriented pedagogy, does not attend to diversity. Instead it normalises differences. In this case, we must scrutinise the 'white instruction' that shapes perceptions in teacher education programmes more closely.

The small beginning of a cross-cultural immersion programme is described as a discursive environment to consider the concerns raised above. It discusses the initial design of the programme and the immersion experiences of the first group of pre-service teacher students who were selected to participate in the programme for three weeks in India. In retrospect, the programme itself must be informed and transformed by a critical engagement with whiteness. It presents pre-service teachers' dispositions about cultural and pedagogical practices different from their own. This is done partially never fully using what Denzin and Lincoln (2000) call a *bricolage*. This is a process of analysis that promotes a relational and active exchange between the self and the other as text, meanings, past and present experiences and interpretations are juxtaposed and tinkered to provoke possible ways of seeking or seeing (gazing). Students examined their own teaching experience and preconceived stereotypes of what teachers ought to be doing, what classrooms should look like and what resources should be available for teaching and learning. One of the challenges of the programme is the need for effective scaffolds, relevant strategies and guided reflection to shift students' tourist perspective of the whole immersion experience. As interpreters and researchers, students' partial recordings of their day-to-day experiences were analysed in written form far from the vibrant colours and smells of India.

Describing programme, participants and data

Teacher education students from the department of education at an Australian university participate in cross-cultural immersion teaching experiences in small rural village schools in the southern highlands of India each year. This practical experience is equivalent to experiences required in practicum activities as a regular component of the pre-service teacher education programme at any Australian university. This cross-cultural immersion experience is designed specifically to support the university-wide initiative on increasing its graduates' community engagement experiences.

Participation in professional practicum experiences in a vastly different culture to that which participants are familiar produces unique professional and personal opportunities for growth,

awareness and understanding of diversity outside the familiar domains of the institutionalised professional environment of classroom teaching which usually forms the basis of the development of teacher identity. Attitudes, behaviours, philosophies and dispositions of teacher education students are formed during these experiences, emphasising the added value of internalising distant realities and disparate cultural contexts particularly in teaching environments. All of these experiences contribute to developing the tolerance for ambiguity so necessary in Australian teachers in the twenty-first century multicultural classroom environments in which they find themselves placed as teachers following graduation. Such intent and sentiment must be considered critically. Differences must be acknowledged and how 'growing up white' shapes cultural lenses and perceptions which are characterised by white blind spots. A more comprehensive analysis or consideration would remove 'whiteness' from the unmarked 'invisible' position, and include it in its deliberations.

Scheduled during the second semester, all recruited participants undergo a rigorous application and selection process culminating in an interview conducted by the second author who led the 'teaching tour of India' and nominated representatives from collaborating agencies. Institutional support for the programme included student travel grants provided by the international division of the university infrastructure which cover the majority of travel costs for students. The remainder of those costs, including personal expenditures, were covered through student's personal funds. Students were encouraged to raise additional funds from community agencies to cover additional expenses. Collaborating agencies provided small grants sufficient to cover travel and accommodation costs of supervisory staff who accompany students for the entire length of their overseas experience.

Once applicants were selected, they participated in two full day, pre-departure workshops which covered such topics as a code of conduct (designed to clarify the standards of behaviour expected of participants in the performance of their duties and provide guidance in areas of personal and ethical decision-making); quality pedagogies and lesson planning; child protection issues and expectations; cross-cultural skills; presentations on India and the host school; introduction to Indian culture and languages, risk assessment issues; development of teacher resource kits; travel grant processes; vaccination requirements; visa checklists; what to pack; and expectations related to the production of academic and practicum experience artefacts.

To facilitate evaluation and further development of the cross-cultural programme, a research study was designed around it. The participants were asked to provide data related to this opportunity to transform and redefine professional and personal conceptualisations of learning and diversity. The purpose of the data collection is to describe the impact of professional experiences in a community not their own, particularly in rural and remote settings, on the development of professional identity in pre-service teacher education students as it pertains to functioning in a multicultural classroom context and reactions to specific activities related to technology use, community engagement and cultural understandings. Given that this immersion programme for teacher candidates is a very new partnership between Australian university and a non-profit organisation based in India, this paper is based on a small-scale study. Its objective is not to be representative, but to provoke something different to look at and ponder about as a 'way-in' through many glances and passing places. We are positioned differently as authors to the programme, participants and journal entries that became data for this paper. The first author was an outsider to the programme experience and the second author was an insider who followed and led the pre-service teachers in India. Back in Sydney, specific glances, events and encounters captured in the participants' journal entries and other artefacts, such as photographs and souvenirs, were selected to probe the programme, the shared experiences, including ourselves in multiple and rather entangled relations (Fine, 1994).

Participants

The participants in the programme were recruited from a pool of students who participated in a cross-cultural immersion exercise. Three female students, ranging in age from 20 to 27, participated in the programme. They were all white and Australian born. Each had previously travelled overseas. Two referred to as Shelli and Kim (not their real names), had done so mostly for pleasure and not for as long as three weeks in the same location and not in a place as remote as Ajra turned out to be. The remaining participant, Judy (not her real name), had spent some time in India and has been exposed to similar conditions to those expected in the local for the cross-cultural experience. Pseudonyms have been adopted for each participant, in sections in this text where their voices are borrowed from pages in their journals and summary paper at the end of the trip.

As an integral component of the programme experience, Shelli, Kim and Judy were required to keep a daily journal and record their experiences individually. They were expected to develop lesson plans for the classes assigned to them and reflect on each of them. As a team, they were asked to participate in briefing and debriefing sessions, and respond to a series of questions and provocations regarding their engagement in a different teaching and cultural context.

Data collection

Following an informed consent procedure approved as part of the university ethics clearance process, the second author obtained the participants' journals and reflection papers upon completion of the experience and following receipt of final ethics approval through the standard university process. Students submitted all artefacts in support of the supervision report that was developed for the student following the cross-cultural immersion experience and for which a practicum report was constructed to enable participants to gain recognised university credit for the programme experience.

Briefing and de-briefing sessions took place after every lesson taught in the Indian classroom and at the end of every school day. These discussions took place literally around the kitchen table in the main house used for accommodation during the experience and often included priests and teaching brothers who were the hosts for the experience. Notwithstanding these frequent 'community' debriefing sessions, there were ample opportunities for individual and small group discussions including just teacher education students and supervisor, or just teacher education students themselves.

Needless to say, there is so much data to be had in pages of both hand-written and digitised text, photographs (including autographs), souvenirs, cups of chai tea, glasses of buffalo milk, masses, dances and songs. How do we as researchers and narrators present and string together this assemblage of moments and events, of words and gestures, of study and play. We proceed with the notion of the *tourist gaze* (Urry, 1992, 2002, 2003) and the main source of the non-tourist process of writing this paper had been the journal entries of the teacher students. After the trip, what remains outside the journal pages are stories after stories, including summary papers about the trip – a performance of a rite of passage perhaps or of identity (Noy, 2004). This exploration is left for another day. However, what has become urgent and pressing consideration is the obvious absence at least in the montage of teacher experiences of an awareness or articulation of white racial identity in a non-white cultural encounter. Immersive programmes must engender critical reflection and engagement of racial identity and make whiteness visible.

Whiteness unmasked

Whiteness or race in general, Austin and Hickey (2007) argue rarely, refers to white Australians as it is a code or label for the Other (non-white). Engaging in cross-cultural teaching programmes does

not make one automatically an anti-racist. There is difficulty in tuning in to whiteness and its implications. To invert the tourist gaze it is necessary for 'white' people (i.e. not only those with white skin colour) to become aware of colour-blindness or one's blind spots to work against racism. Upon reflection, the students' written encounters of the 'other' (i.e. Indian teachers and students) beyond a touristic perspective of another school, classroom and lesson seemed to be detached from any understanding or awareness of the privilege and authority of a white teacher. Whiteness, as a frame of analysis and reflection after the students returned from India and the programme was concluded, could not simply be ignored. The intent is not to put blame on the white female Australians in this paper or to diminish the perceived value of their experiences. As Lowenstein (2009) argues, opportunities to ground pre-service teachers' awareness of their white racial identities must be supported so as to explore and question their frames of reference in this case beyond the tourist gaze as described in the following sections. Teacher education programmes, she further adds, must attend to the conceptualisation of teaching and pedagogy around issues of diversity and must not perpetuate a racial positioning of 'heroes to the rescue'.

Narrating the other: participants and mediated data

The other through the tourist gaze is explored through research journals as mediating text between people (Australian participants and Indian subjects), places (Australia and India) and between researchers and journal entries. Like Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012), the other is conceptualised in sociological than psychological terms. The stories documented in journal entries are inescapably about 'otherness' – chronicles of the self, its identity and culture and the way it shares, expresses, represents the other in what is learned, accepted or attended to. The process of analysis was a negotiation, an 'other' experience in itself, between the observations and interpretation made through text and the participants' observations and interpretations of their own experiences both recorded in written form with some visual images. Review of journal entries generates a text and stories of experience. These do not only chronicle a sequence of significant or written events. They reify the 'other'. Illuminated in the following sections are fragments of data (i.e. of encounters and events), and interpretative analysis of discourse. It explores the idea of fragmented narrative or bricolage as a method of analysis in interpretative inquiry (Markham, 2005). It presents an ethnographically informed expression of cross-cultural experience of otherness through tourist gaze. A bricolage as a process of analysis encourages multiple perspectives – from the self or the other, either near or far – through the arrangement and rearrangement of disparate but related threads of information. This is made possible through the juxtaposition of the narrative fragments derived from research journals. The fragmentation or 'hypertext logic' (Markham, 2005) in our analysis as a sense-making process is evidently non-linear and involves the weaving of ideas, images and interpretations to present the unfolding of a linear academic writing.

Faces, places and glances

Gazing in public

In framing the analyses and narratives of what the personal experiences present as data to 'get to'. We set our own gaze upon the possible relations that could be inferred and shared given the interest and urgent need in multicultural education, including teacher education programmes, for cross-cultural immersion programmes to raise awareness and empathy for cultural diversity and also to respond to the increasing recognition in cultural studies and critical pedagogy to attend to activities, places and spaces, practices and structures outside the institutionalised spaces (i.e. classrooms, libraries) of schooling.

The notion of a public pedagogy refers to spaces and sites that exist outside schools which are of no less value and importance as teaching structured within formal classrooms (Burdick & Sandlin,

2010). Tracing the 'alter' (other) spaces of an educational exchange does not stop here. It further relates the pedagogical traces to the notion of a *tourist gaze* defined by John Urry.

Study abroad and immersion programmes involve 'corporeal travel' (Urry, 1992). In an attempt to delve more deeply and perhaps precariously into travel aspect of multicultural education that is promoted and sustained through cross-cultural immersion or study abroad programmes, tourism and being a tourist could not be ignored. In particular, we turn to a post-structuralist conceptualisation of *gaze*. The concept of gaze suggests that different people attend and understand images, situations, events and places in diverse ways because of who they are and how they tell and perform their identities and reinforce their sense-making and purpose in the world (Sfard & Prusak, 2005). For Urry (1992; 2002), a tourist is involved in creating the meanings of localities. And a tourist gaze is not just the 'outsider's eye'. It is in the 'gazing' in the exchange explicit or otherwise. A common example is how the price of a commodity in trading places fluctuates according to one's inability to speak the local language or one's skin colour. In this case, the tourist gaze is never neutral. It is relational and facilitates particular behaviours.

Of particular interest in framing the experience of the teacher candidates in this immersion programme, is the notion that the tourist gaze is multiple, slipping between romantic and collective (Urry, 1992). The romantic gaze involves a series of brief encounters, glancing, wandering, collecting and sensing different signs, usually in awe and wonderment. One's vision is drawn to the spectacle of the tourist site, whilst a collective gaze gives a sense of a group activity. In trying to look into the data, the romantic gaze is considered to be focused on the 'self' in relation to the other and the latter less so. The teacher candidates aboard a plane from Sydney, Australia to Mumbai via Singapore were tourists when they arrived at their destination. There was no doubt about it. For immersion programmes to be of significance and value and for participants to be more than just 'glorified' tourists, we have to know the dispositions and gazes of the participants and develop programmes that may facilitate a shift away from any hedonistic expectations or spectator stance. So the questions that directed the focus and intent of this paper are: to what extent do the teacher candidates move towards becoming teachers beyond being tourist-teachers with tourist (self-focused) gaze (hence, the title of the paper)?; to what extent can the programme facilitate a shift towards empathy and authenticity, an 'other-focused' gaze?

Snapshots of experience

In this section, the captured glances of the teacher students as tourist-teachers are described to provide the reader a sense of the public spaces and tourist gazes that came to define their cross-cultural experience.

Moving gaze: a city of colours, crowds and sacred cows

In all journal entries during the first week, new noises featured prominently 24 hours a day. We all heard the city – many before us focused initially on smell (see below), but for us it was the noise. Two of the teacher candidates commented that one knows one is in India when you hear it. One thing that was noticeable was the continuous honking of horns on the streets of Mumbai for no initially apparent reason. Drivers climbed into their cars and honked their horns before doing anything else. Why? The noise both of crowds and cars was just incessant. We were surrounded with sense-scapes comprising of roosters instead of alarm clocks to wake one up, ceiling fans insisting on reminding you constantly that they were working for you, and that dull ubiquitous hum of human verbalising that formed the foundation of all human activity. It was headache producing, but only after you realised what it was. Almost like clockwork, before six in the morning, the dullness of that roar of humanity permeated every waking moment and the cows wandered aimlessly through it, making no noise at all. Those cows are sacred so we were told. The 33 Hindu gods could be found inside the stomach of a cow, hence their sanctity. One would not miss the signs of religion

everywhere with the roaming cows between footsteps, saris, market produce and tourist spectacles. Those sacred cows were roaming the streets dodging the stickers of the pantheon of Indian gods splashed all over the taxis, too.

Then you had to smell the city. Others have said you could smell India, and perhaps this is true – and those smells brought long hidden memories of ‘Dad’s’ sandalwood elephant – it was the smell of that carved wooden elephant that made the place appear familiar and then the stunning discovery of how the smells change just after the rain or monsoon in the afternoons. One could experience all of this in Mumbai through the taxi window: One thing I noticed as we drove through Mumbai was the splashes of colour. It was an overcast day (and actually started to rain on our drive) and there was also a layer of smog that was quite visible. On top of this the buildings are all quite dull colours, often made of cheap material, and the whole city is dirty. However, amidst this bleakness there were many bright colours – the bright colours of the saris that the women were wearing, the bright colours of the washing hanging from the balconies of the thousands of apartments and the bright colours of all the advertising that is posted around the city. (Shelli) Out of Slumdog Millionaire

Just like the movie, *Slumdog Millionaire*, the beggars on the street tagged on your clothes as you walk. They asked for food, money perhaps something else and with a slight turn of one’s head, there you see in between fragile arms sleeps a baby. Another movie scene was the train station packed with crowds of people and the noise was just all encompassing. It became clear as the second author listened to these observations that the movie was indeed a point of reference for the teacher tourists in his company.

Gazed upon: becoming the tourist attraction

They did go to the Gate of India to be tourists – to watch and absorb. Instead they themselves were watched. *People came up to us asking to take photos with us ... random blokes asked their girlfriends wives or ... to take their photos with us ... it became almost embarrassing!* I find it interesting how the Indians seem to be so interested in foreign tourists. It is different in Sydney where we see tourists but don’t really make any effort to go and talk to them. (Shelli)

Spectacle of dances and songs: an Indian welcome

Upon arrival in the village of Ajra, students familiarised themselves with their accommodation, the immediate locale surrounding the school, and the schedules they were to follow during the remainder of the experience. On the first day of school they were treated like ‘superstars’ (in their own words!) and feted with welcome ceremonies, dances and garlands of flowers.

For the first three days each student was involved in teaching all of the classes in the school from Kindergarten to Standard 10 – these lessons were completed in a team teaching format with the supervisor (second author) teaming with one or another of the students in the presentation of lessons that were partially designed during pre-departure workshops and focused on Australia, koalas, possums, family photos and similar obvious introductory topics and stories.

During their stay, the tourist gaze intervened and proved to be quite a challenge with the role of teaching. Their ‘whiteness’ – blond hair, white skin and blue eyes, including their youth and vivaciousness, though most welcomed and sought after with insistent requests for autographs and suggestions that they were actually movie stars, delivered an experience of self-prestige and importance. This relation promoted the difference between the hosts and the guests, the real teachers and the tourist-teachers. Photographs in the first week of the experience emphasised this

gap as the group of students was often seen huddled together in their western clothes during assemblies quite a distance from the huddled group of sari-clad Indian teachers.

A finding worth exploring in greater detail during the last week of the experience was again based in photographic evidence with students and Indian teachers intermingled and deep in conversations at school assembly. One feature of these later photographs was the dress of students. Each gravitated to teaching in saris during the last week. Perhaps this is a symbolic attempt to shift the 'romantic' glances of the 'locals'. Though still awed by both the growth and adjustments each had made in this professional context, it is also symbolic of the degree of acceptance they had attracted from their local hosts.

The gaze of the Other that makes one's whiteness bodily visible must be acknowledged and confronted not as a superior racial positioning or a privilege difference but must resist the reproduction of such inequalities.

School motto: shine brightly

The school (hub) for this immersion programme is run by the Jesuits in the parish of Ajra with a total of 350 families in 15 villages, approximately 20,000 people. The school is nearly 50 years old, built in 1963. There are 10 classes with 50 or more students in each. All subjects are taught in English. Pupils also speak Hindi and Marathi. It is interesting to note here that the language that is native to the teacher candidates is considered the ticket to a better life for all the students they engaged with in this school. Something so familiar and mundane perhaps became so crucial in this place.

The organisation of schooling is quite different. Eighty per cent of education in India is run by the church. The majority of those schools is run by the Catholic Church. Other denominations are welcome to attend school at Rosary. It costs 3000 rupees per year (300 per month) to stay in the hostel at the Rosary school – concessions are available. To attend the school in the day it is free for standards 1–7 (government subsidised) and only costs a small amount for Standards 8–10 – again concessions are made. In the hostels at the Rosary school there are currently 97 boys and 72 girls.

They weren't wearing their uniforms because Wednesday is 'washing day' and as they only have one uniform they are allowed to wear normal clothes some were wearing typical Indian clothes but some were wearing what looked like clothes from a dress-up box (they wore their favourite clothes). (Shelli)

These experiences demonstrated to the teacher students the association of clothing in this case to a household chore and the reality of that the students in their classes one had one uniform. And yet, the school was quite well-equipped to their surprise with a dedicated computer lab. So quickly, one could sense that this Jesuit school is an elevation of living for most of the village children. For example, the 'Mid-day Meal' programme subsidised by the government assures parents that their children are fed during the day.

Inside the Indian classroom

I quickly notice the class is huge – 50 children with 2 to 3 at a desk. There are 4 rows of desks, 8 deep. Desks are wooden and have a bench attached. Most children sit with their bags on their laps or still on their backs, along with a notebook, textbook and pen. The teacher is at the front of the room with a well-used blackboard. ... Looking around the room there were windows, which were the source of the only light in the room and half a dozen or so posters on the wall (none in English though). To see such minimal space and resources – it is amazing to see the knowledge that these kids have learnt. (Kim)

The journal pages were littered with words like ‘teacher-centred’, ‘transmissionist’, ‘rote learning’ and other words and phrases to suggest that the classroom teaching was ‘behind’ and ‘outside’ the accepted notion of good teaching practice found in words like ‘student-centred’ and ‘constructivist’. The teacher students’ gaze was fixed upon the reinforcement of one’s own cultural attachments and expectations.

Hostel life: structure of the school day

A major and impressive feature of Indian schooling for these Australian teacher education students was represented in the daily schedule of events surrounding what would be broadly called the ‘school day’. Clear memories of attitudes of Australian students were contrasted to the intensity and acceptance of the focus on study in each day of the lives of Indian students. Faced with a 6 am wake up call and cold water wash, an hour study session before breakfast and compulsory mass before school began at 9.30 am – it was clear to these teacher education students that most Australian students would rebel and fight the structure and develop attitudes that were recalcitrant and surly. The positive sense of privilege of Indian students under this regimen were made and regarded in wonder by these beginning teachers. The full school day finished at 4 pm and was followed by dinner and an hour of ‘recreation’ before washing up and yet another hour-long study session before supper, some quiet indoor recreation and then lights out with prayer and sleep just after 10 pm. While clearly there would be variations in this schedule from family to family and day-to-day, there was a clear understanding by all that such a regimen was expected and closely adhered to for all students of this school regardless of their family situation or location.

The hostel walls produced a different hum to the everyday of the students staying there. Activities are punctuated by the sound of a bell ringing.

Buffalo milk and village families

Politeness is dangerous here! We attended a village mass with Father Joe. Celebrations ensued. We were to visit each of the sixteen families in the parish and be entertained by them ... chai ... warm buffalo milk fresh from the ... container that was living in one of the rooms of the house! Coffee biscuits that cost a fortune at the markets. Not bad the first time – multiplied sixteen times though in the space of an hour and a half and the stomach squirming begins. No way out!

Courtyard – playground

The courtyard demarcated by the school buildings and the Jesuit house was the school assembly space and a critical learning space for these beginning teachers – marking the beginning of schooling and the beginning of play at different times of the day. It was a transitional space between being tourist-teachers to becoming teacher. It was re-arranged for different purposes – weddings, sporting events, dance contests, welcome assemblies, cultural events and monkey gazing. The activities in the courtyard could easily tell the time of day or where everyone might be located.

Seeing the public spaces with a tourist gaze

When they travelled, their romantic ‘tourist gaze’ was set on ‘native’ peoples (Urry, 2002), which is how the social category tourist is constructed, the gaze is a political, patronizing act that infuses tourists of self-perceived prestige (Noy, 2008, p. 337).

The yellow flower petals, songs and dances, picture-taking and autograph requests created a spectacle *for* them and *of* the teacher students. They found themselves in different sites and situations of both touristic and teacher engagements. There were shifts in the senses as produced

and marked by various encounters and yet hardly a shift of one's disposition in relation to the life arrangements of the 'natives'.

Fragmented other

The 'other' does not reside in the experiences of the participants alone. This lies with us, too, in our own engagement with them and their experiences as written for us to later on read and analyse. The fragmented narrative presented here is a tension between a personal and analytical stance of lived experiences not necessarily shared and interpreted in various ways. This is the nature of a bricolage and the influence of its disjuncture, fragmentation and juxtaposition creates a tension too great and important to be merely submitted to either a direct and logical argument or an account claiming pure objectivity (Kincheloe, 2001, 2005; Markham, 2005). Hence, the 'other' is fragmented. This should allow for 'ways of seeing' to be less about the *exotic* (Gaines, 2005) that is too easily portrayed as a difference of inferiority through the tourist gaze.

Conclusions and implications

This paper was an encounter in a fragmented narrative inquiry with three Australian pre-service teachers before, during and after a three-week cross-cultural immersion in India. Its intention and illustrations are rather small in a matter of size but perhaps profound in terms of its provocation. It illustrated how experience might affect student dispositions as teachers and their engagement in public spaces as sites of learning with the tensive thread between coming as tourists and becoming teachers. This is further complicated by the colour-blindness that the accounts have portrayed about the participants' racial positionings as white female Australians and how perhaps the one-shot, though claimed to be intensive, preparation meetings simply encouraged the participants to generalise and prejudge students due to the limited background, knowledge and experience in orienting oneself to the other and understanding one's racial identity.

There was an awareness of the differences in cultures and teaching practices. However, there is an obvious need to pay attention to the 'otherness' of people and places, traditions and practices outside the spectacle and romantic tourist gazes. There is a need to question and challenge their own ways of seeing their teaching, lessons, classrooms and resources and how these may relate to 'others' (Roose, 2001). There was no real questioning of self, of ways of knowing, of what is legitimised as good teaching practice or what it means to be a good student or what makes a well-behaved or well-equipped class or classroom.

Cross-cultural immersion itself does not promote a better understanding of the 'other' culture and equip pre-service teachers with better skills to work with people of different cultures; rather, it requires that these teachers take an active role and a positive attitude when they are immersed in the culture (Zhao et al., 2009, p. 313).

How does one begin to point to the 'other' with recognition? This is not an easy goal to achieve. Such process of recognition requires that racial identity is made visible, instead of muting its presence and worse, normalising the privileged identity that comes with white racial identity. 'Whiteness must be excavated if any serious understandings of race [or in the diverse cross-cultural context of teaching programmes] hope to move beyond simple paternalism or "false charity" (Freire, 1972)' (Hickey & Austin, 2009, p. 150). Teacher education programmes, without any doubt, should be able to challenge and change the students' construct of identity beyond the romantic gaze so they see and teach beyond the gaze of the 'third world' (Noy, 2008) or the 'deficit mode' imposed upon those who are considered or conceived to be less privileged (Nieto, 2000). However, shifting the conservative dispositions of teacher candidates who have only known how to communicate and function in one culture and most often teach the way they are taught requires more than romantic glances in the 'host' location. However, Noy (2008) did provide a rather interesting insight that

suggests the prestigious self-image or performed identities of tourists, backpackers in particular, illuminate heightened patterns of interactions and local engagement through storytelling. And so, '(f)or participants, the trip is an inauguration into a subculture, and is commonly perceived of and narrated as nothing short of a self-transformational rite' (Noy, 2004, p. 5). Does the value of cross-cultural programmes lie in this? Is this the goal of teacher education under the banner of cultural diversity and professional and personal growth?

Future development of the programme

Aside from having a clear application procedure, a more rigid set of requirements have to be considered. For example, successful applicants must undergo extensive preparation for the cultural and educational experience. Attending pre-departure orientation meetings did not seem to circumvent the *tourist perspective* of the participants. This is not a criticism, but a statement of a need, though a challenging proposition, to create that space to allow a shift of perspective to see the 'other' and experience growth with empathy and by exercising the ethics of difference. Under close scrutiny, pre-departure meetings and information packs about India could not uncover the deep-seated realities of racial and privilege identity. A course, as recommended by Quezada (2004), where lessons about the host country, its history, its cultures, its people, and which studies the educational system of the host country may be a viable step to diminish a tourist approach to the whole immersion experience. Constraints related to funding, time and requirements in relation to NGO operations and university protocols may not be susceptible to such an arrangement. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the need to shift one's perspective away from the 'self' and be aware of the 'otherness' that is to be found in diversity and solidarity. In terms of diversity, Mills (2008) has argued that programmes must 'move beyond a superficial treatment' (p. 273) of the other. In this paper, we have argued that pre-service teachers must un-become tourists to become teachers. In short, *(un)becoming tourist-teachers* is a short juxtaposition to suggest and provoke our gazes towards solidarity – a sense of connectedness and experience of sameness and difference all at once (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012) and more importantly, towards social justice (Mills, 2008) through a more explicit awareness of whiteness (Austin & Hickey, 2007; Hickey & Austin, 2009) and how the tourist gaze must be turned inwards to challenge how white privilege identity is reproduced and protected. To become teachers, the tourist gaze must shift through a critical engagement with whiteness and challenge colour-blindness in our teacher education programmes and pedagogies.

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