In this article differing interpretations of the internationalisation of higher education curriculum are explored using Shultz’s (2011) analysis of the structural and cultural aspects of the curriculum. Voices of tertiary staff from around the world taking part in a four-week, fully online course, entitled ‘Internationalising the Curriculum for All Students’ contributed to stimulating discussions that raised many questions about whose perspectives were being privileged in defining an internationalised curriculum and what constituted a transformed curriculum. In this analysis the Shultz framework illuminates the varied theoretical and practical stances towards an internationalised curriculum. The analysis highlights that indigenous knowledges and the positionings of marginal and diaspora peoples have been widely overlooked in internationalisation of curriculum practices, and these perspectives need to be become integral to discussions of future tertiary education policies and curricula.

**Keywords:** global citizenship; indigenous voices; internationalisation of the curriculum; purpose of higher education; transformative curricula

**Introduction**

Attention to the curriculum has come late to the discourse of international education. Over the last decade, universities worldwide have, in name at least, been ‘internationalising’ their curricula. Differing economic, political, social and cultural contexts have led to a diversity of approaches but, most frequently, an economic imperative has driven the agenda, the purpose of higher education being seen as the preparation of graduates as future labour units for the economy (Barnett, 2006; Clifford and Montgomery, 2014a; Haigh, 2008). However, a growing number of voices argue for the education of graduates as ‘global citizens’ (Bourke, Bamber and Lyons, 2012; Davies, 2006; Shultz, 2007).

The term global citizen has been widely contested, not least because of the lack of a global state to which people could hold citizenship, and the perception of it as a western colonial concept (Clifford and Montgomery, 2014a; Leask, 2015; Pashby, 2011). However, the concept of global citizenship, while incorporating the ideas of the development of future workers and specialists, offers a vision of a moral sense of responsibility to humanity (Nussbaum, 2002) and an awareness of the interdependence of all our lives. The future of our planet and our societies depend on the engagement and creativity of the decision making of our future leaders, who are our current graduates (Haigh and Clifford, 2011).

The literature on global citizenship intertwines with that on cosmopolitanism, both of which have developed over time (Appia, 2005; Richardson, 2016; Rizvi, 2005; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). Definitions of both now connect the moral with the political and offer us the ideals of caring for the world, engaging with indigenous and minority world views and with social change for a more just and equitable society, (Andreotti, 2011a; Haigh and Clifford,
Leask (2015:62) favours the term ‘responsible global citizens’ to ‘address the complex, contested and dynamic nature of knowledge and ensure that the scope of whose knowledge counts in the curriculum is broad’. This aims to develop students’ mindfulness and their commitment to action to address world problems.

The development of graduates as global citizens is now claimed in many universities’ corporate statements, policies and curricula (Clifford and Haigh, 2011; Leask, 2015), but detailed attention to the understanding and development of an internationalised curricula has been limited as tertiary education institutions struggle with the clash of their corporate identities and their civic duties (Andreotti, Stein, Pashby and Nicolson, 2016; Pashby and Andreotti, 2016). Early attempts to internationalise the curriculum did not disrupt mainstream perspectives and practices. They involved such activities as adding brief case studies from other countries which did little to enhance students’ world perspectives or cross cultural knowledge. Later initiatives focused on inclusive curricula, addressing diversity in the classroom and others’ perspectives (Kitano, 1997). However, the concept of internationalisation as offering an opportunity to explore the education of global citizens has come later and places internationalisation of the curriculum in another contested terrain which, drawing on the legacy of Friere (1993) and Giroux (1992), questions the purpose of higher education, and advocates that education needs to be a radical force for personal and social change. Such an education for global citizenship demands a holistic redesign of curricula based on transformative learning.

A transformative curricula challenges traditional views and assumptions, allows students to introduce and access non-dominant perspectives, and encourages new ways of thinking. Mezirow (2003:58) described transformative learning as leading to students becoming ‘more inclusive, discriminating, open, reflective and emotionally able to change’. The transformative learning space has been seen as vital to the development of critical thinking and critical reflection among our graduates (Cranton, 2006; Richardson, 2016; Shultz et al., 2011) along with the development of the role of teachers as ‘transformative intellectuals’ (Giroux, 1988). Such an approach requires moving beyond the creative initiatives of individual teachers in their modules to a programme-based holistic redesign of tertiary curricula.

In the following article we interrogate the current practices of a wide range of tertiary teachers who come from varied backgrounds and are differently situated, to explore current orientations to the internationalisation of the curriculum and to understand the work that still needs to be done to address global citizenship education.

The Research
This article draws on a research project that investigated academic educators’ understandings of transformative learning in the context of an internationalised curriculum. In this article we analyse the online contributions of participants to a fully online, four-week course that has been run for five years, through six iterations, entitled Internationalising the Curriculum for All Students. Participants were tertiary education staff (academic, support, senior management) from across the world (a total of 109 participants working in 10 different countries).

During the course, participants explored different theoretical approaches to internationalising the curriculum and analysed the approaches of their institutions and their disciplines in the light of these different theoretical stances. They were also asked to contribute to a ‘How To Do It’ list offering practical examples from across the disciplines for discussion. They used Kitano’s (1997) framework of exclusive, inclusive and transformed curricula as a basis for considering the theoretical orientations of their examples.
The two iterations involved 43 participants working in the UK (England, Scotland and Wales), Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and Colombia, although their ethnic origins were more diverse, including for example, Indian, Polish and Nigerian. Twenty participants held positions of responsibility for learning and teaching and curriculum development at school or faculty level, eight of these being specifically leadership positions in internationalisation. Fourteen of the group were academic developers (working across faculties), four participants provided English language and learning support to students and three were postgraduate research students. The other 22 participants were discipline-based academics covering: politics, architecture, archaeology, science, mathematics, health, law, business, social work, hospitality, education, French, English language, and communication and media.

During the online course participants had contributed over 150 ideas of how to implement an internationalised curriculum and many were discussed in relation to the Kitano (1997) framework. The contributions mostly focused on the formal curriculum, although a few discussed the informal curriculum through activities on campus, and all examples gave an insight into the hidden curriculum of the attitudes and values embedded in the content and delivery of the curriculum (Leask, 2015). Working with online contributions offers a written record of ideas and thoughts that have been considered before being posted and offers the opportunity for co-construction of knowledge (van Schalkwyk and D’Amato, 2015). It can also foreground voices that may not be heard in oral discussion and allows opportunities for careful reflection and considered responses during the discussion (Sharpe and Benfield, 2005).

The use of Kitano’s framework by course participants to initially stimulate analysis of their practice highlighted an ideological desire by participants to offer their students a transformative educational experience. The implications of the tenets of transformative learning for practice were surfaced including questions of power and marginalisation, the positioning of indigenous ontology and epistemology, and their own pedagogical role. To interrogate these interpretations of practice we have drawn on Shultz’s (2011) framework, its differentiation of structural and inter-cultural aspects of the curriculum offering insights into the variations in internationalisation of the curriculum practices.

Theorizing the Internationalised Curriculum
The Shultz (2011) framework offers two dimensions for analysis. One is the structural dimension considering the strength of curricula engagement with political, economic and social issues. The other analyses the strength of the orientation of the curricula in terms of intercultural relationships and issues of difference. Mapping the two axes offer four quadrants or possible orientations of curricula. These quadrants are not offered as mutually exclusive but as a way to analyse the ebb and flow of curricula and to foreground how curricula could more fully embrace a transformative approach to meet the ideals of global citizenship education.

Weak Structural Analysis Focus

1. Weak Structural
2. Weak Structural
Courses that are \textbf{weak inter-culturally and also weak structurally} are presenting an early form of market-oriented international education which focuses on the movement of individuals for educational purposes and their development as competitive entrepreneurs who know about global issues, such as poverty and inequality, but do not engage with them (Caruana, 2014).

2. A curriculum displaying a \textbf{strong intercultural focus but a weak structural focus} would involve fostering intercultural relationships between students and beyond, with a focus on intercultural competence and sensitivity. This may involve offering study/work abroad opportunities to students, with varying impact on enhancing their intercultural competence. Also, the un-evenness of the ensuing intercultural interactions may not be addressed.

3. A curriculum that \textbf{engaged strongly with structural issues but not with intercultural issues} would focus on resistance to globalisation itself and a privileging of the local. Shultz (2011) did not find this form of internationalisation of the curriculum well represented in her research, and suggested that an anti-globalisation stance could be seen as incompatible with ideas of global citizenship. However, in this study, we explore the local-global nexus further as we found that a prioritising of the local-national was seen as essential in some countries in order to then move into a new relationship with globalisation (Kariwo, 2011; Soudien, 2014).

4. A transformative curriculum would \textbf{engage strongly with structural and intercultural issues}. It would critique the neo-liberal approach of higher education institutions, critically engage with issues of marginalisation and exclusion, the local-national and resist the normative. It also carries an activism agenda that, while not generally perceived to be welcome in tertiary education, has been shown to be embraced in areas of South Africa, South America, New Zealand and India (Clifford and Haigh, 2011; Clifford and Montgomery, 2014a; Kariwo, 2011; Soudien, 2014).

We have used this framework to examine curricula examples and discussions offered by our course participants from different disciplines, across the world, to illuminate different theoretical perspectives and practices in internationalising curriculum. The examples illustrate how placement in a quadrant shifts as the participants’ practice evolves, reflecting Schoorman’s (2000) description of internationalisation of higher education being a continuous, ongoing, comprehensive and counterhegemonic process through which tertiary education institutions can adapt to the changing world. The analysis also highlights voices infrequently heard in the internationalisation of curriculum debate.

\textbf{The internationalised curriculum in practice: educators’ perspectives}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Weak} & Weak intercultural & Strong Intercultural & \textbf{Strong} \\
\hline
\textbf{Intercultural} & & & \textbf{Intercultural} \\
\hline
\textbf{Analysis} & 3. Strong Structural & 4. Strong Structural & \textbf{Analysis} \\
\hline
\textbf{Focus} & Weak Intercultural & Strong Intercultural & \textbf{Focus} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Adapted from Shultz (2011:16) Competing discourses in four quadrants.}
\end{table}
1. *Weak intercultural and weak structural focus*
Initial steps in internationalising curricula often seek to raise students’ awareness of issues of diversity and equity. Typically, these initial steps do not have an inclusive agenda nor do they seek to increase students’ inter-cultural skills. This type of approach to the curriculum can be characterised as weak interculturally and structurally.

A common approach here is ice breaker activities designed to raise students’ basic awareness of the diversity of the students in their own classrooms. As much as a tenth of the ideas presented throughout the course involved ice breaker activities.

**Ice Breaker Activities**
Students:
- pin a flag on a world map to indicate where they came from
- make a list of national event in their countries, and perhaps link this to a celebration
- given cards of questions, with a multi-cultural content, to quiz their classmates about their backgrounds
- asked to talk about the meaning of their names and why they were given those names.

Such activities can be stand-alone events acknowledging diversity but offering no analysis and not linked to the continuing programme of the course, or they can be the first building block of a course designed to interrogate issues of diversity at greater depth and move the activity into the second quadrant. These activities often involve students contributing ideas from their own experiences and their own culture. However, as one participant mentioned, it is important that students do not feel like ‘some form of Polly-Anna representative of their country/culture but feel safe enough to speak openly without fear of judgement.’ As students begin to explore diversity teachers need to facilitate such discussions sensitively so as not to fall into patterns of cultural essentialism (Holiday, 2011).

2. *Strong intercultural and weak structural focus*
Internationalisation of the curriculum has been interpreted in many higher education institutions as developing students’ awareness of cultural difference and enhancing their ability to interact sensitively across cultures. This emphasis strengthens intercultural competence, and may offer affirmation to some students, but does not address structural issues of sustainability, inequality or injustice (Shay and Peseta, 2016). While graduates become aware of global issues there is no suggestion that they become involved in them, and there is little focus on the development of their moral integrity or social conscience. Such practices can be seen as incongruent with the ethics and values that underpin global citizenship (Shultz, 2007).

Initially it was considered that the presence of international, minority and diaspora students in the classroom would lead to cross cultural interaction from which the students would develop their intercultural competence. However, this has been shown to be fallacious (Dunne, 2009; Richardson, 2016), and now more emphasis is increasingly being placed on facilitating such experiences, especially through group work and projects (Leask, 2015). This is an example of students from different cultures working together on third party material, thereby making it ‘foreign’ to all participants.
Asking Australian and Chinese students to critically analyse negotiation strategies and styles in a Japanese case study involving a conflict situation with Canadians. At the end of the assignment the students were asked to discuss how the conflict would be resolved in their respective countries, and why specific strategies would be suitable. The results were integrated into teaching materials in future subjects.

Previously study/work abroad programmes have been seen as excellent ways to enhance students’ intercultural competence. However, the educational value of these programmes are now being questioned as academic tourism (Hanson, 2010). Students often spend their time on English-speaking courses and expose themselves little to the local culture either through the mass media or personal contact (Caruana, 2014; Richardson, 2016). To counter this more work or study abroad programmes are now being embedded in a learning framework, with students involved in preparation, critical ongoing and post reflective analysis of their learning (Green and Whitshed, 2015), and with the development of more meaningful engagement with the local host communities (Clark and Jasaw, 2014; Richardson, De Fabrizio, and Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2011).

This next example shows the embedding of Study Abroad opportunities into a holistic programme approach which moves the course from having primarily an intercultural competence approach to the possibility of having strong intercultural and structural analysis and being transformative for the students as they uncover educational issues of inequality around the globe.

[The] Education Department set their students the task of investigating an alternative learning situation, whether in their own country or another country. This has motivated many more students to seek international experience and these experiences have been taken through other parts of the programme e.g. a unit on ideologies of education in other countries, intercultural competence within other units, the principles and practices of teaching English as an additional language and a range of issues in a ‘Learning in a Global Context’ unit. As a result both staff and students are seen to be developing a stronger and clearer sense of themselves as individuals within an interconnected world and their roles as educators within that world. This is exemplified in further developments where the staff and students are beginning to work together on projects in the international placements with the local teachers, e.g. in Africa working in a rural school to develop a needs-based literacy programme. Such projects move the participants from having academic knowledge of a situation to being actively involved in international education issues with all the participants making sense and constructing meaning together.

3. Strong structural and weak intercultural focus
This quadrant became of particular interest in our research even though Shultz (2011) found little reference to it in her study. Shultz saw a logicality to this absence but did not rule out the concept of a localised citizenship as a key to ‘resist[ing] globalised monoculturalism and elitism’ (p.23), in a world where globalisation is seen to increase economic wealth for some
and inequality, poverty and marginalisation for others (Kariwo, 2011). In our course, participants in Africa, South America and some in New Zealand and Australia, saw this as exactly where the debate on the meaning of citizenship and the development of an internationalised curriculum should begin. African writers argue strongly that Ubuntu or Africanisation of the curriculum is essential for the nationalist project of building an African identity in the world community (Louw, 2009; Soudien, 2014). Wainainai, Arnot and Chege (2011) describe the complex political discourses present in African societies that have to be negotiated to develop a national identity, including liberal democracy, pan-Africanism, Arab-Islamic influences, Christian legacies and indigenous cultures. One course participant stated, ‘So when University of South Africa Africanises its curricula, it is to ensure that our epistemologies actually reflect the epistemologies and ontologies of the majority of our students’. As indigenous peoples begin to assert themselves intellectually they have to grapple with the structural issues (cultural, social, economic, political) of their colonial history to reclaim the local as legitimate, in order to frame a response to globalisation that resists neo-colonialism (Andreotti et al., 2016; Kariwo, 2011). This view sits comfortably with the ideas espoused by global citizenship education where knowledge of self, and self in relation to others, is seen as necessary in order to develop openness, empathy, compassion, mindfulness and criticality (Nussbaum, 2002; Richardson, 2016).

An Australian participant added:

... in Australia, ... there is strong articulation by Aborigines who have gone through the education, and to a smaller extent, business spheres, who also have strong commitment to the resurgent kinship and family identifications, the situation is on using the perspective of both worlds. More conservative members of society see it as a form of guerilla activity, but I think it is really good as they are impatient for change according to their agendas.

And a response from a New Zealand participant:

I realise that this matters to me because in NZ we are constantly challenged to consider the bicultural implications of our beliefs and practices. Māori remind Pākehā that our views are inescapably culturally coloured, in NZ (and other “colonised” countries).

The New Zealand participants introduced us to the Mission Statement of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (2012) (one of three Māori Universities) which reflects a firm embedding in current education of an understanding of the ‘essence of past generations’ while looking to the future:

- To provide education that best fits the aspirations of this generation, enhances the dreams of future generations, prepares for understanding the essence of past generations
- To equip people with knowledge of our heritage, our language, our culture so they can handle the world at large with confidence and self-determination
- To empower one's potential for learning as a base for progress in the modern world.

Participants gave examples of struggling with the relevance of curricula to their students:
I became interested in the relevance of certain international texts when I was teaching at the University of the Western Cape on a Child and Family Studies course and noticed that the students did not relate at all to the assumptions of the texts which were prescribed to them. These texts assumed a particular family structure that particular interventions were necessarily good and effective, and that middle class western patriarchal ideals were the normative ones which everyone should subscribe to. Students were also writing assignments on their families’ experiences under the apartheid regime... I also realised that students had valuable experiences to share which could inform the curriculum both in process and content. . . . I noted how texts in social work had pathologised students’ experiences. How they were disciplined by the texts and forced to conform to them.

Many question arose from these discussions including: the ‘western’ genesis of the term ‘internationalisation’ and how academics trained in 'western' epistemologies, can indigenise the curricula? (See Clifford and Montgomery, 2014b, for detailed discussion of these questions). Some course participants were well aware of their positionings as ‘western’ and struggled to implement curricula change, while others identified as members of the periphery and as under-represented in these debates:

So I find myself permanently in a liminal space of not being accepted/wanted back home and not being accepted/wanted in Europe. Considering the huge number of individuals that are permanently migrating somewhere, the liminal or diaspora quality of life in a globalised world will only increase. And what are the curriculum implications of this?

These explorations led to a discussion of the ‘pedagogy’ of discomfort’ (Boler and Zembylas, 2003), the emotional discomfort caused by the questioning of our world views, our need (as teachers) to recognise the privilege that we unconsciously comply with (Andreotti, 2011b), and the compassion we need to help students engage in critical reflection and try out other identities.

4. Strong structural and intercultural focus
To create curricula with strong structural and intercultural foci necessitates a paradigm change in the way we think (Gacel-Avila, 2005) and an holistic redesign at programme level to develop students’ knowledge of themselves, and themselves in relation to others, with the development of a personal moral stance as being a necessary precursor to social change (Andreotti, 2011a; Clifford and Haigh, 2011; Freire, 1993; Shultz et al., 2011). We are now moving away from the provenance of the lone lecturer making changes to their courses in isolation from their colleagues and other aspects of the programme, into programme teams bringing together all facets of a course: the content, the pedagogy and the assessment, and designing curricula for transformative learning, with the goal of graduates being engaged, active citizens, recognising that all the actions they take and decisions they make affect other people, not just locally, but also globally.

The course participants became increasingly aware of internationalisation and transformative learning starting with themselves.
The thing that is constantly striking me about the notion of IoC is how internalised much of it is. The changes that really need to occur are initially internal i.e. shifts in how we view the world as individuals, how we respond to, and consequently act within it.

The awareness of an ‘uncomfortable place’ was referred to often, participants particularly concerned about their own ethnocentrism (Andreotti, 2011b), their lack of global and cultural knowledge and lack of facilitative pedagogic skills (Clifford and Montgomery, 2014b). There was also the acknowledgement that moving towards transformative learning could also be uncomfortable, or even traumatic, for students.

Examples of curricula that offer a strong structural and a strong intercultural analysis often slowly evolved through discussion on the course. Initial ideas offered as transformative, in terms of content and/or pedagogy, were often critiqued and enhanced until they more firmly met the criteria of a transformative curriculum. Many ideas started with students contributing knowledge from their own countries or accessing data bases to analyse.

An idea involved studying national levels of home broadband internet access and considering if the figures were the best guide to internet usage in all countries. Studying the story behind the collection of any statistics in different countries as well as learning to analyse the statistics themselves provides students with valuable knowledge and different perspectives on issues as well as possibly undermining some of their assumptions. It can also involve discussions of the power and ethics of the media, governments and the corporate world.

Further ideas suggested the involvement in courses from local international communities, non-governmental organisations, international alumni living locally, our own international teachers, the international experience of local staff, and inviting ‘virtual’ teachers from around the world to interact with the students.

Another way to involve students in global perspectives is through role playing:

I did a role play about archaeological excavations in China casting students in the roles of western archaeologist, international lawyer, Chinese archaeologist, Chinese paid excavator, and Chinese illegal looter, to discuss the ethical issues of who controls the past. It was inspired by a situation at an international conference whereby Western archaeologists pressed two Chinese archaeologists to defend their country’s poor record of protecting sites from looting.

Role play can be taken further in cross-university collaborations:

Two universities collaborated to run a politics unit that required students to hold a United Nations Security Council meeting concerning a topical issue such as security. Student groups chose a country to represent and researched the personnel and the issues from that country’s point of view.
The groups discussed how they were going to engage in the debate, and what they want to achieve in terms of a resolution for their chosen country. Each group appointed a leader (role playing the current political leader of the country) to front the meeting (held over a week via computer links) while the other group members worked as advisers for the leader as the debate proceeded. A caveat is that students must not be representatives for their own country, the idea is to walk in other people’s shoes.

So far this article has illustrated internationalised curricula at the classroom, lesson and project level. However, the goal of a totally transformative internationalised curriculum needs to be developed holistically to ensure that the ideas are embedded in the philosophy of the course and are not just ‘add-on’ exercises introduced by interested teachers, and easily lost as teachers move on. The example of the education course in section two above illustrated how an initial idea motivated staff to revise a number of units and to introduce a new unit on ‘Learning in a Globalised Context’. The example below is presented to illustrate how different facets of a unit can be drawn together to build upon each other to reinforce the transformative experience for students.

Curricula Design Examples:

- This module/unit of work is about health needs assessment. In the introductory tutorial students are asked to think of examples from health services with which they are familiar and to consider the influence of a range of factors on the provision of those health services:
  - cultural and ethical factors
  - the media
  - social and educational influences
  - public and political pressure
  - current research agendas
  - historical patterns, inertia, momentum
  This forms the basis of a discussion in which similarities and differences between health services in different countries are compared and on the relationship between health needs and the provision of services to meet the needs.

- Following this introduction, alerting students to cultural and political agendas that affect health services, an example of demographic health information for an American service is put online. Students are tasked to use the internet to look for similar information for their own country and to consider what kind of information they have been able to find and how the information helps them understand the problem the service addresses.

- In the next class students are encouraged to sit with students who are from their own country (if possible) to discuss what they have found. The class discussion centres around the quality of information: what information is needed to understand a problem; where else information may be accessed e.g. the general public and service users; their own knowledge and experiences of their local health system. These ideas are...
linked to the rights of citizens to contribute their experiences, needs and wishes to the effective delivery of their health care services.

- The class is then introduced to an American health screening programme, set up using an American dominant culture and public health service perspective. Data on under-utilisation of the service is then presented and students asked to analyse possible reasons that the service is not utilised which include the needs of different groups and different cultures. Following this, strategies for promoting utilisation are explored with questions such as, ‘How does information bias feed into issues of equity and social justice in service delivery?’ How can local experiences of using a service help to raise awareness of diverse service needs? How can stereotyping and discrimination be reduced?

- Students are tasked to produce case studies, from a country they are familiar with, of how different people are inadvertently (and not so inadvertently) deterred from using a screening service and to discuss the enabling and disenabling factors. They are then asked to look at ways of involving local people in advising on the appropriateness of services and the establishing of culturally sensitive and responsive services.

These tasks empower students to search for, and critique information, and the lack of information, and to consider the biased nature of much information that is available. It also confronts them with ideas of responsible citizenship and the roles local communities can play in enhancing access to appropriate services.

- Finally the students are asked to draw an organisational chart for the health screening service they have been investigating and, comparing charts in class to explain why the programme is situated where it is and if this or another location would be most appropriate. This introduces a new dynamic to the topic, that of organisational structure with different perspectives on where the programme ‘belongs’. Issues of power, control and authority are now fore-grounded along with operational issues and issues of organisational culture and capacity. Students are shown a case study of the American HIV/AIDS CTS programme, that was moved from one department to another within the American Public Health Department. This is linked to the prior discussion of organisational culture and power and used to draw out common themes that need to be considered, while pointing out how these themes are played out in different ways in different settings/cultures/countries. This case study also addresses the under-utilisation of the service by people from different ethnic and religious groups, and by adolescents.

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This well formulated unit has set out to provide a transformative learning experience to students that will make them aware of the political-economic-historical dimensions of difference and issues of power, social justice and equity. Furthermore, it introduces
the students to ideas of responsible citizenship and individual and collective social action. Pedagogically the programme invites students to be full participants, contributing personal knowledge, building on that local knowledge and dialoguing with fellow students and staff. The pedagogy exposes them to a wide range of divergent global views and experiences and engages them throughout the course in intercultural exchange.

Discussion and conclusion
This article set out to explore the varied theories and practices that surround the concept of an internationalised curriculum using Shultz (2011) framework that highlights structural and cultural aspects. While stances that do not address structural issues, are easily recognisable in practice in higher education today, the anti-globalisation and transformative approaches that prioritise structural issues are less visible.

Approaches to curricula that emphasise intercultural competence can be approached through changes to curriculum and pedagogy at individual sessions or within units. They do not necessarily require major changes to programmes. For this reason their effectiveness in actually changing students’ world views or behaviours may be limited. This can be further compounded by little visibility of intercultural competency aims in learning objectives and a lack of assessment of these facets. These approaches reflect an institutional corporate orientation to internationalisation of the curriculum with little attention to their civic responsibilities (Pashby and Andreotti, 2016). If we are serious about preparing graduates who are knowledgeable and compassionate and able to provide leadership for a sustainable planet, actively working towards a more equitable and just world, then we need to take internationalisation of the curriculum further than the possibilities that these orientations offer.

Curricula that address structural issues offer the possibility of important alternative readings of the purpose of higher education and of the meaning of internationalisation of the curriculum from the voices of indigenous, minority and diaspora peoples. In the course, voices from South Africa, South American, New Zealand and Australia illustrated lives lived as ‘citizens’ of several different groups. The need to prioritise the development of a knowledge of self, through a re-telling of one’s culture and history, outside of the colonialist frame, in order to decide how to relate to other cultures and societies, fits the basic tenet of global citizenship. The importance of this step for all cannot be overlooked and may not gain the attention it requires in all moves to internationalise the curriculum, but in societies where groups of people have been given a colonial reading of their lives, the need to reclaim their own identity becomes paramount. The multiple identities that result from such explorations will widen peoples’ world views but can also destabilise equilibriums and cause anguish among learners. The need for teachers to have established a safe learning environment for their learners where knowledge can be co-constructed by students and teachers, and to have compassion for their students is paramount (Boler and Zembylas, 2003; Clifford and Montgomery, 2014a).

A transformative curricula, a holistic redesign of curricula to develop global citizens, requires more than individual, enthusiastic, creative teachers. It requires a change in orientation of the purpose of our higher education institutions from a corporate to a civic discourse, which replaces striving for individual advantage with consideration of the needs of society locally, nationally and globally. This requires changes to mission statements, strategic plans and policies with resources available for staff development and curriculum redesign and development.

Our analysis has highlighted the lack of indigenous, minority and diaspora voices in western generated discussions of internationalisation of the curriculum and the need for them
to become integral to discussions of future tertiary education policies and curricula. There is a
need for the acceptance of very diverse paths towards an internationalised curriculum.
Coloniality still pervades many countries and education systems, and institutional inertia and
investment in the status quo fuels resistance to change. However, the questioning of the
higher education mission is in progress and many creative, transformative endeavours have
already been enacted. The furtherance of this work is critical to our futures. In the words of
Camicia and Franklin (2011:41) the ‘choosing a type of education means choosing a type of
society’.

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