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Critical GCE in the era of SDG 4.7: Discussing HEADSUP with secondary teachers in England, Finland, and Sweden

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In 2015, member states of the United Nations adopted the 2030 agenda for sustainable development by setting seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Goal Four focuses on quality education, and target 4.7 includes education for sustainable development and global citizenship, two areas given separate focus in UNESCO work and tending to run parallel to one another. While the Millennium Development Goals that preceded the SDGs focused on action in so-called 'developing' countries, a significant change in the SDGs is required action within all signatory nations. Currently, work is being mobilised to action SDG 4.7 in Global North contexts. This raises important questions around to what extent pedagogies and approaches in support SDG 4.7 in European contexts can account for critiques of ESD and GCE, particularly around the call for more critical approaches. As two researchers and educators who have been active in the fields of critical global citizenship and environmental and sustainability education respectfully, we argue for a bridging of critical scholarship in the two fields and an engagement of the substantive theoretical work in these areas with the lived practices of secondary school teachers. This chapter draws on a smallscale research project funded by the British Academy that engaged secondary and upper secondary teachers with a framework for ethical global issues pedagogy.

According to scholarship in the field of Environmental and Sustainability Education (ESE), UNESCO support for the decade for the United Nations Decade for Sustainable Development (UNDSD) (2005-2014) tended, despite good intentions, to rely on universalising approaches (e.g., Wals 2009; Sund and Öhman 2014) and to promote behaviour modification rather than systemic change (e.g., Jickling and Wals 2008; Van Poeck and Vandenabeele, 2012). Matthews (2011) pointed to a tendency in environmental education to perpetuate Western epistemologies and correspondingly has raised the importance of connecting globalization, postcolonialism and environmental matters. Similarly, scholars of critical global citizenship education have warned against a tendency in formal and non-formal education towards superficial approaches to global learning that ignore and/or step over complex ethical issues thereby contributing to the unconscious reproduction of colonial systems of power (e.g., Andreotti 2011; Martin 2011; Pashby 2012, 2015). Huckle and Wals (2015) argue for a critical and transformative ESD anchored in appropriate social theory and suggest combining sustainability and ecopedagogy with what they call global education for sustainability citizenship. Building from the rationale for bridging critical approaches to ESE and GCE, we argue for an explicit focus on the contribution of theoretical resources that highlight postcolonial engagements in each field (e.g., Sund 2016; Pashby 2012).

Framework:

In our respective work, we have used Andreotti's (2006, 2011) work on actioning postcolonial theory in education. Drawing on Leela Gandhi (1998), Andreotti (2011) argues that postcolonial studies can contribute to social and educational theory by opening up possibilities to theorise non-coercive relationships with those Global 'Others' who are the production and subject of Western humanitarianism. Her work contributes ways such theory can be 'actioned' through educational analysis and pedagogy. In her seminal piece, Andreotti (2006) contributed an analytical tool to help distinguish between soft and critical approaches to GCE. Whereas a *soft* approach assumes a universal view of the world and focuses on a notion of global citizens as those who help people who suffer from lack of development, a *critical* approach applies a postcolonial critique of modernity by acknowledging a complicity on the part of 'the West' and 'the Global North' in global issues. By moving from soft to more critical approaches, educators and learners can work towards establishing more equal terms for understanding and responding to issues. The article is widely used, with over 500 citations, and is drawn on across recent GCE literature (e.g., Bamber and Hankin 2011; Bourn 2009; Edge and Khamsi 2012).

Andreotti (2012) contributed a further tool in response to the Kony 2012 video created by NGO Imaginary Children which was shared and viewed over 100 million times in 10 days (Engelhardt and Jansz 2014). The video aimed to make warlord Joseph Kony a household name and to stop exploitation of child soldiers but was criticized for presenting a simplistic view, and the NGO itself was critiqued over its use of the funds raised (Gregory 2012). In response to these critiques, Andreotti (2012) wrote an editorial for the journal *Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices* in which she argued that the KONY 2012 phenomenon demonstrated a need for stronger critical literacy in development education and global learning. She proposed the HEADSUP tool to enable critical interventions in the contexts of educational initiatives aiming to address global justice and enact social change (Andreotti 2012). It helps learners and educators to identify seven problematic patterns of representations and engagements commonly found in narratives presented in educational approaches to global issues, particularly North-South engagements with local populations who are structurally marginalized (Andreotti et al. 2018: 15).

• Hegemonic practices (reinforcing and justifying the status quo)

- Ethnocentric projections (presenting one view as universal and superior)
- Ahistorical thinking (forgetting the role of historical legacies and complicities in shaping current problems)
- Depoliticized orientations (disregarding the impacts of power inequalities and delegitimizing dissent)
- Self-serving motivations (invested in self-congratulatory heroism)
- Un-complicated solutions (offering 'feel-good' quick fixes that do not address root causes of problems)
- Paternalistic investments (seeking a 'thank you' from those who have been 'helped')

As the HEADSUP framework was something we had both used in our research and teaching on GCE and ESD respectfully (Pashby & Andreotti, 2015; Sund, 2016), and due to its explicit actioning of post-colonial engagements, we chose it as a central framework for our study. We argue that this tool can be engaged with as a way to attend to the critiques raised of the extent to which both GCE and ESD approaches can, unintentionally, reproduce colonial systems of power in creating an 'us' in the Global North who solve the problems and a 'them' that have the problems. Specifically, we argue such engagement is essential amidst the mobilisation of SDG 4.7 in European contexts (Sund and Pashby, 2018).

Andreotti's (2006) soft versus critical tool has been applied to analyse work in schools. For example, Niens and Reilly's (2012) research on critical GCE approaches in Northern Ireland found that when teachers fully committed to teaching global citizenship from multiple perspectives, students aged 8-9 and 12-13 were able to deeply understand different living conditions of people living other parts of the world and were empathetic to issues facing immigrants in their own communities. However, teachers were often

constrained by a lack of critical perspectives on the relationships between local issues and global North/South relationships. Truong-White and McLean (2015) also took a critical GCE approach to studying a programme that connects middle and secondary school classrooms in India and the USA through digital story-telling. They found students did engage with non-mainstream perspectives and critical self-reflection; however, similarly to Niens and Reilly's (2012) study, a lack of emphasis on systemic causes and impacts of global problems in their findings led them to call for more attention to critical pedagogical practices.

Research applying the HEADSUP tool has tended to focus on non-formal education. For example, Grain and Lund (2016) propose it as a catalyst for important reflection and dialogue in in-service learning, and Kuleta-Hullboj (2016) adapt HEADSUP as a tool to analyse interviews with employees of a Polish NGO to examine their views of global citizenship. In a formal education setting, Sund (2016) modified and developed Andreotti's tool to facilitate an analysis of how upper secondary teachers in Sweden articulated different ways of utilising the curriculum and enacting pedagogies relating to colonialism and complex global issues. Teachers in her study problematized a tendency to focus on a western perspective, prioritized offering students historical aspects so that they could contextualise global sustainability issues, and invited students to see themselves as active participants. The findings also indicated that a range of factors influence how and why these teachers teach global issues and that teachers could use resourcing support to promote a more critical approach. In Sund's (2016) study, HEADSUP was applied by the researcher as an analytical tool for analysis of the classroom and interview data and not by the teachers themselves. Therefore, working together from the two fields of ESE and GCE, we decided it was important to engage the tool directly with teachers to support a critical approach.

This chapter shares selected findings from research with secondary and upper secondary teachers in England, Finland, and Sweden who participated in a workshop about HEADSUP. We were interested in the extent to which the tool was useful for reflection and application, and what the teacher comments demonstrate about possibilities and challenges for ethical global issues pedagogy.

Methodology

In the winter and spring of 2018, as part of a one year project funded by the British Academy, we ran a set of workshops on bridging ESD and GCE through critical GCE approaches centered on the HEADSUP tool. Through social media and professional networks as well as global education networks, we invited secondary and upper secondary teachers (of students ranging in ages from 14 to 18) in England, Finland and Sweden who teach about global issues to participate. Based on the most obvious curriculum links, we targeted Geography teachers in England and Social Studies and Natural Science teachers in Sweden and Finland. Other subjects were represented including Religious Education and Foreign Language Education.

We hosted three workshops in England (Manchester, Birmingham, and London), one in Stockholm, and one in Helsinki. Participation ranged from three teachers to ten teachers per workshop with a total of twenty-six participants and locations were based on access to networks who could help recruit participants within the short project timeline and good transportation links. Teachers travelled from within a day's journey to the workshops, and we had a range of areas represented including urban, suburban, and rural. Nine males and seventeen females participated, reflecting an over-representation of females in the profession. Participants ranged from very new teachers to those with decades of experience including school subject leads. Most were born and raised in their respective national contexts; however, two participants immigrated and one participants' family immigrated. Many had experience travelling abroad, some had lived abroad, and some had very little experience abroad. The participants also ranged in level of experience teaching global issues from those who work in global issues focused schools to those who were very new to the concepts, but all identified the sustainable development goals as a priority, and all indicated they taught about global issues in their practice and/or participated in school-wide activities related to global learning.

At each workshop we relayed key concerns from the research in critical GCE and ESE and discussed SDG 4.7. We facilitated activities using critical GCE tools (e.g. Andreotti, 2006), considered rationales for a complex and critical approach by linking to the International Youth White Paper on Global Citizenship (IYWPGC, 2017), and reviewed the Kony 2012 video and uptake in pop culture and social media before reviewing Andreotti's (2012) HEADSUP. We applied HEADSUP through different activities, including a teacher reflection (see Figure 1). Teachers then worked together or on their own to consider ways HEADSUP could be applied in their practice before engaging in a full group discussion. Three teachers in England and two teachers in Sweden volunteered to invite one of the researchers to a class where they applied key ideas from the workshop. Two-to-three months after the workshops, we hosted a full day focus group of teachers from across the England workshops to begin co-developing a resource based on what they had applied from the workshop in practice. The resource is currently being piloted.

Identify awareness of and challenge the patterns -educational practices	Notes/ideas/ connections to my practice	What might I continue/start/stop in my practice?
In my teaching, how can I raise	•	v •
inherited and taken-for-granted power		
relations? Do I identify mainstream		
discourses and marginalised		
perspectives/ norms and trends? (H)		
In my teaching can classes address		
that there are other logical ways of		
looking at the same issue framed by		
different understandings of reality/		
experiences of the world? (E)		
In my teaching, how can I avoid		
treating an issue out of context as if it		
just happened now? How are today's		
issues tied to on-going local and		
global trends/patterns/narratives? (A)		
In my teaching, how can ensure we		
don't treat issues as if they are		
politically neutral? Who is framing the		
issue and who is responsible for		
addressing it? Who are the agents of		
change and what mechanisms for		
change are available? (D)		

How can we take up good intentions to	
want to help others through generosity	
and altruism without reinforcing an	
us/them, saviour/victim relationship?	
(S)	
How can we address people's	
tendency to want a quick fix? How can	
we grapple with the complexities, root	
causes, and lack of easy solutions? (U)	
How can we put aside our egos and	
self-interest? Are we open to being	
wrong, to not being the ones who	
know best? (P)	

Figure 1 Application of HEADSUP for teacher reflection used in workshops

In this chapter, we will draw on transcriptions of the workshop discussions and pictures of written work produced by teachers at the workshop to relay key themes that emerged regarding to what extent they found the HEADSUP framework useful to their practice. These themes are by no means generalizable nor are they representative of all teachers in England, Finland and Sweden; however, this project mobilised important conversations that indicate the possibilities and constrains of a critical approach.

Findings:

Teachers found critical GCE very relevant to discussions of teaching global issues and as a way to voice some possibilities and challenges. While some teachers felt HEADSUP and

critical approaches to GCE mapped onto existing pedagogical approaches, for some it raised new questions, and all participants applied the workshop ideas to reflecting critically on their own practice.

A key theme across the workshops was the importance of taking a more critical and complex approach to teaching about global issues in general. Teachers found the HEADSUP tool very useful for directing their own critically reflexive practice. Teachers spoke about the need to be aware of mainstream approaches to development and aid. As a teacher from the Manchester workshop explains,

I'm taking away from this basically having an opportunity to question and think and give students that opportunity or maybe encourage that more so than I definitely do at the moment. [...Development aid may be] required, but why should the people in India or Syria or wherever want to be like us, are we perfect? Because that's it, that's what always aid and development in general is all trying to say the world should be like...

Similarly, a participant from Helsinki reflected on the question of salvationist approaches, recognising many approaches she has seen "promote saviour/victim relationality" by appealing to emotions. She reflected on paternalism, suggesting she needs to encourage students to "be aware that you should not just give and be the 'know all', but you could yourself learn in the process". Connecting HEADSUP to her practice, she questioned whether the Tanzania project in her school presents an easy solution that relies on a "feel good factor". She also connected her work directly with ethnocentrism, writing that she intends to start taking "a more in-depth look in the current teaching material. They usually present the problems through

Western/Northern Europe mindset". This was echoed by a participant in London who also found the HEADSUP reflective tool provoked critical reflection and questioning of priorities:

I think [HEADSUP] opens your eyes to just like how, like how much the curriculum does need to be revisited, you know, [...] because I'm so busy looking at my [curriculum] spec and making sure that my spec matches [the lesson] so that the kids can do well on the exam, you know, we're missing a beat there.

While many teachers were new to the concepts presented in the HEADSUP tool, others felt these ideas were not new. An experienced teacher at the Helsinki workshop, reflecting on work he did with OXFAM in Belgium in the late 1980s, suggested that he did not "see anything new in [HEADSUP]". The project he participated in previously brought up key issues like bananas and coffee beans to school for discussion to connect social, political and economic issues. However, he laments that

somehow you get a feeling that you haven't gone very far ... You're still going around and around in circles, despite the fact that technology has really got rid of this awareness-raising issue. But we're still stuck with [simplistic messages in] media and videos.

Later in the discussion, this participant argued there was a need to reassert a critical framework today, particularly as global citizenship takes on an increasingly prevalent place in formal education: "More and more teachers want this [critical approach], really. I think so". The tool is thus useful for teachers to reflect on the key debates they see today and to consider to what extent such an approach is similar or different from activities in the past. It

also opens up opportunities to challenge soft approaches to GCE and to critically engage in the concept of global citizenship more broadly.

Similarly to the participant in Helsinki, a teacher at the Stockholm workshop also shared that he already thinks quite deeply about these issues. He reacted to the HEADSUP reflection activity by expressing the challenge of taking up politically charged issues in a classroom and trying to manage his own political positioning. He expressed that he "struggles with dismantling the hegemony" because he worries too many of his students think he represents a very "PC left institution" where issues of feminism and racism are often being raised. This is a particularly salient issue given the push back against what is perceived as anti-political-correctness associated with the prevalence of the far right across Europe (as elsewhere).

Others at the Stockholm workshop also felt a need for a critical approach to engaging in local and global relations. Reinforcing Niens and Reilly's (2012) findings, and as this teacher expresses, they speak to a tendency to step over local issues and social inequalities and differences within the local community when studying global issues:

What I thought about [when thinking through HEADSUP] is that we have so much here in Sweden so it's very easy to talk about African, Asian, climate change, internationally, when it's so much to be done here, so, you know, it's easier to talk about racism and slavery, Africa and America, but we don't talk about what's here.

Similarly, a teacher at the Birmingham workshop used HEADSUP as a jumping off point for discussing how the demographic make-up of a particular school or classroom mediates her

approach to global issues pedagogy. She describes how often "students refer to Africa as one place and [make] just sweeping generalisations". In seeking to combat these hegemonic discourses, she draws on the diverse demographic of her classroom. In her previous school which lacked racial diversity, she felt in a position to have to "fight in that corner alone", and being White British born, she felt she lacked "clout". In her current school she is "in a much more fortunate position" because she has "students that can actually fight back":

So if a student makes a sweeping statement, you've then got a student who's perhaps from that location who can actually turn around, and [students are] all much more careful in what the language they're using because they know they've got students from different countries whether they're first generation or things like that".

Thus, the classrooms themselves, and the interactions among students and their teacher are deeply embedded in the politicised global issues they are discussing.

Teachers at all the workshops discussed the way they either do already or should explicitly address colonialism in historicising global issues and examining the extent to which we reproduce colonial relations through soft approaches to GCE. A teacher at the London workshop expressed the need to complexify the treatment of international development and specifically to make connections to colonialism. Similarly to the teacher in Sweden, she finds that her students generally think that colonialism is about Africa and America and do not recognise colonialism as deeply connected to local issues in England.

Because we've got this one [view] which has got, Africa, the continent, and it's got a massive hole in it and a big pile of stuff which is on top of North America. And it takes

them ages to get that but it's the colonialism idea of all their resources have been taken by somebody else so they haven't got anything to use to develop with. But it takes them ages to get it because they just haven't got that concept in their head because this is before we do anything about colonialism.

This participant engaged in an interesting discussion with another participant in London about their approaches to connecting colonialism with case studies of 'developing' countries. Both Geography teachers, their discussion demonstrates the various strategic ways teachers take-up colonialism and attempt to avoid ahistorical approaches in response to assumptions they make about how their students will react. The same participant who lamented the lack of knowledge of colonialism, called herself "quite anti-colonial" and suggested she needs to "rein in [her] bias slightly". She notes that she teaches about colonialism explicitly when looking at reasons for the so-called development gap. She talks to students about how materials have been taken away from developing countries,

and [the students] go, "Well, we weren't very nice to them, were we?" And it's like, that's the point. And we talk about, especially with Nigeria and the fact that it stabilised quite quickly after becoming independent compared to a lot of other countries, but it still had a lot of issues and why did it have those issues?.

Another participant offered that she too points to colonialism in her treatment of "hindrances to development", but she uses a different tactic whereby she focuses on Belgium's colonial history in the Demoractic Republic of the Congo: "so I can sit there going on about all these Belgians colonising DRC, and I will say, obviously the UK colonised a lot of places just like Belgium". She explained, "it kind of like disarms them a little bit, and they're less on the defensive". The first participant then responded by offering, "I don't think mine get defensive at all. Once you explain it, they're actually very like, yeah, we shouldn't have done that, like,

yeah, exactly.[...] once you go into it, [the students are] quite open to it". The HEADSUP tool provoked discussions that enabled these teachers to share and seek feedback on approaches to taking up colonialism in discussing development issues. In both cases, the teachers have a strong rationale for their approach. The discussions among supportive peers and a sense of being among a critical mass was a significant outcome of the workshops.

Participants offered critiques of the framework as well, and discussions of HEADSUP provoked opportunities for teachers to air their concerns about teaching global issues more broadly. For example, participants raised a concern about too much focus on analysis and not enough on action, although, the tool is intended to contribute to analysis. A discussion in Stockholm suggested critical global citizenship education affords a more critically reflective approach but that bridging it with sustainable development promotes a need for a more behaviour-based action-taking stance. This concern might be influenced by a more than 20-year-old Nordic tradition and a goal of environmental education to let students grow into responsible and action-minded citizens (Jensen and Schnack, 1997) that focuses on individuals engaging in behavioural actions to ameliorate environmental problems and contribute to social change. This came out strongly in a response from one of the most experienced teachers who has leadership responsibilities in regards to global issues teaching:

I was thinking about sustainable development and thinking of solutions and the future, is it there [in HEADSUP]? [...] something with being active, and yeah, change agents, or something that is more pushing or that the, act, I don't know what word it would be, but something not only... Yes, that is what I, to me I would not be able to use this alone. I would like to add something Perhaps also related to the strength of an action discourse in the Nordic context, the issue around action was also raised in Helsinki, particularly in discussions about connecting global citizenship education with education for sustainable development and environmental education. Another very experienced lead teacher agreed on the importance of engaging with critical approaches as an absolute must, and while firmly endorsing a critical approach pushed the discussion towards consideration of the role of action:

But the thing is also that if we just keep them on deconstructing stories and just keep them on kind of discussion, then there is no application in real life. And that's why for special environmental and ecological issues, we need to put also the hands on, so that there is also a kind of promotion of how you can do things differently.

At the Birmingham workshop, a similar point was made when discussing how students could be inspired to take action and identify a 'next step'; however, the participants suggested a future-oriented approach as action in itself. A participant suggested, "there could be a question that forces them to think about uncertainty, so what maybe are the future uncertainties [...] and gets them to look at all the evidence to actually think about a next step, so they know that the conversation's continuing". Another participant agreed that an emphasis on changes is very important in looking at sustainable development "because it's not just linear, it's not just static".

Related to this discussion of action, across the contexts, a key theme was the need to critique a charity approach which appears to remain prevalent, particularly in school-wide activities. In Helsinki, participants reflected on a recent UNICEF fund-raising initiate where students are sponsored by family and friends who pay per kilometre walked. One suggested "The problem is that I don't know whether the children actually know what the cause is". She goes on to report that her 13 year old niece reported to her that she had done ten rounds: "And that was the only thing she talked about, about the UNICEF-walk. And I'm sure if her teacher had told her a bit of context, of why they're doing it, she would have been more sort of aware of the reason why they're walking". This response points to an important tension between what happens in school-wide projects and in specific subject-based classroom lessons where teachers can play an important role in raising critical conversations to contribute towards more complex understandings.

Conversely, participants at the Manchester workshop were quite concerned that students should remain positive about participating in school-wide charity appeals and that critical approaches to GCE might make them feel bad. They worked together to try to make the HEADSUP checklist more "positive". Interestingly, one of the participants who worked on changing HEADSUP into positive words came to the resource development meeting a few months later and had decided that it was in fact important to engage in critique without adding a positive spin. He contributed some important critical questioning series to the resource which is currently being piloted.

It appears that classroom discussions related to curricula remain an important place for critical reflection on dominant narratives, but also that many teachers are concerned about coming across as negative. Yet, as the participant at the Manchester workshop came to understand, other teachers saw this as an area of possibility. In response to the reflection question regarding paternalism and the extent to which "we are open to being the ones who know best" (Figure 1), a Helsinki participant replied "by knowing ourselves, feeling ok to feel sometimes nervous or unhelpful, understanding our own boundaries (even if not fully possible". Thus, in line with what Niens and Reilly (2012) found, it is important for teachers to have spaces to discuss these tensions and come to their own position on how they want to take up politicized issues.

Discussion:

We have shared a selection of responses from teachers who attended workshops as part of our small project. The HEADSUP tool provoked reflections about the possibilities, challenges and deep complexities of teaching about global issues in today's classrooms. Teachers expressed possibilities for deepening the treatment of development and development aid more broadly, including more context and history of colonialism in the treatment of global issues, and critically reflecting on their own pedagogical approaches and selection of materials. They also spoke of the importance of and challenges of taking a strong political stance, and this related deeply to the demographics in their classrooms. A central theme was how the identities, views, and positionalities of students in their classrooms are very much connected to the topics and approaches to teaching about global issue; and, relatedly the importance of and challenges of connecting global issues to local inequalities.

To varying extents were teachers comfortable challenging charity-based school-wide initiatives or talking directly about colonialism in their classes. Some were doing this in confident and strategic ways, a small but significant number had not thought about it before and conflated a critical approach with being negative, and others were deeply inspired to critique their own approaches and enact HEADSUP in their practice. The sense among a segment of the participants of a sense of needing to present a positive perspective connects to Taylor's (2012) warning, based on research engaging pre-service teachers in Quebec with critical approaches to GCE, of "the crisis in learning initiated when children are exposed to knowledge of global inequity is closed down when pedagogy offers *consolation* rather than critical and ethical tools to respond to this crisis." (p. 181). It appears, however, that for many participants HEADSUP offered an opportunity to reflect critically on soft approaches, particularly when given time to consider it in practice and come back to discuss and apply further.

A particularly interesting finding to us is the way teachers who already identified as critical engaged with the tool. We are particularly interested in the concern about being read by students as being too 'politically correct' expressed by a teacher in Sweden which relates to the participant in London's comment that she needs to 'reign in her bias' towards discussing postcolonial issues. We also had the teacher in Birmingham who actively politicized her classrooms in relation to the demographics. The positionality of the teacher politically seems to permeate school practice and teachers' daily practice; however, the political correctness discourse may defeat substantive aims, that is a reflexive teaching that address "root" narratives of unprecedented global challenges (Cf. Andreotti, 2014).

We suggest this could be an effect of the 'uncomplicated solutions' part of the HEADSUP being taken out of its related context as integrated with other historical patterns in the list such as salvationism and paternalism. When this occurs, 'uncomplicated solutions' is applied as a challenge against a critical stance where teachers worry students think they are presenting the fact that colonialism continues to reinforce inequities today as a 'simple solution'. This surprised us, as we consider that a colonial narrative opens up complexity. This is an important area for further research and connects strongly to the work of Sharon Stein in deconstructing various significations of global education. While her work focuses on higher education, her theorisation of global education is relevant to this particular issue.

We find her description of the anti-oppressive position salient to our findings. She argues this position challenges Eurocentric notions of cosmopolitanism and identifies "how colonial, racialized, and gendered flows of power and knowledge operate to the advantage of the Global North" (247). A limitation of this position, Stein (2015) argues, is an inadvertent assertion of innocence associated with a lack of recognition of one's complicity in the systems being critiqued. Also, change can be seen to be engineered through rational policy and a sense of moral agency; thereby, despite seeming to critique universalism, the anti-oppressive position can "overlook the possibility that it, too, maintains some Eurocentric assumptions" (247). Applying this to our findings, some teachers are able to articulate an anti-oppressive stance but appear to lack resources to mediate questions of complicity. Without exploring complicity through upacking salvationism and paternalism alongside a colonial analysis, and with the addition of a strong sense of a need to encourage students to 'take action', this may translate into a solutions-focused approach that reinforces a hegemonic approach to development aid.

Building from this critique, Stein (2015) presents the incommensurable position "in which existing scripts for thought and action are not outright rejected, but their limitations are illuminated through encounters with and across difference" (247). Stein (2015) notes that the incommersurable position is similar to the anti-oppressive position in recognising the oppressive nature of the enactment of symbolic and material violence on the part of the Universalism ascribed to by 'the West'. However, it presents a possibility of engaging differently with existing ordering of the world. Citing scholars engaged in de- and post-

colonial analyses (e.g., Povelinni, Nayar, Mignolo, Santos), Stein (2015) posits that "many of these thinkers explicitly draw on possibilities offered by relationships across difference that do not need to be reconciled through consensus or synthesis" (247).

An important question emerging from our findings is to what extent the HEADUP tool was effectively taken-up as an anti-oppressive approach by some teachers, particularly when they already identified as enacting critical approaches, and particularly when they singled out the idea of uncomplicated solutions. Do they take from HEADSUP a critique of ethnocentrism but remain, perhaps understandably, rooted in universalist scripts? Does an anti-oppressive position focus on certain concepts in the tool, such as uncomplicated solutions, in isolation from the other historical patterns? This is certainly understandable as Stein (2015) points out a limitation of an incommensurable position is a lack of intelligibility from within mainstream institutions, particularly educational institutions with defined and progressive outcomes defining student learning. Thus, we wonder to what extent HEADSUP started some teachers to start a process of criticality but for others, reinforced an already existing anti-oppressive position? And, we wonder to what extent HEADSUP served to open up further pedagogical possibilities informed by postcolonial and decolonial theory as described by Stein (2015), and/or what further resources would support such an approach? While the HEADSUP tool demonstrated great possibility for critical reflection, community building, and application; it also demonstrated constraints and challenges. We hope the discussion in this chapter has evoked the question of what may be possible but also what may seem impossible as such "questions enable new, and previously unimaginable, possibilities to emerge" (Stein 2015: 249).

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