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Mainstreaming the Global Education Agenda into National Policy:
A Case Study of Introducing the Global Citizenship Education (GCED)-integrated Curriculum in Bangladesh

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To my loving family for their unconditional love and support

ABSTRACT

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Today, the global agenda resonates strongly with politicians and policymakers around the world, influencing the entire policy formation process, including policy agenda setting. Indeed, efforts to align or link national policies with the global agenda are frequently observed. However, these global agendas are often described as "empty vessels" because they are first adopted without a clear understanding and consensus on what they mean, and then reinterpreted and adapted to national circumstances and contexts (DeRoche, 2013). On the other hand, while there may be many factors behind the introduction of other countries' policies as domestic policies, assuming that the receivers are developing countries can lead to the mistake of assuming that they will adopt such policies simply to learn from external "best practices" or under unilateral coercion or constraints due to lack of decision-making or bargaining power. This

is especially true when it comes to adopting the global agenda of an international organization with significant global influence, rather than the policies of a single country.

This study analyzes how the global education agenda is translated into national policies from a policy borrowing perspective through the case of Bangladesh, which introduced a revised national curriculum that incorporates Global Citizenship Education (hereinafter referred to as "GCED") starting in grades 1, 6, and 7 in January 2023. Specifically, the study examined in detail the situational and contextual factors and processes that led to the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh, and then identified the main stakeholders who drove this policy change and discussed the dynamics between them. In this regard, it focused on analyzing the international organization (UNESCO), which developed the global education agenda and took the lead in its implementation, promotion, and diffusion worldwide, and the government, which adopted it as a national policy. Therefore, this paper centered on the main question, "Why and how did Bangladesh introduce the GCED-integrated curriculum at the policy level?" and refined the research question as follows. Firstly, what is GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh and how was it introduced? Secondly, what are the dynamics between key stakeholders that led to this policy change in Bangladesh and how were these relationships formed? For the study, I collected and analyzed policy documents, political party materials, curriculum documents and textbooks, international and local newspaper articles, publications of international organizations, statistical data, and various other literature, and conducted online in-depth interviews with local experts who were directly involved in the actual policy introduction and

implementation process or were familiar with the process at the time to enhance the reliability of the data and the validity of the overall study.

Analyzing the above data using a modified version of Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), which is widely used in policy research, this study found that, the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum was in fact a strategic effort by the government to achieve the national development plan and the education development plan aligned with the SDGs, and was implemented in a very top-down manner from the Prime Minister's Office - the Planning Commission under the Ministry of Planning - the Ministry of Education (in collaboration with the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education) - the National Curriculum and Textbook Board under the Ministry of Education, and UNESCO has been involved in all of these processes, not just at the curriculum revision stage, but in the form of various programmes/projects or technical assistance, and the government of Bangladesh has also been working closely with UNESCO at each stage. The study argues that the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh was possible because there was a kind of strategic compromise between the government of Bangladesh and UNESCO to achieve their respective interests. As soon as the SDGs were officially announced by the United Nations (UN), the government of Bangladesh aligned the SDGs with its medium- and long-term national development plans and formulated various strategies to implement them. In particular, a financing strategy for the implementation of the SDGs was also thoroughly prepared, with external financing including Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Foreign Aid and Grants as one of the main sources. From this, this study concludes that the government of Bangladesh has committed to the implementation of the SDGs at a strategic

level and has aligned its national development goals with the SDGs in order to raise the necessary financial and other external support to achieve its national development goal of entering the Upper Middle-Income and Upper-Income countries. And the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum also seems to have been made in this context. To put it another way, it seems more likely that the decision to integrate global citizenship into the curriculum was driven by other needs rather than direct demand for it, and then linked to national issues and already planned curriculum revisions. UNESCO, on the other hand, has traditionally been the dominant international organization driving the education discourse and agenda at the international level, but it has suffered from persistent underfunding and the resulting erosion of its expertise, as well as a centralized and bureaucratic structure that has concentrated more staff and budget at its headquarters. In particular, its position in the international community has been weakened in recent decades by the growing influence of economically based international organizations such as the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which have vast amounts of capital and technical expertise in developing and providing educational data. Thus, UNESCO's active participation in the development, implementation, promotion, and diffusion of global agendas such as GCED or GCED-integrated curriculum can be thought of as not only fulfilling its role as the UN specialized agency for education to take the lead in setting and implementing global norms, but also as an effort to secure institutional legitimacy and dominance through international consensus, support, and participation in global agendas in a situation where it is in a kind of competition with other international organizations over global governance. And a holistic approach to implementing

the global agenda in a top-down manner by engaging from the policy formulation stage, as in the case of Bangladesh, may be a strategy for UNESCO, with its limited budget and expertise, to maximize the efficiency and effectiveness of its work.

Finally, this study sought to shift the focus of policy borrowing research from the traditional bilateral frame to an international frame to examine how the global agenda is realized in the policies of individual countries, especially developing countries. In particular, by moving away from a dichotomous perspective based on the logic of power imbalance and looking at developing countries in the position of borrowing policies as active actors rather than helpless recipients, and exploring the dynamics that form between them and international organizations that lend them policies, this study is significant for expanding the scope of policy borrowing research and redefining and reinterpreting the realization of the global agenda into national policies.

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BANBEIS	Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BISE	Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE)
BNCU	Bangladesh National Commission for UNESCO
CAMPE	Campaign for Popular Education
CAO	Chief Accounts Office
CapED Programme	Capacity Development for Education Programme
DeSeCo Project	Definition and Selection of Key Competencies Project
DIA	Directorate of Inspection and Audit
DME	Directorate of Madrasha Education
DPE	Directorate of Primary Education
DSHE	Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education
DTE	Directorate of Technical Education
EFA	Education For All
EIU	Education for International Understanding
ESA	Education Sector Analysis
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
ESP	Education Sector Plan
ESPDG	Education Sector Plan Development Grant, GPE
ESPIG	Education Sector Plan Implementation Grant, GPE

FDMN	Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals, Rohingya Refugees
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GCED	Global Citizenship Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GED	General Economics Division
GEFI	Global Education First Initiative
GNP	Gross National Product
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
HIC	High-Income Country
HPI	Human Poverty Index
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
IUBAT	International University of Business Agriculture and Technology
LDC	Least Developed Country
LIC	Lower-Income Country
LMIC	Lower Middle-Income Country
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoPME	Ministry of Primary and Mass Education
MSF	Multiple Streams Framework
NAEM	National Academy of Education Management
NAPE	National Academy for Primary Education

National Action Plan for SDGs	National Action Plan of Ministries/Divisions by Targets for the Implementation of SDGs
NCCC	National Curriculum Coordination Committee
NCTB	National Curriculum and Textbook Board
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NIE	National Institute of Education, Singapore
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OWG	Open Working Group
PEDP	Primary Education Development Program
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Program
SHED	Secondary and Higher Education Division
SID	Statistics and Informatics Division
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TMED	Technical and Madrasah Education Division
UIA	Union of International Associations
UMIC	Upper Middle-Income Country
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNESCO APCEIU	UNESCO Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding
UNESCO MGIEP	UNESCO Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNSDCF	UN Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

As countries become increasingly interdependent and interconnected in the era of globalization, the international community is collectively setting and implementing a global agenda for shared human prosperity and growth, and education is one of the main components of this agenda, along with politics, economics, and the environment. The establishment of the global agenda has been largely driven by international organizations and developed donor countries that provide capital and systems in the international community. While it is difficult to define the global education agenda in terms of its macro-level and broad characteristics, Jin-hee Kim, in a 2016 study, identified the global education agenda as "a set of transnational educational goals agreed upon by the international community, led by major international organizations in the United Nations system" (Kim, 2016, p. 93). Global education agendas aim to achieve universally accepted values and are sometimes used as a means to address socioeconomic issues. The global agendas, or global education agendas, established for shared prosperity and growth, are recommended to be integrated into national policies and implemented. In the case of the global education agenda, it is expected to be incorporated into education policy and implemented and promoted at the school level. National policymakers may view these global agendas as clearly defined standards, policies, or practices that are universally shared (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012), or they may adopt them as national policies out of fear of falling behind in the international community (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016a). In turn, importing countries reinterpret and adapt the global agenda to their own context. In this sense, this study aims to examine the process of introducing the

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global education agenda by the government of a developing country through the case of Bangladesh's Global Citizenship Education-integrated curriculum (hereinafter referred to as "GCED-integrated curriculum") in terms of contextual and situational factors, and to discuss the key stakeholders who participate in and drive the process.

1.1. Background

Global citizenship, or Global Citizenship Education (hereinafter referred to as "GCED"), first emerged as one of the top priorities in the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI), launched in 2012 under the leadership of UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (United Nations Secretary-General, 2012), and was later adopted as an agenda for Education 2030 at the World Education Forum 2015 in Incheon (UNESO, 2015c). Subsequently, GCED was finally elevated to a common goal for the world to achieve when it was set as a part of the Sustainable Development Goals (hereinafter referred to as "SDGs") by the United Nations (hereinafter referred to as "UN") General Assembly. As GCED has risen up to the global agenda, many countries around the world have been actively engaged in its adoption and implementation, including reflecting it in their national policies. However, despite this widespread utilization and diffusion, the concept of GCED remains broad and ambiguous. In fact, even UNESCO Asia-Pacific Centre of Education (hereinafter referred to as "UNESCO APCEIU"), the organization that implements and promotes GCED, acknowledges that it is difficult to come up with one final definition of GCED, as it can be understood in a variety of ways depending on which aspects of

GCED are emphasized and the perspective of the implementing entity (individual or organization) (Lim & Park, 2018, p. 93). Nevertheless, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereinafter referred to as "UNESCO") and other experts are calling for a move away from international consensus and now to an implementation phase where countries take action (Saka et al., 2016, p. 31). Meanwhile, in recent decades, educational concepts and agendas with homogeneous goals and contexts have continued to emerge to address transnational issues in a rapidly changing globalizing society. Countries around the world have been quick to embrace these intertwined concepts or agendas, and are now joining another grand agenda, GCED. This is true for developing countries as well, and Bangladesh is one of them. In particular, Bangladesh has been active in recent years in collaborating with UNESCO to spread the GCED discourse and share practices (UNESCO APCEIU, 2021; 2022), as well as with the Islamic World Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ICESCO) to broaden understanding and participation in GCED in Islamic cultures (ICESCO, 2023).

I was fortunate enough to participate in the Global Citizenship Education Project of the UNESCO APCEIU last year, 2022. It was a feasibility study for a project to establish a GCED Center by designating an educational institution in a specific country for the purpose of implementing and promoting GCED in the Southwest Asia region, and I was in charge of Bangladesh. During the research, we learned that Bangladesh was planning to implement a revised national curriculum incorporating GCED from 2023 and had already conducted a pilot program in some schools at that time (Jasim, 2022). In addition, Bangladesh was planning to revise textbooks and teacher education accordingly with the

introduction of the revised curriculum (Yoo et al., 2022). As a result, students were to learn 10 common learning areas including "social and global citizenship" and global citizenship-related values such as "environment and climate" and "values and ethics" through schooling with the revised curriculum (Robin, 2021). Of course, there is still a big challenge of implementing the policy at the school level, there seems to be a high level of policy coherence at the national level to implement GCED by aligning curriculum, textbooks, and teacher training. We also found that, although it is still in the early stages, Bangladesh has been very active in implementing GCED in general, including GCED curriculum, compared to other South Asian countries. Yet, it is important to note here that while Bangladesh has made remarkable progress in expanding education over the past decade, it still faces large and pressing challenges in terms of grade repetition and dropout, lack of foundational skills such as literacy and numeracy (USAID, 2022), and insufficient learning environment such as school facilities and equipment, overcrowded classrooms, teacher shortages, and lack of teacher expertise. So, I had some fundamental questions. Why is the Bangladeshi government so interested in GCED, and what led to the decision to integrate GCED into the national curriculum? What does GCED-integrated curriculum mean for Bangladesh? It was with these questions in mind that this study began.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

On September 14, 2021, Education Minister Dipu Moni announced at a press conference that Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina had approved the new curriculum (Robin, 2021). The revised curriculum includes many changes, one of which is

the alignment and integration of GCED into the curriculum. The revised curriculum with GCED will be introduced gradually by grade and will be completed for all schools and grade levels by 2027 ("Major Changes in Education," 2022; "The Changes Coming," 2022). The full implementation began in January 2023, starting with grades 1, 6, and 7 ("New Curriculum Begins," 2023), but almost immediately after the curriculum was introduced, concerns about chaos in schools due to the government's lack of preparation began to arise. The lack of teacher training and guidance, especially at the primary school level for the new curriculum, was also raised as an issue (Ahmed, 2023; Alamgir, 2023; "New Curriculum Begins", 2023). This has led to criticism that the new curriculum was introduced unilaterally and before school sites were ready. In fact, the second grade was also supposed to be covered by the revised curriculum, but the introduction was postponed due to lack of preparation ("New Curriculum Begins", 2023). This is not the first time that policy decisions made at the government level have encountered difficulties in the later stages of implementation. In 2018, the Ministry of Education (hereinafter referred to as "MoE") officially announced that primary education would be expanded from 5 to 8 grades in order to improve the quality of education through the expansion of compulsory education in accordance with the National Education Policy (Khairullah, 2017; "Primary Education Now," 2016). However, due to the difficulties of recruiting additional teachers in the current education context, downgrading existing secondary school teachers, developing a new curriculum, changing primary teacher training modules, and developing primary school infrastructure, the government eventually announced in June 2017 that it would postpone the policy (Billah, 2017), and to date, there seems to be no movement.

This is the most recent example of how policies designed solely on the basis of political determination and will, without a proper understanding and analysis of the current situation and feasibility, cannot be successfully implemented.

This gap between policy development and actual implementation is often called *loose coupling*. Loose coupling refers to the implementation of policies that were developed without sufficient consideration of the realistic conditions in the classroom, for example (DeRoche, 2013). According to James P. Spillane and Patricia Burch (2005), implementation researchers in particular have frequently used this concept to describe the rather weak link between policy and administration for the core tasks of schooling. Of course, this phenomenon is often observed in many other countries, especially in developing countries, but it is very prominent in the Bangladesh policy example above. Even in the case of policies developed in response to a country's internal demand, there is a gap between policy formation and implementation, and the process of adopting and implementing global agendas driven by international organizations into domestic policies is likely to be even more so, and it is unlikely that the Bangladesh government has overlooked this. Moreover, as mentioned above, Bangladesh is still facing urgent education issues such as improving the quality of education and learning environment.

Christina Deroche (2013) describes the internationally popular global education agenda (or global education policy) as an *empty vessel*, noting that while it resonates with politicians and policymakers around the world and is often utilized in moments of policy agenda setting and policy formation, there is a lack of consensus on what it actually means. And recent policy studies have shown that in education, uncritical adoption of so-called *best practices* or

international standards, or alignment or adaptation of national policies to the new international education space of the global agenda, is a frequent occurrence (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012; 2016a).

The introduction of other countries' policies or global agendas into domestic policy can be driven by a number of factors. Though, assuming that the borrowing country is a developing country, there is a tendency to judge that it is simply trying to learn best practices from advanced countries, or that it is being forced or constrained to adopt policies because it lacks decision-making or bargaining power in the borrowing process. This is especially true when it comes to adopting the global agenda of a globally influential international organization rather than the policies of a single country. In other words, policy borrowing is viewed through the lens of an imbalance of power between developing countries and international organizations. GCED is also on the global agenda these days, and the introduction of the GCED-integrated revised curriculum in Bangladesh may have been influenced not only by the will of the government, but also by international organizations that develop, promote, and spread it globally. Yet, Bangladesh has had various experiences of cooperation with international organizations and developed countries, and has recently shown remarkable growth in the international community. Therefore, this study is based on the assumption that the relationship between developing countries as borrowers and international organizations as lenders in the policy borrowing process is not necessarily one-sided, and various dynamics can occur within it. It is expected that a new interpretation of policy borrowing or the adoption of global agendas by developing countries may emerge if developing countries are viewed as active and driven actors, rather than as passive recipients.

1.3. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

Previous studies on GCED have been dominated by discourse analysis, theoretical or conceptual analysis, case studies of implementation and recontextualization, and content analysis of GCED in specific subjects. However, this study takes a policy borrowing perspective and focuses on why and how GCED as a global education agenda, and specifically the GCED-integrated curriculum, is introduced and mainstreamed into national policies. Therefore, based on the problem statement outlined above, this study has two research purposes. Firstly, the study seeks to take a closer look at the trajectory of the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh, namely the situational and contextual factors and processes. In order to understand the formation of a policy, it is necessary to look at the overall social, economic, and political situation at the time, not just the problem it was intended to solve. The study will also consider international flows and related factors, as even domestic policies are influenced by international context in which countries find themselves. Secondly, this study will identify the key stakeholders who drove the process of integrating and linking GCED into national curriculum and examine the dynamics between them. The analysis focuses specifically on two pillars: UNESCO, the international organization responsible for developing this global education agenda and leading its promotion and dissemination globally, and the Bangladeshi government, which has received and realized it as national policy. As mentioned earlier, the international community often accepts global agendas without question or criticism and attempts to adjust and adapt national policies to fit them. However, I would like to take a different approach and view

Bangladesh's introduction of GCED-integrated curriculum as a unilateral policy borrowing that occurs according to the logic of power between international organizations and developing countries, but rather as an interaction between two active actors. In this regard, the refined research questions are as follows:

- Why and how did Bangladesh introduce GCED-integrated curriculum at policy level?
  1. What is GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh and how was it introduced?
  2. What are the dynamics between key stakeholders that led to this policy change in Bangladesh and how were these relationships formed?

Regarding the first sub-question, this paper will specifically trace and describe the key factors and processes that led to the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh by using John W. Kingdon's analytical framework. Next, it will focus on the key stakeholders that brought about this policy change and identify the interactions and dynamics among them in the above process, with a particular attention to the government of Bangladesh and the international organization UNESCO as policy borrower and lender respectively.

1.4. Significance of the Study

Earlier, it was mentioned that this study analyzes the implementation of the GCED-integrated curriculum from a policy borrowing perspective. As will be

discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, Educational Policy Borrowing, policy borrowing research has a long tradition in the field of comparative education, and related theories and concepts have been adapted, refined, and expanded over time. Steiner-Khamsi (2012; 2016b) identifies three main trends in policy borrowing research. First, early research was characterized by the introduction of basic concepts of policy borrowing, which laid the foundation for a research paradigm that pays particular attention to the context of the borrowing country. David Phillips and Kimberly Oaks are the first generation of these researchers, and their policy borrowing framework will be discussed in detail in the next chapter as it is heavily referenced in this study. Second generation researchers expanded the scope of policy borrowing research to include developing countries, recognizing that policymakers may adopt policies from other countries as a form of policy strategy. The third generation of researchers that followed is credited with developing new interpretations of policy borrowing by presenting different themes or perspectives. These include studies that identify and analyze actors in the process of policy borrowing, and studies that shifted the bilateral frame of nation-to-nation to that of international standards and international policies. With regard to the latter in particular, the emergence of regional or international education spaces in the era of globalization has led individual countries to eventually align their policies with those of the larger *education space*. Some researchers have criticized this phenomenon of *harmonization* as being highly prescriptive and coercive, undermining national autonomy in policy agenda setting, policy formulation and implementation in individual countries (Dale & Robertson, 2012; Grek, 2012; Jakobi, 2012; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012; 2016a; Vuban, 2018).

By shifting the focus of study from the traditional bilateral to an international frame, this study seeks to see how the global agenda is realized in the policies of individual countries, particularly developing countries. However, rather than acknowledging or criticizing harmonization, which can be somewhat coercive, as previous studies have done, this study seeks to view harmonization simply as one of the various types of policy borrowing. Instead, it seeks to move away from the dichotomy of policy borrowers, particularly developing countries, being weak and international organizations being strong, and explore the interactions and dynamics that take place between policy borrowers and international organizations as policy lenders. In doing so, it ultimately seeks to broaden the scope of policy borrowing research and reinterpret the borrowing and implementation of global agendas into national policies.

1.5. Scope of the Study

According to Steiner-Khamsi (2012; 2016b), educational borrowing research can be categorized into two types: normative and analytical. On the one hand, studies that take a normative approach aim to identify best practices that can be transferred from one system to another; on the other hand, analytical studies aim to understand why and how policy borrowing occurs and the impact that borrowed policies may have on existing practices. While both aspects are important, this study focuses on the analytical aspect to examine the reasons for the borrowing of the global agenda of GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh and to find the key stakeholders and the dynamics between them that led to this change.

Policy borrowing can be also understood in terms of two key concepts: reception and translation, where reception focuses on the process of investigating and selecting the initial contact with foreign policies, and translation deals with the process of adapting, internalizing and recontextualizing foreign policies into the country (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016a). While many policy borrowing studies covers both of these key stages, this study only deals with reception for the following reasons. Firstly, as noted above, the study takes an analytical approach, seeking to understand why and how Bangladesh came to adopt a particular policy through a number of contextual and situational factors and the stakeholders within them, and thus focuses on the period at or just before its introduction, rather than after. Secondly, this policy is in the process of being implemented for three grades starting January 1, 2023, with the full school-level and grade-level rollout to be completed in 2027. This means that Bangladesh is in the very early stages of the policy's implementation, and it is too early to discuss how it is being implemented, recontextualized, evaluated, and modified. For these reasons, this study limits its analysis to the period from when the GCED concept first emerged in the international community as a global education agenda to 2022, when the new curriculum was finally approved. However, depending on the context, the study may briefly mention about 2011, when the previous curriculum was revised.

Finally, while GCED can also encompass non-formal education settings such as school clubs, community centers, and activities organized by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (hereinafter referred to as "NGOs"), this study limits its scope to formal education and focuses specifically on national curriculum and how GCED is integrated into

them.

1.6. Overview of Each Chapter

This study is organized as follows. Firstly, Chapter 2 provides a theoretical background on policy borrowing in education, specifically exploring how policy borrowing was chosen as a theoretical background, the concept and motivation of policy borrowing, the history of policy borrowing in comparative education, and the theory of Phillips and Ochs, which is mainly referenced in this study. It then reviews previous research on the emergence and concept of GCED, other similar concepts, different approaches to GCED, and its practice in education policy. Chapter 3 first outlines the methodology and case study adopted in this study and discusses the research design, data collection, analysis, and interpretation. It then presents a detailed introduction to Kingdon's Multi-Stream Framework (MSF), which is widely used in policy research, along with the final version of the analytical framework adapted for use in this study. Chapter 4 looks at GCED in Bangladesh in general and provides a detailed discussion of the 2021 Revised National Curriculum, which this study refers to as the GCED-integrated curriculum, and then describes the key factors and processes that led Bangladesh to adopt the GCED-integrated curriculum, and identifies the stakeholders that drove this process, using the analytical framework presented earlier. In Chapter 5, the study explores and discusses the dynamics and interactions between the stakeholders identified above during this policy borrowing process and why these relationships were formed, particularly from the perspective of the Government of Bangladesh and UNESCO as policy borrower and policy lender,

respectively. Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the overall findings of the study and the discussion based on them, suggesting implications and areas for further research, identifying limitations, and concluding with the researcher's own reflections on this study.

CHAPTER II. EDUCATIONAL POLICY BORROWING AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION (GCED)

As mentioned earlier, this study attempts to understand why and how Bangladesh introduced a GCED-integrated curriculum and to identify the key stakeholders behind this policy change and to explore the dynamics between them from a policy borrowing perspective. Therefore, this chapter provides a theoretical background on educational policy borrowing, including the reasons for utilizing policy borrowing as a theoretical background, the concept and motivation of policy borrowing, the history of policy borrowing in comparative education, and representative policy borrowing concepts that are mainly referenced in this study. Then, it covers previous studies on GCED, including GCED as a global education agenda, various approaches to GCED, and its practice in education policy.

2.1. Educational Policy Borrowing: Concepts and Perspectives

2.1.1. Perspectives on Policy Borrowing: World Society Theory VS. Policy Borrowing Theory

The phenomenon of external best practices or global agendas entering a particular country and being implemented as local policies can be explained by two representative theories, the world society theory (or, world polity theory) from the perspective of Meyer's school and the policy borrowing theory. Firstly, Meyer and his colleagues (1997) explain the isomorphism of world cultures from the perspective of neo-institutionalism. While using the concept of 'world

society', they believe that the phenomenon of cross-border institutional and policy isomorphism is due to the cultural diffusion based on rationality. This means that despite the differences in resources and traditions of each country, the isomorphism of institutions and policies in politics, economy and education into a global model is difficult to explain by endogenous and internal variables. Therefore, the isomorphism of institutions across countries is explained by the development of culture and structure of the global society that exists outside the country. In particular, the recent isomorphism of education policies is also considered to be isomorphic because externally rational policies can gain legitimacy from the inside (Sung, 2010). According to this theory, states are seen as products of global culture, passive recipients of influences from the outside. In fact, Meyer argues that "world society models shape nation-state identities, structures, and behavior through worldwide cultural and associational processes" (Meyer et al., 1997, p. 173). Instead, the UN and its associated organizations have been highly advocated, viewing them as central to the dissemination of global culture (Navari, 2018). On the other hand, policy borrowing theory suggests that countries may adopt external models to solve internal problems, and that whatever comes in from the outside is determined by the internal system based on its own political, social, historical, and cultural conditions, meaning that it recognizes external influence but sees outside authority as being used by the political context and needs of the internal system. Since this study focuses on identifying various local contexts under the assumption that the introduction of the global education agenda is ultimately determined by internal domestic factors, the policy borrowing theory is adopted and utilized as a theoretical background. The details of this theory will be discussed below.

2.1.2. Educational Policy Borrowing

1) Education Policy and Curriculum

Before discussing the borrowing of education policy, I would like to talk about curriculum as education policy. In fact, looking at curriculum as education policy can be quite ambiguous and may seem like a less researched topic compared to other areas of education. According to Yong Kim (2005), in Korea, the distinction between educational policy and curriculum discussions has been made in the process of institutionalizing the research fields of educational administration (policy) researchers and curriculum researchers. As a result, there has been a tendency to perceive the connection between education policy and curriculum as very weak due to the lack of discussion between research groups. Furthermore, since most education policies assume that changes in curriculum implementation are policy effects, curriculum is often viewed as simply a dependent variable that is significantly affected by education policy (Wise, 1979). Curriculum researchers may overly narrowly define the scope of educational policy, or they may simply view curriculum as being realized in the context of educational systems and educational policy, and look for links between the two. In summary, it can be said that there has been a lack of in-depth discussion of curriculum policy as different research areas have interpreted and approached curriculum policy from their own perspectives in the process of consolidating their academic positions.

Nevertheless, curriculum can certainly be seen as a part of education policy, and indeed, there is a research area called curriculum policy, which refers to policy discussions centered on curriculum (Kim, 2005, p. 293). Yet, compared to

the fields of educational policy and curriculum studies, it does not seem to have a clear position as a research area with a clear problem or methodology. The first researchers to discuss curriculum policy in depth were Richard Elmore and Gary Sykes (1992), who reviewed the research on curriculum from a public policy perspective and public policy from a curriculum perspective in 1992 and pointed out that curriculum policy is not yet a well-defined field of study with its own distinctive questions and a distinctive literature of high quality.

Hyun-Seok Shin and his colleagues (2018) distinguish between "curriculum policy of the nation" and "national curriculum policy" in relation to curriculum policy. The former refers to the policy on curriculum as part of the education policy controlled by the state, while the latter refers to the national level curriculum policy as the curriculum officially determined and operated by the central government under the name of the state (Shin et al., 2018, p. 32). Then, the former can be seen as a broad perspective because it encompasses the latter, and the latter can be interpreted as a consultative perspective. This study particularly adopts the latter of these perspectives and considers curriculum policy as the national-level curriculum policy that is directly led and operated by the state, and in this regard, it specifically looks at national curriculum documents as well.

Educational policy borrowing studies have analyzed various objects or materials as educational policies, including curriculum policies. For example, there have been a study that analyzed the process by which an Indian curriculum was borrowed in Bhutan and its impact on the local education system (Zangmo, 2018), a case study of curriculum revision in China that demonstrated the process of indigenization and internalization to fit the local context rather than

outright borrowing of Western policies (Tan & Reyes, 2016), and a study that sought to show how Realistic Mathematics Education (RME), a Dutch approach to mathematics education, was adapted and contextualized in Indonesia's mathematics curriculum (Revina & Leung, 2018).

2) Concept and Motives of Policy Borrowing

In this era of globalization, we can often witness the education policy or reform from one country influence on the other countries. In the same context, Elizabeth Agbor Eta (2015) points out that policymakers wish to learn best practices from elsewhere in order to develop or improve education system in their own countries. This phenomenon can be explained with several terms, but most frequently used one would be *policy transfer* and *policy borrowing*. These two can be used interchangeably. To be more exact, however, the former refers to a phenomenon or process in which the policy moves between countries. On the other hand, the latter, which implies introducing foreign policy and customizing it in the context of the country (Portnoi, 2016, p.149), connotes the direction of policy flow and the subject of borrowing or lending the policy. Considering that *policy borrowing* is an approach more focusing on the perspective of the country that borrows and introduces the certain policy, the exact opposite concept is *policy lending* (Waldow, 2012). Countries like Singapore, Finland, Korea and Japan, which are the high performing countries in PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) or TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) and many others desire to learn from, are representative policy lending countries (Steiner-Khamsi, 2006; Steiner-Khamsi,

2012). In addition to policy transfer and borrowing, there are other similar terms such as *imitation, emulation, copying, appropriation, assimilation, convergence, importation, transplanting, adoption, and adaptation* (Bennett, 1991; Phillips & Ochs, 2002; Phillips & Ochs, 2003; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Eta, 2015). Colin J. Bennett (1991) and Gita Steiner-Khamsi (2002) particularly mentioned that policy convergence can be also seen as a result of policy transfer or borrowing, considering that the meaning of convergence is "the tendency of societies to grow more alike (Kerr 1983, p.3)". All these terms have been used in various ways depending on the researcher, or the context even if in one same paper. Since this paper approaches from the perspective of the policy receiving country, I will mainly use the term *policy borrowing* but the other terms would be appeared as well depending on the context, if necessary.

Then what makes policymakers borrow the policy from elsewhere? Of course, it would be sometimes difficult to find out the actual purpose or motive of policy borrowing due to its complexity. However, people usually think about borrowing the policy when they need realistic measures to solve urgent educational problems and to settle the resulting public confusion and indignation, or when they need to provide hope that the current situation would be better with the introduction of foreign policy or system (Phillips & Ochs, 2004). Most common and definite motive of policy borrowing can be explained with political and economic aspects. In this regard, firstly, political legitimation is a typical example. Under the significant pressure to fix apparently urgent issues inside the country, politicians, political bureaucrat or policymakers are willing to refer to the case outside of the country in order to give a hopeful message to the public, and, at the same time, legitimize the policy they are pursuing (Halpin and Troyna,

1995). In other words, external authority is used to enhance the legitimacy of the particular policy proposal with the belief that we should do, too, because developed countries do. The cases of foreign policy are more likely to be considered and adopted as a third and neutral policy option, especially when there has been prolonged policy conflict between different stakeholders within the country (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016a). Secondly, the economic motive of policy borrowing would be particularly applicable to developing countries. Developing countries often introduce certain policy to secure external funding, that is to say international assistance. In this case, there could be two conflicting views from the perspective of developing countries. Some say that policy borrowing is forced on condition of receiving international assistance (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000), whereas the others argue it should be viewed as a voluntary and strategic choice considering that developing countries can use policy borrowing as a means of securing the funds from outside (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016a; Steiner-Khamsi, 2006). Finally, it should be noted that the ostensible and actual motives of policy borrowing might be different, and what is the real one behind it would vary depending on the situation of each country.

3) History and Development of Policy Borrowing in Comparative Education

In comparative education, education policy is one of the key research areas and many scholars have studied on such issues like the possibility of transferring specific policies and their practice and effects in other environments. Although the development stage of comparative education can be explained differently depending on the researchers, as Harold J. Noah and Max A. Eckstein (1969)

argued, it is briefly summarized as starting with the stage of the travelers' tales, going through educational borrowing and international understanding, or international cooperation, and considering the educational and social. During the first phase of the travelers' tales, people, who visited other countries for purposes other than education, shared what they observed from the journeys and experiences in foreign countries including the education system context (Noah & Eckstein, 1969; Phillips, 2000). This would be regarded as unscientific or prescientific phase due to its descriptive feature and the possibility of influencing the travelers' subjective point of view. From approximately 1830, there had been systematic and comprehensive studies on foreign education system or policy in order to learn and borrow from them (Wolhuter, 2016), which refers to phase two. Since then, comparative education field has been able to develop in a more scientific and systematic direction. In this regard, it is not an exaggeration to say that policy borrowing can be seen as one of the implicit aims of comparative education, and policy borrowing and comparative education have been evolved together. Therefore, in this section I would like to review the history of policy borrowing by tracing back to the early period of comparative education research.

In comparative education, as mentioned above, the concept of policy borrowing (or policy transfer) basically emerged for the purpose of utilizing the one from foreign countries to improve domestic policy or system, and this idea has been developed through various methodologies. Early educational comparativists found successful foreign education systems or policies attractive, and finally began to recognize the importance of learning from them. Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris, known as the father of comparative education, emphasized lesson learning from other countries after examining their education

systems and reforms in his famous work *Plan for Comparative Education of 1816-1817 (Esquisse d'un ouvrage sur l'éducation comparé)* (Fraser, 1964). Then Victor Cousin suggested selective education borrowing, arguing that "[…] people of stature should not be afraid to borrow from wherever and whatever is appropriate (Morris, 2019, p.190, as cited in Cousin, 1813)." According to Sam Morris, selective education borrowing, which refers to studying foreign education systems to improve its own system, is distinct from the phase of travelers' tales with its obvious purpose to learn and borrow educational ideas from others. Matthew Arnold went further and clarified borrowing from lesson learning (Ochs & Phillips, 2002), saying " … I do not care the least for importing this or that foreign machinery, whether it be French or German, but only for getting certain English deficiencies supplied (Murray, 1997, p.24, as cited in Arnold, 1868)."

With growing interest in learning from foreign models within the field of comparative education, meanwhile, more people began to recognized the significance of contextual factors. For example, Michael Saddler noted that "in studying foreign systems of education we should not forget that the things outside the school matter even more than the things inside the schools, and in most cases they actually govern and interpret the things inside the school. … A national system of education is a living thing (Bereday, 1964, p.310)." This means that since education and society are interconnected, the context of the society such as social, political, economic and cultural circumstances should be taken into account before introducing the education system. Likewise, Isaac Kandel argued that every country has own characteristics based on their history and philosophy, which should be first understood in order to know about its

school or educational environment (Morris, 2019, as cited in Kandel, 1954). Nicholas Hans went even further from Sadler and Kandel's viewpoint, and considered that natural (e.g. racial, linguistic, geographical and economic factors), religious (particularly Catholic and Puritan) and secular (e.g. humanism, socialism and nationalism) factors influence the national education system (Hans, 1967). Early educational comparativists recognized the possibility and necessity of lesson learning, or borrowing, from abroad, developed theories and emphasized the contextual factors, while scholars such as David Phillips, Kimberly Ochs and Jürgen Schriewer conceptualized and systematically investigated policy borrowing.

David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs placed a greater emphasis on the context compared to the previous researchers. They particularly suggested to examine the possibility of policy borrowing by analyzing common and various contextual factors of both policy borrowing and lending countries (Phillips & Ochs, 2004). In this regard, Phillips and Ochs developed some model and typology including cross-national policy attraction, which will be introduced separately in the following section as a main theoretical framework for this study. Jürgen Schriewer, another comparativist who emphasized context, developed the concept of *externalization* and *self-referentiality* based on Niklas Luhman's theory, which have been regarded as key concepts in policy borrowing. Externalization signifies that groups with superior power use external authority to carry out the particular idea or logic within the internal system. This is based on the premise or belief that external models should be introduced to solve internal problems, and that they are obviously better because most of those models come from developed countries (Sung, 2010). According to Schiriewer

(1990), by using the external source regarded as best practices, policymakers can stabilize internal system, justify their decision making, and even evade any possible responsibilities for its miscarriages. Meanwhile, self-referentiality, opposite to externalization, means that even ideas or systems are introduced from the outside, it is decided and influenced by the internal contextual factors such as own tradition, belief, history, politics and culture (Schiriewer, 2003). In short, both externalization and self-referentiality justifies particular policy decision within the country, but the former brings external sources and the latter uses internal references in the same context (Kushnir, 2022).

4) Phillips and Och's Educational Policy Borrowing: Model and Typology

For deeper and systematic understanding about educational policy borrowing, it is necessary to know its scope, classification and process. In this area, the work of Phillips and Ochs, who are notable for the conceptualization of educational policy borrowing, is distinctive and representative. They viewed policy borrowing as the "conscious adoption in one context of policy observed in another" (Phillips & Ochs, 2004, p.774), which connotes borrowing is cautious and purposive act.

These researchers believed policy transfer or borrowing in education occur along a spectrum ranging from voluntary to involuntary or coercive manner. In this regard, <Figure II-1> shows what condition a country transfer or borrow education policy. According to this spectrum, education policy could be imposed (by totalitarian or authoritarian government), required under constraint (as in occupied countries or post-crisis circumstances), negotiated under constraint (as

when required by donor countries or international organizations for their assistance), borrowed purposefully (when policymakers intend to learn from and introduce policy from elsewhere), or introduced through general influence of educational ideas and methods (in the circumstance of internationalization and globalization) (Phillips & Ochs, 2004). In particular, *borrowed purposefully* is similar to the *voluntary transfer* conceptualized by Dolowitz & Marsh (2000), which refers to policymakers in a country actively borrowing the policy from another country with their own will. According to Dolowitz & Marsh, the receiving country mostly borrow the policy voluntarily for the purpose of lesson drawing after a thorough analysis of the policy outcome and impact in the country where the policy came from.

Imposed	Required under constraint	Negotiated under constraint	Borrowed purposefully	Introduced through influence
EDUCATIONAL TRANSFER				
1	2	3	4	5

(1) Totalitarian/authoritarian rule, inc.
(2) Defeated/occupied countries
(3) Required by bilateral and multilateral agreements
(4) Intentional copying of policy/practice observed elsewhere
(5) General influence of educational ideas/methods

Source: Ochs & Phillips (2004, p.9)

<Figure II-1> The Spectrum of Educational Transfer

Regardless of where it is located in the above spectrum, policy is introduced and goes through a series of process until its adaptation. Phillips and Ochs proposed a circular model of policy borrowing (shown in <Figure II-2>), which describe four stages in the borrowing process as follows: 1) cross-national

attractions, factors causing policy adoption, 2) decision-making procedure, 3) policy implementation, and lastly 4) internalization/indigenization in the home context. According to Phillips and Ochs (2002; 2003; 2004), cross-national attraction, firstly, which consists of impulses and externalizing potentials, basically refers the question "why does a country become interested in the education policy or system of another country at a particular time?" Impulses are internal or external elements that create an environment for policy borrowing such as political or economic change, internal dissatisfaction (for example, from teachers, parents, students), negative external evaluation (such as poor performance in the international assessment), or international or regional circumstances (like reorganization of international political system or international economic order), which can be also seen as pre-conditions for policy borrowing. Externalizing potential refers to the focus area of education policy that can be borrowed. In simple terms, a country can be attracted to certain part of the policy, such as guiding philosophy/ideology of the policy, ambitions/goals of the policy, strategies for policy implementation, enabling structures, educational processes, or educational techniques, when borrowing education policy from elsewhere. Then, the second stage is decision-making procedure. Decision-making can be theory-based, realistic and practical, or temporary measures (*quick fix*) or even fake for the purpose of gaining instant support from voters although it is unfeasible (*phoney*). The third stage, policy implementation, implies adaptation of the foreign model to the context of receiving country, and its speed can vary depending on the context, significant actors and mobilized resources. In this process of policy implementation, there may be public support, but on the contrary, it may face resistance.

Internalization/indigenization, the fourth stage, represents application and integration of the introduced policy in the existing system and context, and possibility of further adjustment through policy evaluation.
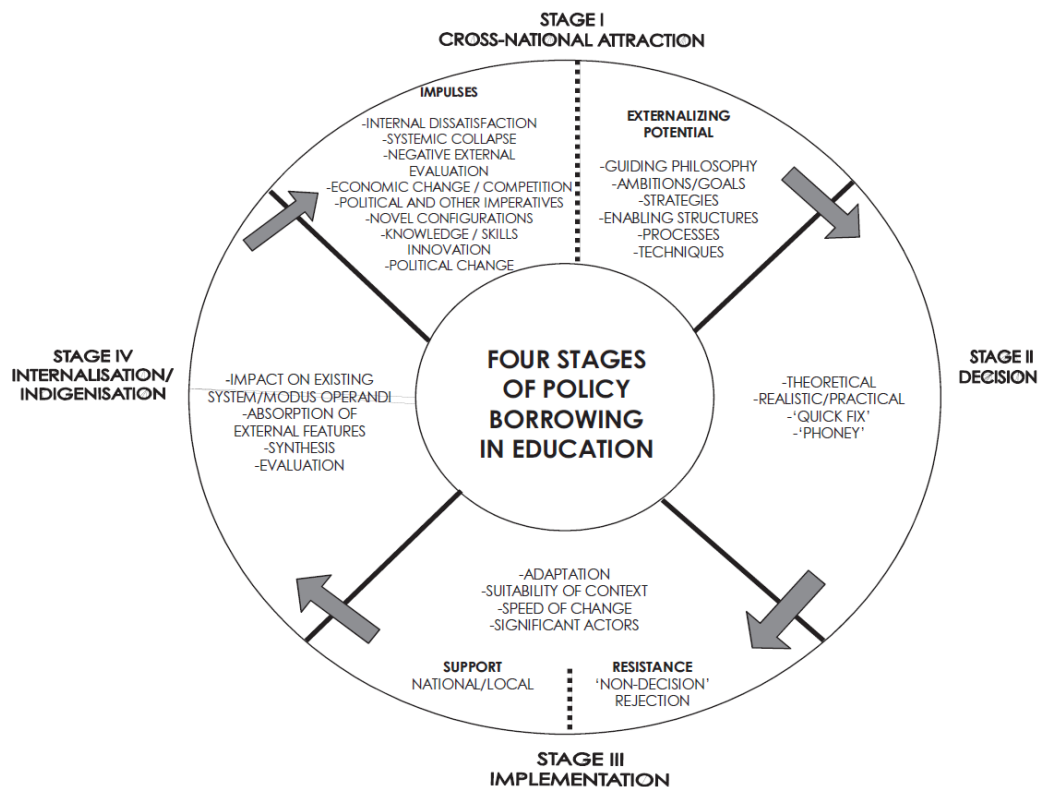
Source: Phillips & Ochs (2003, p.452)

<Figure II-2> The Four Stages of Educational Policy Borrowing

Ochs and Phillips (2004) deemed that education policies are introduced voluntarily through influence, not by coercion. They believed that contextual factors have significant impact on educational borrowing, as comparativists like Sadler, Kandel and Hans argued earlier, and that context in both the borrowing and lending countries should all be considered (Ochs & Phillips, 2002, p.336).

And this explains why they most concentrate on and discuss about the *cross-national attraction* stage of the policy borrowing cycle (Refers to <Figure II-2>). This framework has been still used by many researchers to analyze the phenomenon of educational policy borrowing, and some even argue this can be used instead of theory (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011).

5) Positioning the Research

This study seeks to find the rationale, circumstance and process of introducing the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh, which is most consistent with the first and second stage of the policy borrowing in education, developed by Phillips and Ochs. To understand cross-national attraction and decision making is particularly critical in consideration of going back to the origin and revealing discourse of policy change. They provide clues about *why*, *by whom* and *how* certain policy is borrowed by focusing on the situation at that time and dynamic interaction among various factors, which is exactly what this study tries to explore. Based on these, referring to the spectrum of educational transfer shown in <Figure II-1>, the type of policy borrowing can be also derived, such as whether the policy was adopted voluntarily, borrowed purposefully, negotiated or required under constraint, or imposed by someone else. As an analytical framework or tool to search for all these answers, John W. Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) will be employed, and the details will be discussed in Chapter 3, Methodology.

As mentioned in the Limitations in Chapter 1, this study analyzes and discusses only the first two stages in <Figure II-2> for the following reasons.

First, this study focuses on the analytical aspect of policy borrowing in Bangladesh by exploring the contextual factors of the GCED-integrated curriculum and describing the key stakeholders and the dynamics between them. Second, it focuses on the key concept of reception, the process of investigating and selecting the initial contact with an external policy. Third, the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh is in the very early stages of implementation, with three grades being covered as of January 1, 2023, and the entire school and grade level to be applied by 2027, so analysis and discussion of the implementation and contextualization of the policy seems to be still premature.

2.2. Previous Research on GCED

2.2.1. GCED as a Global Education Agenda

GCED has rapidly emerged as a major educational goal and global education agenda over the past decade. In particular, GCED drew international attention and participation when it was selected as one of the three main priorities in the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI), which was launched under the leadership of UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, and, later, included as Target 4.7 of the SDGs. However, the necessity of education for nurturing competitive and talented individuals with skills, knowledges and attitudes to solve global challenges has been raised early on (Parker, 2011). Besides, the expression was just a little different, but academia and civil society have long used this concept, and countries around the world have developed and practiced GCED in their own ways (Cho, 2019, Chung, 2015; Han 2017; OXFAM 2015). Contrary to its recent status in the international community, the concepts of global citizenship and

GCED are still controversial, and are frequently used interchangeably with some other similar concepts. Therefore, below, I would like to first retrace the emergence of GCED, then review the concepts and features of global citizenship and GCED, and finally examine its relationship with the other similar concepts.

1) The Emergence of GCED

As mentioned above, GCED has been practiced in various countries in their own ways for the purpose of dealing with global issues in this interdependent and interconnected world. According to Utak Chung (2015), global education emphasizing global competency in terms of competitiveness emerged, with the advent of globalization in the 1990s. Since its foundation, UNESCO has laid the foundation for GCED with such concepts as peace and human rights education, Education for International Understanding (EIU), and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). Meanwhile, there have been various discussions on, for example, Citizenship Education and Democratic Citizenship Education in academia. Civil society played a huge role as well, and OXFAM, particularly, developed school-based frameworks for global citizenship earlier and has promoted global learning (Gaudelli, 2016, p.42). OXFAM (n.d.) defines global citizenship as "all about encouraging young people to develop the knowledge, skills and values they need to engage with the world." On this premise, GCED is referred to as a "framework for learning, reaching beyond school to the wider community" and the one that can be fulfilled in class through the existing curriculum, or new educational initiative or activities.

Global citizenship education is not a new concept that has recently appeared, but a comprehensive concept that has evolved and converged with various existing educational discussions, and has officially emerged as a global issue since 2012 (UNESCO APCEIU, 2017a, p.12). In September 2012, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon suggested the cultivation of global citizenship, so called GCED, as one of the three priority goals at the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) (United Nations Secretary-General, 2012). Since then, GCED became a major issue at various international and regional conferences, especially at the 2014 Global Education for All Meeting in Muscat, Oman, as one of the post-EFA agendas (UNESCO, 2014). Then, at the 2015 World Education Forum in Incheon, the Incheon Declaration was announced, including the emphasis on GCED in relation to Education 2030, a new vision of education. This Declaration called for inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all, and, as a promise for quality education, announced to "develop the skills, values and attitudes that enable citizens to lead healthy and fulfilled lives, make informed decision, and respond to local and global challenges through Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Global Citizenship Education (GCED)" (UNESCO, 2016, p. 8).

In September 2015, finally, the UN Sustainable Development Summit adopted the SDGs and GCED was included in the fourth goal, which became major driving force for the promotion of GCED. This fourth goal, SDG 4, looks for "ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all", and asks for global interest and support in GCED by promoting Target 4.7 as follows: "By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including,

among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development" (United Nations, n.d.b). Meanwhile, to facilitate the implementation and monitoring of the SDGs, all indicators are categorized into three tiers based on methodological development and data availability at the global level (United Nations Statistics Division, n.d.). With regard to GCED specifically, at the 51st Session of the United Nations Statistical Commission (UNSC) in March 2020, global indicator 4.7.1 was upgraded to a Tier 2 indicator (United Nations Statistics Division, 2020). This upgrade means that the indicator is now considered to have an internationally established conceptualization and methodology. This is expected to make a difference in countries' efforts to implement the GCED and produce and monitor relevant data.

2) Concept and Features of GCED

The concept of citizenship has been defined by diverse subjects and reinterpreted according to different political and historical contexts. Traditionally, citizenship simply meant the rights and obligations of citizens as the members of the state (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008; UNESCO 2015). Since then, with the spread of democracy, meaning of citizenship has become more complicated – from simply a member of the state to a member of society with knowledge and qualifications to practice role and responsibilities and actively participate in solving problems occurred in the community (Torres, 2002;

UNESCO 2015). Subsequently, with the transition to the age of globalization, the previous concept of citizenship as a member of the nation-state expanded to the global level, and identity as a global citizen has begun to be required (Ramirez & Meyer, 2012). While the exact definition remains highly contentious yet, global citizenship currently refers to a sense of solidarity and belonging to a broader community and common humanity across borders, usually based on the universal values of global society rather than accompanied by mandatory legal status (Kim, 2020, p.11). Moreover, it emphasizes that politics, economy, society and culture are all linked and interdependent in the country, region and world (UNESCO, 2015, p.14).

In this rapidly changing global society, there has been a growing importance of education for nurturing global citizenship necessary to live as global citizens. Carlos Alberto Torres and Emiliano Bosio (2020, p.104) particularly argue that GCED is significant not only to build a greater understanding of the border and culture as a whole, but also to promote the social, political, economic, and environmental interconnections required for solving regional and global difficulties. Meanwhile, GCED is not clearly defined, just like global citizenship, and the degree of willingness to practice, capacity to practice, philosophy, and direction in terms of its implementation may vary depending on the country or culture (UNESCO APCEIU, 2015a, p.19). In other words, GCED is understood in various ways depending on which aspect of global citizenship is highlighted, and the perspective or emphasis on GCED would be different depending on who practices it. Furthermore, it was found out that GCED was not a concept developed based on thorough planning and distinct awareness of problems or purposes (Han, 2017, p.20), and was also used in a similar sense to international

understanding or multicultural education when it first appeared (Kim, 2020, p.12). Nonetheless, since then, various attempts have been made to understand its concept and features (Wintersteiner, 2018). In particular, UNESCO has been at the forefront of establishing the concept and its implementation in practice, and currently, the definition presented by UNESCO is generally used. UNESCO's publication *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives*, which can be considered as a universal GCED guidebook that compiles related discussions, describes GCED as "education that builds "knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to be able to contribute to a more inclusive, just and peaceful world" (UNESCO, 2015, p. 15).

Fostering global citizenship does not simply mean the acquisition of related knowledge, but pursues the formation of values or changes in attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, the international community endeavored to explore the composition of global citizenship from different perspectives and provides the domains and contents of GCED. Then, UNESCO (2015b, p. 15) came up with three core conceptual dimensions of GCED with *cognitive domain* that stresses the knowledge and thinking skills needed to understand the world, *socio-emotional domain* that refers to values, attitudes and social skills to live together, and *behavioral domain* that emphasizes action and participation on global issues and problems. And all these three conceptual domains, which are intimately linked to the purpose of GCED, education goals, learning objectives, and the definition of competencies, are integrated and learned or practiced (UNESCO, 2015, p. 14).

3) Other Related Concepts

We have been watching the emergence of various education concepts such as Education for International Understanding (hereinafter referred to as "EIU") and Education for Sustainable Development (hereinafter referred to as "ESD"), and GCED has many similar characteristics to these, as mentioned briefly above. Due to the continuous introduction of these new but also not all new concepts, there have been some discussion of duplication (Kim et al., 2018) and also the concerns of possible confusion and fatigue in schools (Han, 2017; UNESCO APCEIU, 2017b). In order to deal with these issues, above all, it will be necessary to understand these concepts and the relationship between them.

There have been several studies that reveal the relationship between these similar education concepts. Seon Jeong Kim and her colleagues (2018) conducted a study of qualitative content analysis that investigated the conceptual relationship between EIU, GCED and multicultural education by reviewing previous studies in Korea, which found that those studies were able to be classified into four patterns as follows. The first pattern interpreted the three concepts of education as hierarchical inclusive relationships, and EIU and GCED were found to be higher ones. The second revealed the academic similarity and confusion of the three concepts, and the degree to which similarity was mentioned or emphasized was different depending on the studies. In the third, EIU, GCED and multicultural education seemed to be independent concepts, and the studies corresponding to this pattern were found to be conducted from a macro perspective of international education development. In the fourth, finally, it was considered that the name of development education changed and

developed over time, that is, according to the trend and direction of international development cooperation.

Kyung-Koo Han (2017) saw that GCED appeared as an extension of development and change in response to awareness of newly emerged problems in the international community. According to his research, GCED includes the contents and methods of ESD, and can be seen as an educational means of achieving SDGs, in the way that SDGs are to be realized through critical thinking, responsibility, and behavior as a global citizen. In addition, GCED shares common ground with EIU, Multicultural Education and Cultural Diversity Education in that all of these underline respect and understanding of other cultures, on the other hand, it differs from Multicultural Education especially in Korea, which mainly focuses on marriage immigrants and their families. GCED can also be seen as broader and more active than Cultural Diversity Education in terms of content and methods, considering that it places emphasis on participation and behavior as responsible democratic citizens along with interest in sustainable development, peace and human rights (Han, 2017; UNESCO APCEIU, 2017b, p.6).

Hyun Mook Lim and Hwanbo Park (2018) argued that ESD shares a vision with GCED with respect to "cultivates the ability to actively contribute to making a more fair, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive and sustainable world." They also saw that EIU and GCED are not different in that these two focus on strengthening learners' capabilities to understand, respect, and respond to and solve problems facing the world based on mutual understanding.

In the meantime, UNESCO (2016, p.49), which leads the discourse and discussion of GCED, clearly stated in *Education 2030: Incheon Declaration and*

Framework for Action that GCED includes peace and human rights education, intercultural education and EIU. Specifically, UNESCO suggested core values of GCED, which are peace and human rights education, learning to live together, ESD, awareness and recognition of diversity, understanding others through dialogue, recognition, interdependence, and shared futures as core values of GCED, stressing dealing with global issues and increasing awareness as a member of the global community. It also made clear that these core values are closely related to learning topics as well as sharing educational goals pursued by various existing educational discussions such as EIU, multicultural education, civic education, ESD, and development education (UNESCO, 2015).

To sum up the above studies and UNESCO's position, GCED seems to be more like a multifaceted and umbrella concept that encompasses all the similar concepts mentioned above rather than a completely separated one. Then, synergy effects can be expected by linking and complementing GCED with them, and ultimately this would be the direction GCED should pursue in the future.

2.2.2. Different Approaches to GCED

Again, there is no clearly agreed upon definition of GCED, and it can be interpreted in many different ways depending on perspective and context. Therefore, below will outline some of the more specific and diverse concepts of GCED according to the most prominent perspectives on global citizenship – neoliberal, liberal, and critical – as well as introduce an approach that has arisen in recent years.

From a neoliberal perspective, education is recognized as a form of

investment in humans that generates economic gains by increasing their productivity and efficiency, and ultimately contributes to economic development of the country (Peters, 2016). In other words, education is viewed as a means of developing human resource, for the accumulation of wealth of the country, and this is specifically called human capital theory. Hence, the country implements an education policy focusing on strengthening the capacity of students as potential labor force, which will ultimately lead to enhancing national competitiveness. In this context, school education often adopts competency-based education, and standardized curriculum and test, which cause intensifying competition between students (Shattle, 2008; Apple, 2001). Even within this neoliberal approach, scholars explain GCED with their own viewpoint and logic, and, first of all, the *Neoliberal GCED* would be one of the representative examples. Lynette Shultz (2007) considers GCED as a way to successfully participate in the global economy based on the perspective of the free market economy. In this case, GCED concentrates on increasing the transnational mobility of knowledge and technology with the goal of entering and joining in the global economy. Likewise, William Gaudelli (2009) maintains that a society operating in accordance with the principle of economic laissez-faire is the premise of GCED, and that the curriculum stresses competition, academic learning and utility. In this view, citizens still belong to the nation-state, but become all intermingled and relocated in the global economy. *Neoliberal Cosmopolitanism* classified by Steven P. Camicia and Barry M. Franklin (2011) regards the global community by market rationality as important. In this regard, GCED refers to encouraging students to acquire languages such as English and other required skills for compete in the global market. A similar conception to

this is *Cosmopolitan (Economic) Global Citizenship*. Laura Oxley and Paul Morris (2013, p. 306) divided Cosmopolitan Global Citizenship into four types, one of which is the Economic Global Citizenship. This particularly underscores the interaction between power, capital, labor, resources, and human condition, and occasionally seen as international development. Harriet Marshall also relates GCED to the *Technical-Economic Instrumentalist Agenda*, which is based on seeing education, curriculum and knowledge as a means to an end (Marshall, 2011), and linking the curriculum to economic change and students' future employability (Young, 2008). In particular, she cited the UK's GCED policy as an example and drew a conclusion that the UK government understands learning in the global environment as "about equipping employers, employees and students with 'the skills needed for a global economy'" (Marshall, 2011, p. 418). Sharon Stein (2015) also interprets global citizenship from the perspective of *Entrepreneurial Position*, noting that rational economic actors are emphasized as a measure to compete successfully in the global economy for the benefit of individuals and countries. In addition, both Jeffrey S. Dill (2013)'s *Global Competencies Approach* and John P. Myers (2006)' *International Business Training* consider that education prepare students to acquire the necessary skills to compete in the global society. Above, various types of GCED from the perspective of neoliberalism were reviewed. Those are commonly aimed at or closely related to nurturing the talented with competencies and knowledge to find jobs and successfully compete in the global market economy system, which can be also seen as a *Competency-based Education* that has greatly influenced the education policy and implementation around the world in recent decades. GCED with the competency-based approach is regarded to equip students who

can compete in the global economy, that is, a competitive global free market, and is mainly characterized by stressing students' academic achievement and their professional competitiveness (Schattle, 2008). The beginnings of competency-based education discourse can be traced to the OECD's Defining and Selecting Core Competencies (DeSeCo) project, launched in 1997, which proposed to introduce competencies into schooling, moving away from the work-oriented perspective traditionally used in Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) and adult education. It defined competency as "ability to meet complex demands, by drawing on and mobilizing psychosocial resources (including skills and attitudes) in a particular context" (OECD, 2005, p. 4), and sought to identify the key competencies required for individual success and also social and national development in a fast changing and more complex world. Later OECD developed a learning framework called Learning Compass 2030 through the Education 2030 project, which is the follow-up of the DeSeCo project, to reestablish the meaning and direction of key competencies necessary for the changed environment in the 21st century. Compared with the DeSeCo project, Learning Compass 2030 emphasized and explored about the transformative competencies for individual and social well-being, such as creating new values, reconciling tensions and dilemmas, and taking responsibility (OECD, 2019). In particular, the OECD began measuring students' global competence in PISA 2018, and according to its definition, global competence is 'a multi-dimensional construct that requires a combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values successfully applied to global issues or intercultural situations' (OECD, n.d.e), and those with this competence are able to examine local, global and intercultural issues; understand and appreciate

different perspectives and worldviews; interact successfully with and respect others; and take responsible action for sustainability and collective well-being (OECD, 2018). To sum up, neoliberal-oriented GCED can be explained as strengthening global competencies to enhance national competitiveness. Therefore, from the viewpoint of global competency development, foreign language proficiency, and knowledge and skills that contribute to national development are regarded as key elements of GCED. Education should be primally considered as human rights and universal values, but in fact, much of the world's education embraces a neoliberal educational discourse, especially in developing countries aiming for significant national development, mostly economic development. In the same context, with the rapid progress of economic globalization, GCED can be understood and implemented as a means for global competitive education rather than global solidarity. Critics point out that this approach is a narrow view of GCED, and merely considers preparing learners to find a job and work in a globalized world as raising global awareness (Wintersteiner, 2018).

Liberalism, on the other hand, represents a variety of positions to reconcile democratic rights, social welfare and economic prosperity, and seeks education that focuses on the inherent values required of humans beyond members of the nation state (Fox Jr., 1996). Liberalism-oriented GCED appears to improve and solve problems occurred in a country's development process, and attempts to ensure equity and an inclusive approach to the countries or regions that are suffering from difficulties in the international community. It pursues a variety of universal values, and different types of GCED are derived depending on which values are emphasized. Gaudelli (2009) mentions that in addition to the

neoliberalism mentioned above, GCED can be interpreted with the perspective of Cosmopolitan, and World Justice and Governance Discourse as well. Firstly, *Cosmopolitan GCED* believes globalization as playing a critical role in reshaping society by transcending the concept of traditional nation-state-based citizenship, and places a lot of weight on the development of discourse on value, morality and human treatment (Gaudelli, 2009, p.76). On the other hand, from the perspective of *World Justice and Governance*, GCED is based on human rights and international law in written form. As this is a discourse originated from the efforts to realize justice by holding the main culprits responsible for the holocaust and genocide in World War II, the role of legal frameworks crossing the border such as international legislative bodies and executive agents and international law are emphasized (Gaudelli, 2009, pp. 74-75). Therefore, the curriculum covers the topics related to this legal framework and encouraging universal values like cultural diversity and peace. Oxley and Morris (2013) also express this World Justice Governance discourse as *Cosmopolitan (Political) Citizenship*. *Liberal Humanism* can be said to be a perspective that considers others based on universal humanist and human progress. It stresses the moral responsibility of those who are relatively advantageous, mostly economically, in the international community, and justifies humanitarian intervention in those who are not (Andreotti, 2014a, Stein, 2015). In this regard, education is a way to guarantee that everyone in the world can escape from poverty and enjoy order and progress, and also plays a role of disseminating and promoting international consensus on universal human progress, which can be explained by access to education and health care, and democracy and economic development (Andreotti, 2014a, pp. 43-44). *Liberal Multiculturalism* (Schattle, 2008, p. 77) values mutual

respect and engagement throughout the cultures. It especially encourages ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural minorities to maintain their traditions rather than being assimilated into the dominant one in a nation-state composed of diverse ethnic groups. In this type of GCED, education promotes cultural mutual understanding and respect between students. *Advocacy (Spiritual) Global Citizenship*, which is divided into one of four types of Advocacy-based approach to Global Citizenship, refers to holism beyond moral and cultural aspect. This particularly advocates a commitment to unscientific and unmeasurable values related to human relationships such as consideration, love, and spiritual and emotional feeling, and encourages connection between faith and the relationship to the world (Oxley and Morris, 2013, pp.306, 315). Moreover, while the expressions vary slightly, *Moral Global Citizenship* (Veugelers, 2011), *Cosmopolitan (Moral) Global Citizenship* (Oxley and Morris, 2013) and *Moral Cosmopolitanism* (Schattle, 2008) all place much value on moral categories such as equity and human rights, and ethical qualities such as respecting and understanding other cultures, and having empathy for one's surroundings. To sum up, GCED in this liberal approach seeks to fundamentally pursue universal human values such as human rights, peace and social justice, and to nurture people who realize these values. Furthermore, it values equity and inclusion for those are deprived and suffering in the international community. However, this is often criticized for emphasizing reciprocity and charity of the developed countries with the perspective of Western centrism (Kachur, 2008). UNESCO is one of the leading international organizations implementing the Liberalism oriented GCED, which states that GCED should move toward enhancing universal values based on global citizenship in all educational activities,

including school education, teacher education, and lifelong education (UNESCO, 2015).

Neoliberalism and liberalism are the most representative approaches to understanding and mapping a wide range of GCED. With the rise of global interest, nonetheless, criticism of these existing approaches and even of the problems inherent in GCED has also increased. Many points out that neoliberal GCED cannot deal with economic exploitation or political oppression because it views the state as a participant in the global market and considers falling behind as the nation's fault (Kachur, 2008), and that liberal perspective seems not to consider enough the position of developing countries, mostly centered on Western and European countries (Abdi, Shultz & Pillay, 2015). Consequently, both of these views exclude the influence of power relations due to globalization and reasons for inequality, and regard the current situation as politically neutral. And in a similar context, when facing any global issue, there is a tendency to judge the others from the perspective from certain country and power, which means accepting others or other places as heterogeneous beings (Pashby, 2011). Consequently, the need for alternative perspective of GCED has been arisen, which can cause a deeper understanding of complexity, interdependency and inequality, and critical participation in a variety of issues in today's regional and global context. Critical approach to GCED can be mostly explained with Critical GCED and Transformational GCED. Firstly, *Critical GCED* takes issue with global inequality and injustice, and focuses on revealing complexity and power relations (Andreotti, 2014b, pp.28-29). In this regard, Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti saw the notions of power, voice and difference as the core of GCED, and claimed that it is especially important to build an ethical relationship with

Global South, and that this requires developing a critical literacy that allows learners to view the world critically through different perspectives, languages, power, social groups and social practices (Andreotti, 2014a; Andreotti , 2014b, p.27). Meanwhile, *Transformational Approach to GCED* regards that the relationship of global power can be adjusted in a new spatial context through alliance and union with transnational networks across local, national and regional boundaries (Shultz, 2007, p. 254). From this point of view, globalization means going beyond a new form of imperialism or a single global market economy. Therefore, education aims not just to challenge unfair structures and systems, but to foster global citizens who work together to create social justice. Through this education, students can learn that empathy and consideration for others become a strong link beyond the traditional boundaries of nation, nationality, race, class and gender based on the understanding on humanity. In summary, global citizens in critical approach are people who do not just understand global issues but also actively engaged in social change with a sense of ownership of the global community, and are required for critical reflection on their culture, responsibility for their behaviors and decision-making, and social participation. Accordingly, GCED would help learners think critically on the local and world issues and build their own value systems.

So far, GCED has been categorized into three main perspectives: neoliberal, liberal, and critical, and [Table II-1] below summarizes the approaches to GCED according to these different perspectives.

[Table II-1] Main Approaches to GCED

	Purpose of GCED	Priority values of GCED
Neoliberal perspective	• Strengthening knowledge in a global society • Fostering globally competent citizens • Economic prosperity	• National competitiveness • Free market • Excellence • Technology • Global leadership
Liberal perspective	• Cultivating citizens who are considerate and respectful of others • Seeking collective solutions to global issues • Developing selfless and philanthropic citizens who will contribute to the shared prosperity of humanity	• Humanity • International development/ assistance • Consideration • Coexistence/harmonization • Peace
Critical perspective	• Understanding the concept of GCED as a social and political construct • Critically reflecting on power relations and inequalities inherent in the political, social, and cultural system of their own and other countries • Protecting the human rights of minorities	• Pluralism • Justice • Empowerment • Inclusion/tolerance

Source: Na, J. & Jho, D. (2017, p. 907)

However, in recent years, it has been argued that there are contradictions between the different values pursued by GCED (Kim, 2021). As a representative example, UNESCO suggested that GCED aims to "be transformative, building the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to be able to contribute to a more inclusive, just and peaceful world" (UNESCO, 2015, p. 15). Looking at this in-depth, it is to say that learners should develop skills and attributes to participate in the global economy and also play a role as citizens contributing to a just world, but this can be seen as a physical combination of the two conflicting ideologies of neoliberalism and liberalism (Marshall, 2009). In

contrast, some repute that these two approaches are not mutually contradictory, but both are significant (Han, 2021), and that different types of GCED located across the various ideologies rather show very well what GCED really pursue (Swanson, 2011). In this regard, Hans Schattle (2008) argues that there are many ideological constructs in GCED, which overlap or contradict each other, and in a similar vein, Kevin Kester and his colleagues (2021) advocate the need to recreate and reimagine new ways of thinking about GCED, understanding GCED from a non-centered, dynamic, and diverse angle through various theoretical reflections. Based on this, GCED can be interpreted and expressed differently depending on the perspective (or theoretical background), but it does not seem appropriate to recognize these different perspectives as completely independent or separated. In line with this recent trend, this study takes the position that the three approaches introduced above interact with each other, resulting in the reproduction and repositioning of different types, perspectives, and ideas. In other words, GCED can of course be based on one specific approach, but it can also be expanded or influenced by others. Therefore, this paper will continue to maintain this view throughout.

2.2.3. Practicing GCED in Education Policy

GCED has received much attention from scholars, educators, and policymakers around the world in the latest decades, and many countries have embraced it in their national education policies and curricula, especially after its integration into the SDGs (Ghosa-Chelala, 2020, UNESCO APCEIU, 2015). However, a number of recent empirical studies have raised some criticisms

regarding the translation of global citizenship into local education policies. In particular, the main criticism is that GCED, despite pursuing values such as social justice, democracy, global solidarity, and respect for diversity (Hagigh, 2014), has been transformed into an education for fostering human resources for competitiveness in the global market economy or for strengthening the competitiveness of individuals, societies, and countries, centered on neoliberal educational perspectives, and is being utilized in education policies and schooling practices. According to Yuqing Hou (2020), GCED is found to be increasingly integrated in secondary and university level education around the world, highlighting that this concept is being adopted to strengthen national and institutional agendas to maximize learners' competitiveness in the global economy, as the education sector is vulnerable to neoliberal changes in policy, governance and regulation. In a similar vein, Elizabeth Arnold (2014) warns that in practice, GCED tends to result in a curriculum that provides information rather than a critical and justice-oriented curriculum, and that GCED is often introduced to produce young people with the internationally accepted skills needed to succeed in the global marketplace, which could be seen as suggesting that global citizenship education may be transformed into something akin to employable and marketable skills education. Indeed, a case study of GCED in Irish universities (Gaynor, 2016) suggests that it is often promoted in universities as a means for students to develop the skills and competencies they need to succeed in the global market, rather than as an important tool for questioning equity and justice in the global system. Furthermore, a speaker at the International Conference on Global Citizenship Education and (Foreign) Language Learning in the Digital Age held in Munich in 2018 (Kurtz, 2019)

pointed out that since the late 20th century, foreign language education has been influenced by other political and socio-economic agendas, with the result that foreign language teachers are no longer seen as educators but as political actors enacting neoliberal educational policies. He criticized the phenomenon that the humanistic, utopian and idealistic approach of GCED has been turned into more neoliberal propaganda, and raised the question of whether foreign language learning is really an educational or capitalist obligation in the GCED that values language. In this regard, Zemach-Bersin (2012) argues that global citizenship is being presented less as an international ideal of the global community and more as a requirement to address the current situation or threat of globalization, that is, a requirement for young people to acquire intercultural competence.

Furthermore, GCED has been criticized as a curriculum that originally encourages learners to challenge social, economic, cultural, and political inequalities at the global and local levels, but in practice has emerged as a curriculum for global elites that emphasizes hegemonic norms (Andreotti, 2006; Ellis, 2016). As Heela Goren and Miri Yemini (2015) claim, rather than addressing inequalities, GCED reinforces hegemonic norms, creating opportunity gaps. In other words, GCED as currently implemented is not a curriculum that transforms social inequality, but rather reproduces class differences at both the global and local levels. In the same context, Hye-Seung Cho and Jacqueline Mosselson (2018) demonstrated through a case study of South Korea that although the country's global citizenship education is positioned as a social justice pedagogy grounded in emancipatory critical theory debates, its implementation is influenced by the country's political, social, and economic realities, resulting in the reinforcement and reproduction of neoliberal

hegemony and inequality rather than providing students with learning experiences oriented toward global social justice.

Based on the above section, it seems that the lack of a clear international consensus on the concept has led to GCED remaining a controversial concept, trapped between the original values of solidarity, respect for differences, democracy, and social justice and global market competition (Haigh, 2014; Torres, 2002). As a result, many countries tend to implement GCED mired in neoliberal values, perceiving global citizens as global labor force with a focus on global competencies, which in turn maintains or reinforces hegemony and inequality.

Previous research on GCED has mostly focused on analyzing GCED concepts, theories, and discourses, case studies of GCED implementation and recontextualization, and analyzing GCED content in specific subjects or curricula. However, this study differs from previous GCED studies in that it seeks to understand why and how the global education agenda of GCED-integrated curriculum was introduced into a country from a policy borrowing perspective, identifying the contextual and situational factors at the time and the stakeholders who drove it. In other words, this study is a policy borrowing study that uses the global education agenda of GCED-integrated curriculum as a case study.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a case study as a methodology to attempt to gain a comprehensive understanding of a specific case, the introduction of a GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh. Therefore, this chapter will elaborate on the case study as a methodology and the research design, data collection, analysis and interpretation, and the analytical framework of this study. In particular, with regard to the analytical framework, the chapter provides a detailed introduction to Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), which is widely used in policy research, and then presents the final version of the framework, modified to suit this study.

3.1. Case Study

A case study is a research method that allows the researcher to scrutinize data in a specific context and usually involves a small geographic area or a very limited number of individuals. This is also known to explore and investigate contemporary real-world phenomena through a detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationships (Zainal, 2007). Yin (1984, p. 23) defines the case study research method as "as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple resources of evidence are used." In particular, qualitative case study provides a tool for researchers to study complex phenomena within context, and when applied correctly, this approach can be a useful method for research to

develop theory, evaluate programs, and develop interventions (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Most of all, Robert K. Yin (2003) states that case study is appropriate to use when (a) the focus of the research is on answering *why* and *how* questions, and (b) contextual conditions are thought to be relevant to the phenomenon under study and are sought to be addressed. Since this study seeks to answer the *why* and *how* questions and at the same time explore how context influences the phenomenon, a case study is adopted as a research method.

3.2. Research Methods

3.2.1. Research Design

It took quite a bit of time and a lot of trial and error to decide on the topic and design the research concept. My first planned thesis topic was to analyze the case of competency-based curriculum in Bangladesh from a policy borrowing perspective. When I visited the MoE and National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) in 2014, I realized that Bangladesh had introduced and applied competency-based curriculum early. Long before competency-based curriculum became a trend in Korea and around the world, Bangladesh was already applying competency-based curriculum. At the time, our research team had doubts about its implementation in schools, but we were still amazed that Bangladesh was implementing such an advanced curriculum so early. It was obvious that Bangladesh, which has been working with many international organizations and countries, must have come across and borrowed it from somewhere.

With such a background, I planned to explore the contextual and situational factors that led to Bangladesh's early borrowing of competency-based curriculum,

from where, why, and through what process. The key to this was to find government stakeholders who were involved in or familiar with the curriculum introduction process and government documents produced at the time. However, the introduction of competency-based curriculum in Bangladesh in the early 1990s and the frequent turnover of government ministries made it difficult to identify the people who were involved in the process and to collect relevant data. In fact, during a preliminary fieldwork visit to Bangladesh from June 14-27, 2019, I met and interviewed officials from the MoE who used to work at the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) and professors from universities related to the curriculum, including Dhaka University, but were unable to find anyone who remembered or participated in the process at that time. It became difficult to determine whether or not this study could be continued, and as I soon returned to work, my thesis work came to a halt.

After some time, in 2022, I happened to be involved in a project on GCED at UNESCO's APCEIU and was assigned to Bangladesh, where I learned that the country had just revised its curriculum to include GCED, which was to be implemented earlier this year, and I was able to contact government departments and other key stakeholders who had planned or participated in the process. Since it was a recent curriculum revision, the relevant materials were also available online, which solved the problem of identifying direct stakeholders and collecting data at the time of the policy's introduction, which had been a challenge in the past. Therefore, I immediately adjusted the topic from the previous competency-based curriculum to the GCED-integrated curriculum and oriented my research accordingly.

This time, there was no preliminary field study because I had already

identified experts who had been involved in the policy process through another project and was also confident enough in the data collection. I immediately began collecting and analyzing data in December 2022, and planned and conducted online in-depth interviews with already networked stakeholders who were directly participated in or familiar with the implementation of GCED-integrated curriculum. As the topic is related to curriculum revision, I also wanted to hear from National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) officials and members of the Curriculum Development Revision Core Committee who have been involved in the actual curriculum revision process, but due to scheduling difficulties, I was unable to conduct the interview. However, the original purpose of this study was to identify the stakeholders who influenced the policy decision to introduce GCED-integrated curriculum and to understand the dynamics between them, and the people who could not be interviewed were those who were in a position to implement and realize the policies decided by the top. Therefore, although it was a personal disappointment for the researcher, they were not the main people who influenced the results of this study, so I ended up briefly describing their roles in the policy process through the analysis of the collected literature. Fortunately, I was able to find articles about their interviews in local newspapers and used excerpts from them.

3.2.2. Data Collection

Again, this study utilized Kingdon's MSF as an analytical framework to first examine the process of why and how the GCED-integrated curriculum was introduced in Bangladesh and to identify key stakeholders in the process. Hence, the following [Table III-1] shows the data collected according to the detailed

factors of MSF's analysis factors. For reference, the details of MSF will be introduced at the end of this chapter.

[Table III-1] Data Collection based on the Multiple Streams Framework's Analysis Factors

Analysis factors	Detailed factors	Collected and analyzed data
Problem stream	Indicators	• Government policy and strategy documents • Reports published by international organizations
	Focusing events	• International conference materials • (Local) Newspaper articles
	Crises	• Government policy and strategy documents
	Feedback	• Government policy and strategy documents
Political stream	Changes in the ruling power	• Encyclopedia • (Local) Newspaper articles • Materials from the political party • Government policy and strategy documents • Research reports
	National mood	• Reports published by international organizations • Government policy and strategy documents • Materials from the political party
	Pressure group	• Newspaper articles • Research reports
Policy stream		• In-depth online interview • Government policy and strategy documents • Textbooks • Reports published by international organizations • (Local) Newspaper articles
Economic stream		• Statistical data • Research reports
International space		• Reports published by international organizations • Government policy and strategy documents
Policy entrepreneur		• Derived from the above data analysis

Most of the collected materials are secondary sources produced between 2015, when the post-2015 agenda was discussed, and 2022, when the revised

curriculum was approved, and include government policy and strategy documents, curriculum documents and textbooks, political party materials, research reports, reports published by international organizations, international conference materials, encyclopedias, statistical data, and national and international newspaper articles. In particular, most of the government policy and strategy documents were produced by the General Economics Division (GED) of the Planning Commission of the Ministry of Planning, or the MoE and Primary and Mass Education, and could be downloaded directly from their websites. All curriculum documents and textbooks were available for viewing and downloading on the website of the National Curriculum and Textbook Board under the MoE. In the case of documents from international organizations, the UNESCO website was used as the main source as many of them are about GCED. In addition, when collecting local newspaper articles, I searched for "curriculum," "revision," "reform," "new," "global citizenship," "global," "National Curriculum and Textbook Board" in combination.

Of the secondary data collected, all of them were written in English except for some local newspaper articles. In the case of local newspaper articles, there are newspapers that provide English articles, but in this case, there is a possibility that only English-speaking intellectuals are targeted as subscribers, so I collected English and Bengali newspaper articles together to enhance the credibility of the data collected. For Bengali newspaper articles, a translation program was used to search, collect, and translate the articles separately.

In particular, for the policy stream, it was necessary to obtain more detailed situational, contextual backgrounds and processes from those who were directly involved in the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum, which was

difficult to verify through secondary data. Thus, I collected primary data separately to fill this gap. To collect primary data, online interviews with local experts were conducted. The interviewees were divided into two groups: UNESCO, the international organization that introduced the policy, and government ministries that adopted it, and I tried to reflect the views of both sides in a balanced way. As I mentioned earlier, the impetus for this study came from the fact that I was able to get in touch with people who had been involved in or were familiar with the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum through another project, so I first emailed people with whom I already had good relationships to share the purpose and key questions of the study and to ask if they would be willing to participate in interviews themselves or if they could introduce me to others. As a result, a total of three interviewees were identified through the existing network. I followed up with them via email to send them a revised questionnaire, provide instructions on how to conduct the interview, and finalize the interview schedule. All interviews were conducted online via Zoom and lasted about an hour to an hour and a half, and were recorded and later transcribed with the informed consent of the participants. All interviews were conducted in English, as all interviewees worked for government departments or international organizations and had fluent English skills. For the sake of anonymity, I have tried to keep references to the interviewees' backgrounds to a minimum, and many of the interviews with them are presented in the form of direct quotes. Later, to double-check the interviews with them from an outside perspective, an additional expert from the Dhaka office of an INGO was identified and interviewed via email. All interviewees are described in [Table III-2], and the key government policy and strategy documents that were used as

secondary data can be found in Appendix 1.

[Table III-2] List of Research Participants (Interviewees)

Research participant No.	Organization/Position	Interview		
		Date	Type	Medium of language
1	UNESCO field office /Education Programme Specialist	28 Dec. 2022	Online /Zoom	English
2	UNESCO field office /Programme Officer	28 Dec. 2022		
3	Government Directorate under the Ministry of Education /Director	8 Jan. 2023		
4	INGO Dhaka office/ Programme Officer	5 Jun. 2023	Email	English

3.2.3. Analysis and Interpretation

This study conducted a document analysis based on the data collected above. Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing documents and is an analytical method used to provide context, generate questions, complement other types of research data, track changes over time, and corroborate other sources (Bowen, 2009). It can include both quantitative and qualitative features. While quantitative research uses numbers and statistics, such as frequency analysis, to understand data (Patton, 2014), qualitative research focuses on exploring the meaning behind the data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Also, at the descriptive level, data extracts are often used simply as illustrative examples rather than providing analysis through data extraction (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This study is specifically focused on describing a series of policy processes as well as interpreting potential meanings through the collected data.

One of the important factors in conducting document analysis is selecting appropriate documents to analyze, and Uwe Flick (2018) advocated for four factors to be considered when collecting documents: authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning. Therefore, prior to analysis, I double-checked the collected documents for authorship, publication date, and place of publication (authenticity), as well as whether the document producer was reliable source (credibility), how general the document was and whether it did not contain unusual and irrelevant content (representativeness), and tried to assess the meaning of the text as a whole by connecting the literal meaning to the context in which the documents were written (meaning).

The data used in the document analysis can be categorized into pre-existing data and data newly generated by the researcher (Rapley, 2007). In order to increase the reliability of the data collected and the validity of the overall study, this study adopted a triangulation strategy, utilizing not only pre-existing data but also data obtained through in-depth interviews. For pre-existing data, the researcher used official documents such as policy documents, international organization reports, and political party materials, as well as personal documents such as journal and newspaper articles written from a first-person perspective. By using multiple methods to collect information, the study ultimately sought to validate the findings across multiple data sets and minimize the possibility of bias.

For this study, a content analysis strategy was used to determine the presence of specific words or concepts within a text or set of texts. Elliot W. Eisner (1991) explained that by quantifying and analyzing the presence, meaning, and relationship of specific words and concepts, researchers can then make

inferences about the message within the text, the author, the audience, and even the culture and time period to which these words and concepts belong. Rather than quantifying the presence of certain words and concepts through frequency analysis, as mentioned above, this study attempted to focus on identifying their presence and exploring the latent meanings by looking at the context in which the data was generated. Above all, as many of the primary documents are policy documents, the study seeks to analyze and interpret the data with particular attention to the following "content analysis-guiding questions" proposed by Carol Cardno (2018), especially when analyzing policy documents.

- What aspects (that you are looking for) are evident in the language of the policy?
- Does the policy language refer to these aspects directly or indirectly?
- What is specifically stated in the policy?
- What is not stated in the policy?
- How does this align with legal or regulatory requirements?
- How well does your local policy reflect national or international policy trends and purposes?

(Cardno, 2018, p. 634)

Finally, Glenn A. Bowen (2009) is positive about the use of document analysis in qualitative research as follows.

The rationale for document analysis lies in its role in methodological and data triangulation, the immense value of documents in case study research, and its usefulness as a stand-alone method for specialized

forms of qualitative research.

<div style="text-align: right">(Bowen, 2009, p. 29)</div>

In this context, I believe that document analysis is an effective and efficient analytical strategy considering the need to collect and analyze a very wide range of data that must look at the political, economic, social, and international contexts in which Bangladesh introduced the GCED-integrated curriculum.

Moreover, this study aimed to overcome the limitations of literature analysis using only secondary data by collecting primary data through in-depth interviews to triangulate the data. The results of the analysis and interpretation of the collected data, as well as an in-depth discussion of the findings, are presented in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

3.2.4. Analytical Framework: Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework

John W. Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) is a lens to show how policy agenda or policy is developed under uncertain conditions. It was originally developed to provide theoretical framework to explain the agenda setting process in terms of the dynamics of policy change. Then, the framework has become recognized as one of the widely referenced theories in policy studies encompassing not only agenda setting but also the entire policy making process including formation, enforcement, change and evaluation (Zainal, 2007). To avoid any possible confusion, I would like to first clarify the concepts of some frequently used policy terms below.

1) Policy Agenda Setting and Policy Formulation

In policy studies, the stage of policy making process is generally categorized into (1) (problem identification and) agenda setting, (2) policy formulation (or formation), (3) policy adoption (or decision making), (4) policy implementation, and 5) policy evaluation (Anderson et al., 2022). According to this, once one of the various social issues becomes a policy agenda (*agenda setting*), related problems are defined and multiple policy drafts are developed (*policy formulation*), and those policy drafts are evaluated and one is finally selected in order to solve the recognized policy problem (*policy adoption*) (Rho, 2012, p.233). Then, the selected draft is brought into effect and adopted as a policy (*implementation*), and all the related activities are evaluated to determine the outcomes and effects of the policy (*evaluation*).

To be more clear about agenda setting and policy formulation, which are the early stages of policy making, the stage of agenda setting is the political process or action in which the certain social issues or problems among all the others are converted into the serious interest of policymakers (Bosso, 1987). In other words, this is about the process in which certain social issues become identified, developed into public agendas, and adopted as government agendas. Hence, agenda setting can be regarded as the first and most fundamental stage in the policy development cycle. In the same manner, Kingdon (2011, p. 3) perceives the agenda as "the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside of government closely associated with those officials, are paying some serious attention at any given time", and the agenda setting as the process that "narrows this set of conceivable subjects to the set that actually

becomes the focus of attention".

Policy formulation refers to the process in the policy making until the draft is finally adopted, which can be also seen as a competitive process of exploring and solving solutions to policy problems. Sometimes people see policy formulation and policy decision making as the same concept and use them interchangeably, which are, technically speaking, distinguishable concepts. In a narrow sense, as shown in the policy making process above, policy formulation and policy decision making are clearly divided into each stage. On the other hand, in a broad concept, the first and second stage (agenda setting and policy formulation) are regarded as policy formulation, and the first three stages (agenda setting, policy formulation, and policy decision making) as policy decision making (Lee, 2009).

In this study, policy formulation is viewed as the concept encompassing the first two stages of agenda setting and policy formulation by accepting the broad perspective. As mentioned earlier, Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) originated in the explanation of agenda setting, but many researchers have utilized this framework to analyze the entire policy process, especially policy formulation and policy decision making. In the following, the concept of MSF, its strength and weakness, the rationale for using MSF as an analytical framework in this study, and the modified model will be introduced and elaborated.

2) Core Concepts and Elements of the Multiple Streams Framework: Three Streams, Policy Window and Policy Entrepreneur

Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), developed by John W. Kingdon in 1984,

is a tool to understand the policy making process, particularly policy agenda setting, through three separate and mostly independent streams which are problem, policy and political streams. Main idea of MSF is that each of the three streams flow independently through the policy system and then come together at a certain moment by the activities of policy entrepreneur, opening a policy window. This policy window opens only for a short time, during which political problem and policy draft (proposals, alternatives or options) interact each other, and ultimately results in the agenda change by policymakers. As mentioned above, this framework is widely used to examine the entire policy making process in addition to analyzing agenda setting. In this case, the output in the MSF is regarded as policy change instead of agenda change.
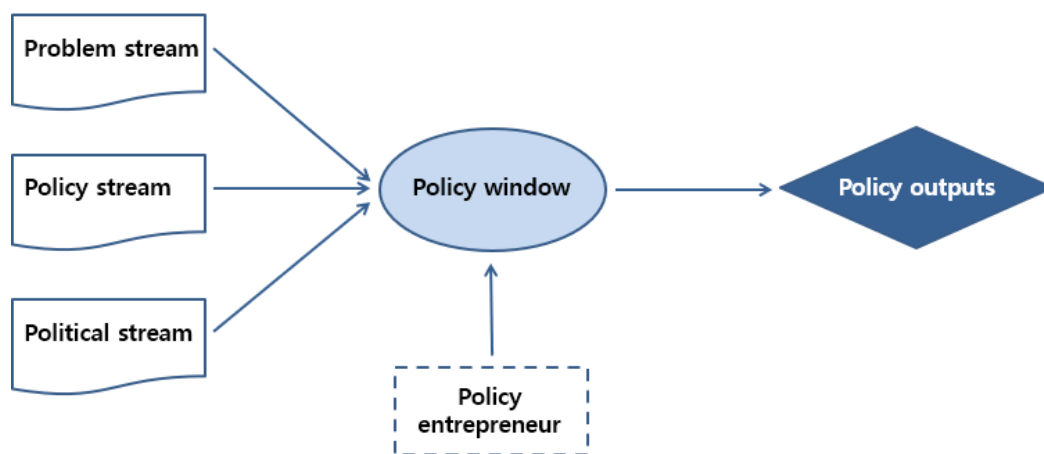
<Figure III-1> Diagram of Multiple Streams Framework

As described briefly, three streams (problem, policy and political streams), policy window and policy entrepreneur are the key terms of the MSF. Firstly, *the problem stream*, one of the three streams, refers to the development of some of

the various problems in the country as critical issues that need to be solved at some point, namely the process by which policymakers perceive social issues or problems as a policy agenda. To borrow a phrase from Kingdon's (2011, pp.109-110) book, problems are "not simply the conditions or external events themselves" but "perceptual and interpreted". He especially focuses on how certain problems capture the attention of government officials over the others. In this regard, indicators, focusing events and feedback are mechanisms that affect the attention (Kingdon, 2011). Indicators such as infant mortality rates, enrolment rate and student-teacher ratio enable to assess the change in a problem and sometimes easier to draw attention of people in and around government than political pressures and others. In addition, focusing events like crisis, disaster and personal experience, and feedback that government officials get regarding the current performance of policy or program all push them to recognize the problem.

The policy stream is a process of adopting and developing policy proposals (or ideas) according to the consensus of the policy community. These policy proposals are generated by the specialists in policy communities such as bureaucrats, congressional staff members, academics and researchers, and are discussed in forums, hearings, papers, and conversations (Zahariadis, 2007a). Through this process, a few proposals remain but most are integrated with others or discarded. Nikolaos Zahariadis (2007a) explains that what determine their survival is technical feasibility and value acceptability. Based on these criteria, it is difficult to adopt if the proposal is found to be infeasible or inconsistent with the values of policymakers. Therefore, Kingdon (2011, p.144) argues that a viable alternative available for adoption enhances "the high placement of a subject on a governmental agenda, and dramatically increases the changes for

placement on a decision agenda".

The political stream driven by political events and dynamics is the one that plays a decisive role in converting problem and policy stream into the policy agenda. It is mostly composed of national mood, pressure group campaigns, administrative or legislative changes. Firstly, the national mood, also can be called the climate in the country, changes in public opinion, or broad social movements, signifies that a large number of people in a particular country think in common, which may change over time (Kingdon, 2011, p. 146). People in and around the government make decisions on whether to promote certain items to be adopted as the policy agendas, leave or refuse, depending on how they perceive a national mood. Regarding the pressure group campaigns, the government or political parties are sensitive to the claims and statement of various pressure groups. In government, lastly, a change of administration, congressional seats, and top personnel in the administrative agency has dramatic effects on agendas. Among these three factors in the political stream, the combination of a national mood and change in government bring about the most powerful effect (Zahariadis, 2007a, p.73).

These three streams flow independently of each other in different paths and then join together at a certain point, which is also called coupling, to open a *policy window*. Kingdon (2011, p.165) defines the policy window as "an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their specific problems". The policy window is opened by the appearance of critical policy problems or political events, and for a very short

time. When the policy window opens, the policy advocacy coalitions[1] interact each other for the formulation and decision-making of policy agenda within the window. To put it another way, coalitions or organized cooperations are created to defend their interests or preferences against competing parties in the policy process. And these advocacy coalitions use a variety of strategies mobilizing the most of the resources available in order to push the proposals they lead or support through to become the government policies and programs (Sabatier, 1993).

Meanwhile, it is *the policy entrepreneurs* who attempts to open the policy window by linking the three streams of problems, policies and politics. Policy entrepreneurs are often considered to make the coupling of streams and open the policy window with their own intention by manipulating the streams, which flow independently according to its own rule and dynamics. And they are willing to mobilize their resources to accomplish their purposes. In this context, it can be said that policy entrepreneurs have critical and central role in the process of policy formulation. Once the entrepreneurs are ready for the proposals, they need to wait for one of these to occur such as problems floating in the problem stream that can attach to their solutions, this means policy proposals, or political events (e.g. change of regime) that can create an environment favorable to their policy proposals (Kingdon, 2011, pp. 194-195). In general, policy change happens when all three streams are combined, but in some cases, it can be possible with the coupling of the two. In the light of the above, policy entrepreneurs can be either

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[1] Sabatier (1988, p.139) defines policy advocacy coalitions as the "people from a variety of positions, e.g. elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers, who share a particular belief system such as a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions", within a certain policy area or its subsystem.

advocates or mediators, and make a coupling by working together. Lastly, Kingdon sees expertise, political connections or negotiating skills, and persistent attitude as necessary qualities for the successful entrepreneurs (Kingdon, 2011, pp. 180-181).

3) Modification of the Framework

Kingdon's MSF has become the norm in policy studies and its application has been widely expanded across various countries, conditions, issues and political systems, and even different policy making process. Then, what are the strengths of MSF and what attracts researchers? MSF has been developed based on the components and concepts of the garbage can model. In the garbage can model, problems, solutions, and participants and their resources are all mixed just like garbage in a garbage can, and the output is determined by the process of their disposing (Cohen et al., 1972). Applying this to the MSF, policy output considerably changes depending on who policy participants are, what solutions they have in minds, and how the problems and solutions are combined in what circumstance. In other words, MSF refuses traditional incremental model that assumes that policymaking is rational, systematic and linear (Zahariadis, 2007b). Kingdon specifically claims that policy process is irrational and dynamic, and appeared by complex power relations among political agents in a complicated policy arena. Therefore, the main advantage of this framework is that it can broadly analyze the various contextual and situational factors surrounding the formation and change of policies in uncertain, complex, and ambiguous situations, and capture the influence of policy actors on the policy formation

process and the dynamics between them (Zahariadis, 1999; Kabwe, 2019; Zohlnhöfer et al., 2015). For these reasons,, I do believe that this widely used and testified MSF provides effective lens to this study which is to analyze why and how the certain policy has been introduced or borrowed in a country all of sudden, focusing on temporal, situational, and human agency elements. Nonetheless, since this study is intended to examine the policy from the outside the country, that is, global education agenda, it seems that some modifications are needed to the framework originally optimized and developed for domestic policies.

MSF, showing not only policy agenda setting but also the entire policy formulation process as a distinctive theoretical model in policy study, can be also applied to policy borrowing particularly in terms of why and how the decision was made during the certain period of time. Steiner-Khamsi (2016a; 2016b) claims that Kingdon's work is necessary to be acknowledged as a valuable framework to draw attention to the timing of policy change. Earlier, it was mentioned that the term *policy window* can be understood to identify favorable condition for policy change. If substituting *policy change* by *policy borrowing*, then three streams, their coupling and policy entrepreneur can be seen as the main agents or factors driving policy borrowing. In practice, researchers in comparative education policy have implicitly used the concept of the policy window, namely window of opportunity, to explain the possibility of cross-national policy borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi, 2006, p. 670).

In today's globalization era, there are limitations in developing and reviewing national policies only from a traditional way of policy making or national perspective. It is now necessary to consider both domestic and foreign factors all

together, and Kingdon's MSF, mostly focusing on national circumstance, also needs to reflect international viewpoint to some extent. In order to use MSF in analyzing the introduction of foreign policies, Nikolaos Zahariadis (2007a, p. 85) underscores the need to understand and interpret externally generated problems and solutions (i.e. policy drafts or proposals) from a domestic perspective, and the role of policy entrepreneurs in the coupling of the three streams as in domestic policies. Similarly, Steiner-Khamsi (2016a) proposes to adopt a globalization perspective to make the MSF more suitable for studying today's cross-national policy interaction, or policy borrowing. Furthermore, she stresses the need to take into account the economic as well as the political and policy dimensions, suggesting adding the fourth stream, economic stream. With regard to the economic stream, we can often see international loans or grants are used and mobilized in order to implement particular reforms, voluntary or involuntary, in developing countries.

Considering the above and that the research topic is about GCED-integrated curriculum, the global education agenda, some adjustments seem to be obviously needed to use MSF as an analytical framework for this study. Therefore, this study will basically adopt the concept of the three streams, policy window and policy entrepreneur but also accept the above suggestions from Steiner-Khamsi. More specifically, economic stream will be introduced as a fourth stream to identify any relationship between policy borrowing and international loans or grants. At the same time, the paper will examine how international context or global setting affects a country's policy borrowing by looking at international agreement or huge international discourses, especially regarding education. Based on these, the revised analytical framework can be depicted as [Figure III-

2]. Regarding the additional analytical elements, the economic flow will look at the domestic economic situation and the flow of aid from the international community together, and the international (educational) space will look at Bangladesh's movements and actions in response to the current global agendas, global commitments, and global discourses, with a particular focus on the education-related agenda.
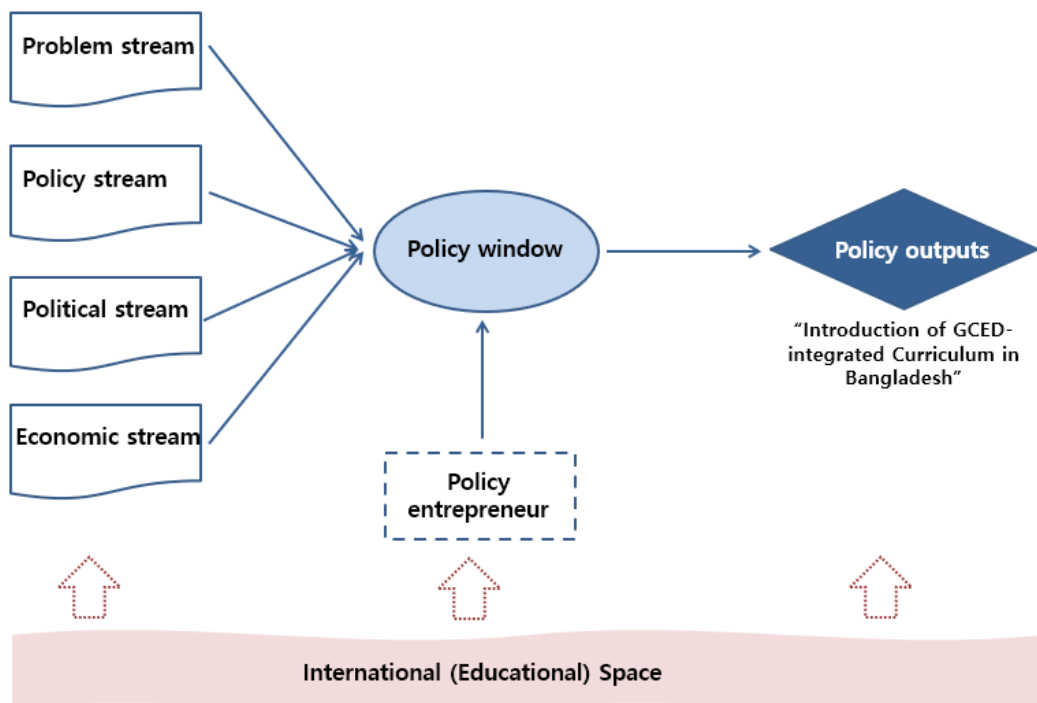
<Figure III-2> Modified Multiple Streams Framework for This Study

CHAPTER IV. THE CASE: INTRODUCTION OF THE GCED-INTEGRATED CURRICULUM IN BANGLADESH

The first part of this chapter provides an overview of GCED in Bangladesh, followed by an introduction to the 2021 Revised National Curriculum which is referred to in this paper as the GCED-integrated curriculum. The chapter then describes in detail the contextual factors that led to the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh and the process, according to the analytical elements of the modified Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF): problem stream, political stream, policy streams, economic stream, and international (educational) space, and identifies the key stakeholders (referred to as *policy entrepreneurs* in the MSF) who drove the process, with a particular focus on government ministries and the international organization UNESCO.

4.1. GCED in Bangladesh

Before exploring the newly introduced GCED-integrated curriculum, this section provides a historical background of the country and the current state of education, especially education structure and management, to provide a better understanding of GCED in Bangladesh, followed by a review of global citizenship values embedded in the education policy document and national curriculum in the past, and recent GCED-related programs/projects that have been implemented at the national level. With the exception of the historical background and the current state of education, the following contents are mostly extracted and reconstructed from the Bangladesh section of UNESCO APCEIU's

project report, *Feasibility Study for the Establishment of GCED Cooperation Centres in Southwest Asian Countries* (UNESCO APCEIU, 2022, which was the inspiration for this study.

4.1.1. History and Education in Bangladesh

1) Independence in 1971

Bangladesh may not seem like a country with a long history, given that it was founded in 1971 through a war of independence, but the country has actually existed in various forms and names for centuries. It was once part of the Mughal Empire and of British India with the form of British-colonized subcontinent later. When British rule ended in 1947, British India was split in two, based on the idea that people of different religions, languages, and cultures could not live together in one country. As a result, Hindus remained in India and a new country, Pakistan, was founded in the Muslim-majority areas (Baxter, 1997). And the Bengal delta, which is the current Bangladesh, was incorporated into the Eastern province of Pakistan, shortly called East Pakistan (1947-1971) (Riaz & Rahman, 2016; Schendel, 2009). To the majority of people in East Pakistan, nevertheless, it was not the perfect form of independence they wished for and their dissatisfaction had been built up gradually. Their discontent over the independence mainly came from dividing Pakistan into two wings across India, which caused many issues particularity to the East Pakistani, current Bangladeshi.

Two wings had obviously geographical, language and cultural issues (Cochrane, 2009; Baxter, 1997; Schendel, 2009; International Business Publication, USA, 2007). First of all, there was a geographical distance between two wings across India; they were separated by over 1,000miles (1,600 km).

More serious than a long distance was the language difference. Whereas the national language of Pakistan was Urdu, the East Pakistani who constituted a majority in the population of Pakistan, spoke in Bengali. In a situation where Bengali was considered as the second-class language, dissatisfaction among the East Pakistani reached an extreme and ultimately caused the conflict between two wings. Besides, weak and precarious government, dictatorship, and inequitable economic development also intensified the dissension. At the beginning of the administration of Pakistan, the government was dominated by mostly people from India and a few West Pakistanis. Since then, the country suffered from lack of the trained government personnel in both West and East wing. Thus, in order to establish strong and unified Pakistani country, the military came to power and took control of the central administrative apparatus, with most of the military personnel concentrated in West Pakistan and those deployed in East Pakistan were also mostly West Pakistanis. In addition, investment efforts for economic development, mainly in agriculture, and foreign assistance were all concentrated in West Pakistan, and the Pakistani government always prioritized the West in resource mobilization and economic development (Rahim, 1975). Through the ensuing struggle against this and liberation war, East Pakistan finally became the independent nation of Bangladesh, which means "Country of Bengal," on December 16, 1971. In this context, the independence of Bangladesh can be seen as a religious and cultural independence from India and Pakistan and was triggered by political and economic exploitation, especially by West Pakistan.

British India Prior 1947	India Pakistan Partition 1947 - 1971	India Liberated Bangladesh 1971

Source: India Defence News (2019)

<Figure IV-1> Bangladesh Before and After the Partition of India

2) Political and Economic Situation Since Independence

As a fledging nation, Bangladesh urgently needed to establish policy, act, legislation and institutions, simply law and order. When it was part of Pakistan, however, most of the elite and government officials at the top level were comprised of refugees from India, experts from British or West Pakistani. Throughout the entire duration of the war, moreover, Pakistan army targeted Bengali intellectuals and professionals for killing in order to eliminate and prevent the possible future leaders of the new state, Bangladesh (Khan, 2012). As a result, after the independence there was no trained or capable personnel to run the country left in Bangladesh. In this context, inexperienced and middle level officials were promoted to the top position all of a sudden (Schendel, 2009). Furthermore, Bangladesh faced integrated problem within the country. In particular, there was the issue how to deal with those who had been on Pakistani side such as Pakistani prisoners of war, collaborators remained in Bangladesh from military forces to citizens' committees, and non-Bengali Muslims who were

with the idea of Pakistan (Schendel, 2009, p.172). Also, the country had been in in state of continuous political turmoil due to the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the first president and the founding father of the country, the following military rule and factional conflicts (Akash, 2003; as cited in Hossain, 2014), and a crisis of democracy created by both civil and military (Mollah, 2015). All these unfavorable political situation clearly disturbed development efforts of the country.

Since its independence, Bangladesh has received a lot of support from the international community to rebuild the country. From 1971 to 1991, the total amount of ODA received by Bangladesh amounted to more than $47,886 million (OECD Statistics, n.d.), with net ODA as a percentage of gross national income (1973-1991) of more than 6% (The World Bank, n.d.c). Despite these international efforts, however, the impact was less than expected, with weak governance and political instability in Bangladesh cited as key factors. With regard to this matter, Mollah (2003) pointed out main factors hindering good governance and, at the same time, common feature of governance in Bangladesh, which are corruption, inefficiency of bureaucracy, political interference in administration, non-accountable and non-transparent administration, nepotism, improper and non-observance of the rule of law, and misuse of power and resources. In particular, corruption, which was the biggest problem and pervasive in the whole country, is regarded as the one mainly responsible for the breakdown of law and order in the country hindering a fair distribution of national wealth and widening the gap between the rich and the poor (p. 7). As a result, many international organizations including the World Bank and Asian Development Bank and donor countries like Japan had emphasized political

conditions prior to the support and, at the same time, implement the program to improve governance since 1990s (Quibria, 2010).

Now looking at the economy, before independence from Pakistan, East Pakistan was backward and suffered from continuous poverty; most of the investment, support for economic development, and even foreign aid were concentrated in the West. Therefore, most of the West Pakistanis expected liberation would bring better standard of living with economic growth. Yet, situation was the opposite and rather worsen. The country had already suffered from serious and poverty consistently and was even destroyed by the liberation war. As mentioned above, unskilled and inexperienced personnel occupied the government. They needed time to adapt to their new surroundings and jobs, and more seriously, their priority was on political and legal issues to build the foundation of the country rather than the economy (Schendel, 2009). Furthermore, ongoing natural disaster like drought, flood and famine caused serious economic losses with high inflation rate (about 40 percent per annum) as well as loss of life (Hossain, 2014; as cited in Akash, 2003). Bangladesh was an agricultural country with over 85% of the population living in rural areas (Riaz and Rahman, 2016), but after independence, rural economic productivity deteriorated further and many people in particular struggled to find work. In this context of total dislocation, poverty reduction has been a major agenda of the Bangladeshi government and internal society. Extreme poverty was a problem in itself, but it also led to other serious problems. When considering the poverty specifically in economic perspective, about 71 percent people were reported to live under the poverty line in 1970s which was mostly due to the independence war, high inflation rate, natural disaster, and continuous political turmoil, all

these mentioned above (Hossain, 2014; as cited in Akash, 2003). Situation got a little better but poverty was still at high level in 1980s. For example, the average national poverty rate in 1980s was 39 percent, 8 percent lower than that of 1970s. During the 1990s, it showed continuous decrease at a rate of about 1 percent per year (Sen, 2003). All these slow improvements until the early 1990s was came from the slow pace of economic growth and increased inequality. Meanwhile, in its country operational strategy study, the Asian Development Bank (1998, p. 4) identified slow economic growth, rising income inequality, low levels of human development, and poor environment as the main causes of slow poverty reduction in Bangladesh. In addition to the extreme poverty, there were also food security, industrialization, labor, urbanization and inequality issues as well. According to the World Development Report 1980, half of the people in absolute poverty lived in South Asia, mainly in India and Bangladesh (p. 35). In Bangladesh, average annual growth (GNP per capita) between 1950 and 1978 and the average annual rate of inflation between 1970 and 1978 were measured at -0.4% and 17.9%, respectively (p. 110).

In summary, Bangladesh faced an overwhelming number of challenges since its independence, including extreme poverty, war-torn destruction, weak governance and political instability, natural disasters, and a lack of high-quality human resources. The country had been the focus of international aid and was once labeled a "basket case" by U.S. President Richard Nixon's national security adviser, Henry Kissinger (Subramanya, 2021). Against this backdrop, poverty reduction and economic development have been considered the top priorities for national development in Bangladesh since its independence.

3) Structure of the Education System and its Management

The education system of Bangladesh consists of three stages: primary, secondary and higher educations. General structure of the present education system is described in <Figure IV-2>. Firstly, it should be noted that in Bangladesh different stream of education is provided in each level (Ministry of Education, n.d.). Primary level has two major streams: general and madrasa, whereas secondary level is provided with three streams: general, technical and vocational, and madrasa. In case of higher education, there are three streams: general, madrasa and technology education. In particular, Madrasa is the Islamic religious schools teaching Islamic subjects and the Arabic language in addition to the regular curriculum.

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS) (2010, as cited in Ahmed, 2010)

<Figure IV-2> Education Structure of Bangladesh

It is functionally parallel to and have similar core courses as in the general education stream: primary secondary and post-secondary education. <Figure IV-2> shows that Madrasa education in Bangladesh comprises of five stages (Ebtedayee, Dhakhil, Alim, Fazil and Kamil). First level, Ebtedayee, is recognized as equivalent to primary level of general education (Falkowska, 2013).

Overall, general education stream came from the British and Pakistani colonial past and Madrasa is a legacy of the Muslim period. And there is one more stream which was not mentioned in the above. There are the schools using English as the medium of instruction. These are modeled after the British General Certificate of Education and classified into the English medium stream (Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2008). On closer scrutiny, secondary education in general education stream has three sub-stages: junior secondary, secondary and higher secondary. Then, higher secondary is mostly followed by college/university level through the Pass/Honors Graduate Course (4 years). The Master Degree is divided into two streams: one year's duration for the students with Bachelor Degree (Honors) and two years duration for the students with Bachelor Degree (Pass). Higher education in the technical area also starts after higher secondary level (Ministry of Education, n.d.). Furthermore, each stage of education is run by different types of institutions. In 2016, the government decided to extend primary education from grade 5 to grade 8 in general stream, for providing quality, sustainable, mandatory and free education to more people with longer period under the circumstance of high drop-out rate (Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation, 2014). Nonetheless, this extension of the primary school year has been suspended and not yet progressed yet due to a lack of

infrastructure facilities (Imam, 2023).

Then, this education system in is managed and administered mainly by two Ministries, Ministry of Education (MoE) and Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) under the Prime Minister, in association with the attached Departments and Directorates. In addition, there are Staff Departments and/or Professional Bodies of the MoE to perform specialized functions, and autonomous bodies in the administration of education. The MoE is simply responsible for all education after primary level, including madrasa and technical and vocational education. Its work area includes policy formulation, preparing educational legislation and regulations, and monitoring educational institutions and programmes (NUFFIC, 2012). Furthermore, it is also in charge of allocating and managing the education managers at the directorate and district level, and also involved in recruiting, selecting and transferring teachers at the government-run school (Ahmed *et al.,* 2005). On the other hand, the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (hereinafter referred to as "MoPME") oversees primary education and mass education, especially policy formulation, planning, evaluation and implementation of plans, and initiating legislative measures in its area. Mass education in Bangladesh refers to "non-formal education for out-of-school children, and youth and adult education in basic literacy and numeracy and life skills (UNESCO-IBE, 2011)." Looking at its history, a separate Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) was established in 1981 since the government nationalized all private primary schools in 1973. Then a separate Primary and Mass Education Division was created under the Prime Minister in 1992, which promoted to the MoPME in 2003 (Haq & Haq, 1998; Ahmad, 2013). Its job is also to formulate and plan policy, evaluate and execute plans and

implement measures relating to primary and mass education.

MoE and MoPME have Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education (DSHE) and Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) respectively, which take care of implementing the policy and programmes/projects, and administrating and managing the education system. Under these Directorates, there are education offices, or government offices, at the level of division, district and sub-district for field level implementation of primary education for field level implementation. The offices, in particular, are responsible for management and supervision of education at each level including teachers, in-service training, and distribution of textbooks, other learning materials and even school uniforms (Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2008, p. 35). For the other attached departments or directorates, there are also Directorate of Technical Education (DTE), Bangladesh National Commission for UNESCO (BNCU), Chief Accounts Office (CAO).

For support organization or professional bodies, National Academy for Educational Management (NAEM), National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB), Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS), Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE), National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE), National Academy of Education Management (NAEM) and Directorate of Inspection and Audit (DIA) are representative. In particular, National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) is the largest autonomous body under the MoE responsible for developing and revising national curriculum for pre-primary to higher secondary level; developing, revising, printing and distributing textbooks; and developing other teaching and learning materials.

4.1.2. GCED-related Values in Education Policy and Previous Curriculum

Again, GCED is not a completely new concept. It is more of an umbrella concept encompassing the already existing concepts or educational values. Then, what GCED related values can be found in the education policy and curriculum before the policy was introduced under the name GCED in Bangladesh?

It is necessary to first identify the prominent features of Bangladesh's education before looking at the GCED related values in it. First of all, the *development of human resources* to secure global competitiveness is considered a top priority in Bangladesh, which is clearly shown in its education as well. National Education Policy 2010 (Ministry of Education, 2010) stipulates that the ultimate goal of education is to ensure securing high-level skills in various areas so that learners can successfully compete in the world. In particular, the country concentrates on improving human development index through compulsory primary and secondary education, literacy education and science and technology-centered education. At the same time, it also places primary importance on increasing labor productivity by establishing a knowledge-based society, expanding overseas employment, improving the employment rate of women and expanding investment in information technology (Relevant Ministries in Korea, 2022).

Another distinctive feature is instilling *patriotism* and *national identity* through school education. One of the goals of the National Education Policy 2010 is obviously mentioned as "inspiring the students with the spirit of our war of liberation and developing patriotism, nationalism and qualities of good citizens" (Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 8). This policy document not only

describes the significance and necessity of national identity, but also proposes practical strategies for school education such as including topics related to liberation war, language movement and freedom fighters in curriculum and textbooks at all school levels. In addition, the importance of *language* is greatly stressed in Bangladesh's education policy, as "Bengali movement" was the trigger for the liberation war and independence from Pakistan.

Then, how has GCED related values have been dealt with in Bangladesh's education policy and curriculum with the above attributes before GCED was introduced as a policy? In this regard, *religious and moral education*, which is mandatory from grade 1 to 8, seems to be noticeable in the curriculum. In particular, "acquiring noble virtues, honesty and courage" and "building up the characters with moral and human values that will be reflected in their social and national consciousness" consistently appear with respect to religious and moral education in the National Education Policy 2010 (Ministry of Education, 2010, pp. 29-30). In terms of *gender equality*, Bangladesh pursues a goal of "removing socio-economic discrimination irrespective of race, religion and creed, and eradicating gender disparity" (Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 8), according to the National Education Policy 2010. Lastly, the word *peace* is frequently mentioned in the education policy and curriculum document, which indicates that Bangladesh has a relatively peace-oriented culture in the region, whereas there seems to be little mention of civil liberties.

It is worthy of note that students from the third grade take the subject *Bangladesh and Global Studies*. This was developed as an interdisciplinary course consisting of history, geography, civics and economics in the 2011 revised curriculum to provide students with knowledge of the environment, climate, and

other 21st century global issues (Hossain, 2015, p. 19). In the textbook modified according to the previous curriculum, it clearly states that students would grow into conscious citizens, become the citizens with complete civic values following the tradition, enrich the knowledge by recognizing the world issues around them, and acquire life-skills to deal with the issues in the society them (National Curriculum and Textbook Board, 2014b, 2014c; 2014d; 2017). Specific topics and contents covered in the textbooks can be seen from Appendix 5. There are some criticisms that it is too early and inappropriate for third graders to learn this subject because they are still young to be aware of and be interested in the global context. Nonetheless, considering that the government establishes the clear goal to cultivate globally competitive people and reflects this in the national curriculum, it can be said Bangladesh attaches great importance to global competitiveness and by extension global citizenships. The most recent version of subject curriculum document for *Bangladesh and Global Studies*, the 2011 revised curriculum, states that the course was added as an attempt to fulfill an understanding of the outside world in addition to reflecting on the changing context of Bangladesh and issues in the national and social environment. The document lists 15 qualifications that students are expected to acquire through the study of this subject, as follows:

- Being interested and respectful towards human rights, internationalism, global brotherhood and world culture
- Encouraging independent and free thinking and practicing democratic norms
- Acquiring moral and social qualities and applying them in real life to determine the difference between good and evil

- Using and conserving personal, family, social and national resources with care

- Pursuing harmony and peaceful coexistence among all genders, classes, and religions, including children with special needs

- Acquiring the spirit of sacrifice and developing tolerance and human qualities of putting others first and respecting the elderly

- Actively participating in social activities and recognizing their responsibilities and rights

- Knowing about adversity and disasters, and developing a competent and confident attitude to cope with them

- Doing their own work and understanding the dignity of labor

- Having an understanding of nature, the environment and the world, and playing a positive role in relation to these issues

- Understanding environmental development and conservation in the face of weather and climate change

- Understanding the basic needs of people, the impact of population on the environment, and the importance of public resources

- Promoting the spirit of the liberation war, the spirit of patriotism and nationalism, and the spirit of sacrifice in nation-building work

- Understanding and respecting national history, traditions, and culture

- Knowing and loving Bangladesh

(National Curriculum and Textbook Board, 2012, p.218)

To sum up, Bangladesh's education policy mainly focuses on nurturing and securing human resources with the aim of strengthening national competitiveness.

It is found out that the need for global competitiveness and some of the main values of GCED are already included in the existing education policy and curriculum. However, this is not the original perspective of GCED, but rather the one viewing the people as a means or tool to contribute to improving national competitiveness and ultimately achieving economic development. Meanwhile, the emphasis on patriotism, national identity and language can be considered as unique features often witnessed in the education policy of independent countries.

4.1.3. GCED Programmes/Projects at the National Level

According to Yoo and his colleagues (2022), GCED activities in Bangladesh to date appear to be programme/project-based, led by the MoE, in close collaboration with its affiliated organizations, the MoPME and other educational institutions, and with active support from UNESCO. For instance, the MoE and the MoPME[2] developed the contents of SDG 4.7 in *the National Action Plan for SDGs* with the support of UNESCO (UNESCO Office in Dhaka, 2020). Another representative example is *Learning for Empathy*, UNESCO's teacher exchange programme that highlights cultural diversity, peace, non-violence and global citizenship, which the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education (DSHE) and Directorate of Madrasha Education (DME) participated in. Through the 2019

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[2] In Bangladesh, there are two ministries in education. The Ministry of Education (MoE), led by the Minister of Education, is in charge of secondary and higher education, technical and vocational education and training (TVET) and madrasah education. On the other hand, the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME), under the supervision of the Prime Minister, takes cares of primary and mass education, and non-formal education. Main functions of both ministries are formulation, planning and assessment of the overall education policy, and policy support and implementation are the responsibilities of the directorates of the two ministries of education, such as Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education (DSHE) and Directorate of Madrasha Education (DME).

pilot project, four Madrasah schools and ten general schools at the secondary level received training to enhance empathy through school activities (UNESCO Office in Dhaka, n.d.). The University of Dhaka took part in this programme as an implementation institution. The Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education (DSHE) was also engaged in *Fellowship Programme on Ethics Education 2022-2023* of Arigatou International[3]. The purpose of the programme was to promote learning to live together and ultimately contribute to nurturing global citizenships by strengthening capabilities of ethical education in the regular school curriculum (Arigatou International, 2022).

As a Ministry of Education-affiliated organization, National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB)[4] organized and provided GCED related training courses for its curriculum experts, together with UNESCO, UNESCO APCEIU and UNESCO MGIEP (UNESCO Office in Dhaka, 2020). As a result, GCED was included in the Comprehensive Skills Framework and the 2021 National Competency-based Curriculum Framework, and finally, GCED-integrated revised curriculum could be introduced by grade throughout Bangladesh from 2023. Meanwhile, National Academy for Educational Management (NAEM), which is an affiliated educational institution to the MoE, developed the blended learning manual and materials for the 2022-2023 in-service teacher training and provided the training courses to its faculties. It also conducted GCED related

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[3] Arigatou International is an international NGO established in 1990, in special consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (Arigatou International, n.d.).

[4] National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) is an autonomous organization under the Ministry of Education (MoE), responsible for developing national curriculum, and also developing, producing, printing and distributing textbooks at primary and secondary education levels.

study *A Case Study of Global Citizenship Education through In-service Teacher Education Program for Secondary School Teachers in Bangladesh* in 2022.

Although not an example of government organization, International University of Business Agriculture and Technology (IUBAT) worked with UNESCO to translate the guidebook of GCED, *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives*, into Bengali. This translated version was used not only at the time of the NCTB's training program for the faculty, but also in the actual curriculum revision work.

4.2. 2021 Revised National Curriculum in Bangladesh: GCED-integrated Curriculum

As of January 1, 2023, radical and massive changes have been introduced into the national curriculum and the entire education system in Bangladesh, starting from first, sixth and seventh grade students[5]. Dr. M. Tarik Ahsan, professor at the Institute of Education and Research (IER), University of Dhaka recently termed this as a paradigm shift (Islam, 2022). According to the Minister of Education, Dr. Dipu Moni, this revised national curriculum[6] aims to ensure a sensitive, accountable, integrated and participatory education system, and has been developed to enhance students' attitudes, knowledge, competencies, values and skills ("The changes coming," 2022). It was known that this revision also

[5] According to the Ministry of Education, the implementation of this revised curriculum began in 2023 to Grade 1, 6, 7. This will be applied to the rest of the graders in phase as follows: Grade 2, 3, 4, 8, 9 in 2024; Grade 5, 10 in 2025; Grade 11 in 2026; and Grade 12 in 2027. Grade 2 was also scheduled to follow new curriculum in 2023, but it was postponed to 2024 due to lack of preparation (Alamgir, 2023).

[6] Prior to this revision, the national curriculum was developed during 1976 and 1978 after independence from Pakistan, and there were the revisions in 1995 and 2012 ("New Curriculum Begins," 2023).

focused on the linkage of education between different school levels. In the past, primary and secondary education were respectively competency and outcome (or, objective) based, which many criticized as causing a lack of consistency and connectivity between the two school levels, making students suffering learning difficulties after entering secondary school (Robin, 2021).

In this revised curriculum, therefore, ten common learning areas are established for the students in pre-primary to the tenth grade in secondary schools as follows: Language and communication; Mathematics and reasoning; Life and livelihood; Social and global citizenship; Environment and climate; Science and technology; Information and communication technology; Physical and mental health and safety; Values and ethics; and Arts and culture. And these will be taught in eight subjects (Bengali, English, Mathematics, Science, Social science, Religious education, Wellbeing, and Arts and culture) in primary school and ten subjects (Bengali, English, Mathematics, Life and livelihood, Science, Social science, Digital Technology, Religious education, Wellbeing, and Arts and culture) in 6th to 10th grade in secondary schools ("Major Changes in Education," 2022; Regun.Online, 2020; Robin, 2021). In this regard, National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB), responsible for this revision, stated that students will acquire three core competencies of innovative, interconnection and accountability (Regun.Online, 2020). Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina ("The changes coming," 2022) announced that there are various changes in the revised curriculum in addition to the ten learning areas, which can be summarized as shown in [Table IV-1].

[Table IV-1] Major Changes in the Bangladesh 2021 Revised National Curriculum

Previous Curriculum (2011 revised curriculum)	Newly revised curriculum (Implemented from January 1, 2023)
• Textbook-centric and rote-based learning	• Emphasis on experiential learning
• Separate curriculum and learning areas between primary and secondary education	• Common and consistent curriculum and same learning areas from pre-primary to Grade 10 in secondary education • Eight and ten subjects selected for primary and Grade 6 to 10 respectively based on the learning areas
• Division into science, humanities or commerce from Grade 9	• Division into science, humanities or commerce from Grade 11
• PEC (Primary Education Certificate) for Grade 5 and JSC (Junior School Certificate) for Grade 8 conducted in the form of public exam	• No more public exam of PEC and JSC conducted • Only able to be conducted at the school level
• SSC (Secondary School Certificate) for Grade 10 conducted based on Grade 9 and 10 curricula	• SSC for Grade 10 conducted on the basis of only Grade 10 syllabus
• HSC (Higher Secondary Certificate) for Grade 12 conducted	• Two HSC conducted at the end of Grade 11 and 12 • The result of HSC published by combining the scores of these two exams
• Usually one day off in a week (Friday) in educational institutions	• Two days off in a week (Friday and Saturday) in educational institutions including primary schools

Source: Reconstructed by author from "The changes coming," (2022) and Robin (2021)

From the above, particularly noteworthy is that global citizenship and GCED-related values such as environment and climate, and values and ethics are designated as individual learning area that students should learn in common, and interconnection and accountability are included in the three core competencies. This clearly tells us that this revised curriculum is GCED-integrated curriculum. As shown in the 2021 National Curriculum Outline in Appendix 2, the vision of

the revised curriculum is to "build patriotic, productive, adaptable and happy global citizens inspired by the spirit of the liberation war." A closer look reveals that it emphasizes i) inheriting the spirit of national liberation, ii) peaceful coexistence without discrimination based on religion, class, etc., iii) becoming productive citizens who contribute to national development by acquiring skills, and iv) becoming adaptable global citizens in a globalized society.

[Table IV-2] Learning Areas and Level-wise Selected Subjects in the Bangladesh 2021 Revised National Curriculum

Learning areas	Level-wise selected subjects		
	Pre-primary	Primary	Secondary (only Class 6 - 10)
1. Language and communication	Integrated subjects	• Bengali • English • Mathematics • Science • Social science • Religious education • Wellbeing • Arts and culture	• Bengali • English • Mathematics • Life and livelihood • Science • Social science • Digital technology • Religious education • Wellbeing • Arts and culture
2. Mathematics and reasoning			
3. Life and livelihood			
4. Social and global citizenship			
5. Environment and climate			
6. Science and technology			
7. Information and communication technology			
8. Physical and mental health and safety			
9. Values and ethics			
10. Arts and culture			

Source: Reconstructed by author from "Major Changes in Education," (2022), Regun.Online (2020) and Robin (2021)

It also sets "the ability to integrate knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes to adapt to changing contexts inspired by the spirit of the liberation war" as an educational quality, which can be also seen in [Table IV-3] below. Overall, the emphasis is on acquiring knowledge to understand the world as well as one's

own society, and it is noteworthy that global citizenship is included among the skills to be acquired.

[Table IV-3] Educational Qualifications Established in the Bangladesh 2021 Revised National Curriculum Outline

Knowledge	Skills	Values	Attitudes
• Understanding one's own society and the world • Interdisciplinarity through careful analysis • Making connections between textbook and extracurricular subjects	• Critical thinking and problem solving • Creative thinking and imagination • Basic and digital literacy • Collaboration and communication • Decision making and self-management • Adaptation for life and livelihood • Global citizenship	• Solidarity • Patriotism • Respect and compassion • Secularity	• Affirmation • Constructiveness

In addition, this curriculum revision is based on the following ten core competencies.

1) Respect and understand the views and positions of others, be able to creatively express one's own opinion in an appropriate way according to the context.

2) To take logical and maximum welfare decisions for all by considering the overall issues through indexation on any issue to be able

3) Respecting differences and diversity, being be bearer of own art, culture, history and tradition, love for one's country and qualifying as a global citizen by demonstrating loyalty.

4) Ability to project, quickly grasp, analyze, synthesize and consider future implications of problems to make logical and maximum welfare decisions

and solutions through participation of all.

5) To be able to adapt to the changing world through peaceful coexistence maintaining mutual cooperation, respect and harmony and to play a role in creating a safe habitable world for the next generation.

6) Create new paths, techniques and possibilities by applying new perspectives, ideas, perspectives and present them artistically being able to play a role in national and world welfare.

7) Being able to create and maintain risk-free safe and acceptable personal, family, social, national and international relationships and communication by knowing one's position and role in managing one's physical and mental health.

8) To cope with risks and disasters in a constantly changing world and prepare oneself for a safe and secure life and livelihood while keeping human dignity intact.

9) Ability to use mathematical, scientific and technical skills to solve everyday problems in a changing world.

10) Being able to devote oneself to the welfare of nature and humanity through religious discipline, the acquisition of integrity and moral virtues and the practice of chastity.

In particular, the third core competency refers to global citizenship and explains that students can build on their patriotism for their country while respecting differences and diversity to become global citizens. In other words, compared to the previous curriculum, it ostensibly claims *global citizenship* and emphasizes understanding the world along with the society and country to which

it belongs, but it still seems to be unable to break away from the national perspective in approaching GCED.

Meanwhile, since the 2011 revision of the curriculum, students have been studying *Bangladesh and Global Studies* from Grade 3, and the inclusion of *social and global citizenship* among the 10 learning areas in this revision is expected to further strengthen the subject. Especially if the curriculum has so far been organized with a focus on citizenship at the national level, the direction and scope of citizenship would be expanded to the global level.

However, other than the addition of *global citizenship* directly as a vision and skill in *the 2021 National Curriculum Outline* and the 10 core competencies and learning areas, it is not clear how global citizenship will be reflected in the curriculum or what is expected of it. Originally, Bangladesh has a subject-specific curriculum document with the National Curriculum Outline, but unfortunately, I was unable to find the subject-specific curriculum document for this revision. Presumably, there seems no revised or updated documents in this revision, and the country might simply utilize the previous documents based on the new 10 learning areas and *the 2021 National Curriculum Outline*. I can only expect a stronger emphasis on the fundamental values of education, such as empathy, solidarity, peace, tolerance, and respect for religious and cultural diversity, which are actually mentioned in the Five Year Plan and the *Education Sector Plan (ESP)*. In other words, while the GCED-integrated curriculum is newly introduced, there seems to be a significant lack of clarity.

4.3. Analyzing the Process of Introducing the GCED-integrated Curriculum in Bangladesh based on the Multiple Streams Framework

This section utilizes a modified version of Kingdon's MSF to examine the contextual and situational factors that led to the introduction of GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh and identify the key stakeholders in the process. In particular, it will describe the main factors over time according to the analytical elements of the framework: problem stream, political stream, policy stream, economic stream and international (educational) space.

4.3.1. Problem Stream

Problem stream refers to the process in which policymakers perceive certain social issues recognized by the public or policy participants as policy agendas under the influence of indicators, focusing events, crises or feedbacks.

[Table IV-4] Problem Stream of the Introduction of the GCED-integrated Curriculum

Factor	Analysis
Indicators	• Goals and target changes from the 6th Five Year Plan (2011-2015) to the 8th Five Year Plan (2020-20255) • Quantitative and qualitative education indicators (e.g. completion rate, repetition rate, literacy and numeracy skills) • Bangladesh Education Fact Sheets by UNICEF Bangladesh • Global Knowledge Index by UNDP
Focusing events	• Publication of the reports by international and domestic institutions, which expose imbalance between current education and labor market, and low quality of education
Crises	• Influx of Rohingya refugees into Bangladesh • COVID-19 pandemic
Feedback	• Education Sector Analysis (ESA) conducted

In the problem stream, the ***indicator*** refers to the one that presenting the necessity of revising the curriculum related to GCED. Indicator tends to imply numerical values or statistics representing economic, social and natural phenomena, but in this paper, changes in goals and targets of the national development plan particularly focusing on education sector were mainly viewed as changes in indicators. Bangladesh establishes the national development plan every five years, and based on this, sectoral plans or policies are set up and implemented. During the period of *the 6th Five Year Plan* (General Economics Division, 2011), rapid economic development was considered as prerequisite for poverty reduction, ensuring continuous and productive employment and income for a large number of people. In other words, the government believed that the productive employment was the strongest means of reducing poverty, whereas it judged that the level and quality of the labor force were low with low access to education and low quality education at that time. In this context, the 6th plan prioritized "acceleration of economic growth and employment" and "benefiting from higher labor force growth (the demographic dividend) and ensuring labor quality" in its goals and strategies. It also emphasized ensuring gender equality, expecting women to participate in the process of national development by guaranteeing their rights and opportunities (pp. 24-35). Under this, Education, included as part of human resources development strategies in this plan, had two strategic goals: (i) increase the rate of school age children going to schools by focusing on both new enrolment and completion rates, and (ii) improve the standard of education at secondary and higher levels". The latter, qualitative goal, particularly mentioned modernization of curricula, texts, pedagogy and examination techniques, and emphasis on the subject of science and mathematics

at the secondary level as major strategic interventions (p.118).

During the period between 2016 and 2020, *7th Five Year Plan* (General Economics Division, 2015) was applied focusing on three themes of (i) rapid GDP growth and poverty reduction, and employment generation and rapid poverty reduction, (ii) inclusive strategy to empower every citizen to participate and benefit from the development process, and (iii) sustainable development in terms of disaster and climate change, sustainable use of natural resources, and urbanization transition (pp. xxxv-xxxvi). Compared to the previous plan only stressing economic development to reduce poverty, it is worth noting that the 7th plan placed importance on economic development, human development, social protection and social inclusion all together, and shifted to prepare for complementary policies and strategies to deal with continuous changes such as responding to climate change and protecting the natural environment. In particular, the plan highlighted high growth and inclusiveness, which means providing opportunities for the underprivileged or people with disabilities to participate in economic activities. In addition, if education was seen as part of human resource development and referred to it as a sub-concept in the 6th plan, from the 7th plan education was introduced as a separate sector although the approach based on human capital theory remains unchanged yet. Based on these overarching theme and goals, education goals at the primary education level were set to (i) improve the teaching learning process in schools, (ii) ensure participation and reduce disparity, (iii) ensure decentralization and enhance effectiveness, and (iv) establish effective planning and management. And application of quality improvement measures in academic curriculum and pedagogy, and increased support for inclusive education were included as

specific targets for the first and second goals respectively (pp. 588-590). At the secondary level, qualitative education goal was established in relation to resource management and improvement of infrastructure; improvement of teaching quality; appropriation of curricula and pedagogy; and minimizing multiplicity in education. With regard to the appropriation of curricula and pedagogy, it specified giving more importance to the subject of science and mathematics, as considering these as the foundation on which acquisition of other skills depend. Along with these, increasing the enrolment rate, increasing the capacity in reading, writing, listening and speaking, reducing the dropout rate, encouraging female enrolment, and lastly inclusion was set as quantitative goals (pp. 593-595).

Then, *the 8th Five Year Plan (2020-2025)* (General Economics Division, 2020a) has been established and is still in effect, with the main theme of (i) rapid recovery from COVID-19, (ii) GDP growth with employment generation, productivity acceleration and poverty reduction, (iii) inclusive development involving the poor and vulnerable citizen into the development process, (iv) development of critical institutions necessary to lead the economy to Upper Middle-income Country (UMIC) status, and (v) achievement of SDG targets and coping up the impact of Least Developed Countries (LDC) graduation as the main theme (p. xlii). Regarding education, it mentions the alignment of country's human capital development strategy with the overall economic development strategy. All the policies related to education and skills should complement each other and particularly the framework for skill development is applied which is all linked to education and vocational training. Education sector development strategy in this plan emphasizes quality education and the development of

science, mathematics, ICT and problem solving skills, to meet the higher level of skills required for UMIC in the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. For the cross-cutting strategies and policies in education sector, the enhancement of teacher quality and competency is also included, especially underlining the quality of the curriculum and stating that the curriculum should be revised to develop competency away from the existing content-oriented learning. In this regard, curriculum revision at all school levels is specified, for example, to develop cognitive skills to prepare for lifelong education, develop thinking skills, and adapt to changes in pre-primary education; to improve educational outcomes in primary education; and to learn a common curriculum up to Grade 10 without division of commerce, humanities and art in secondary education. Moreover, it mentions integrating basic moral, safety, and awareness issues of day-to-day lives into the entire school-level curriculum as well as primary education in order to foster better citizens, if possible.

We can notice that there would be a major policy change in education during the period of the eighth plan, which seems to be due to the adjustment of the national vision as the first cycle of the country's perspective plan ends and enters the second cycle from 2020. It should be understood that the perspective plan is a long-term plan, and Five Year Plan, which is formulated as a mid-term plan for the purpose of specifying and realizing the broad and overarching goal set in the perspective plan, gives overall guidelines and directions for developing policies and development programmes/projects covering all sectors. *The Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2010-2021* (General Economics Division, 2012) set the vision of transforming from a low income economy to the first stages of a middle-income country by the year 2021 with poverty reduction and

guaranteeing people educated and living healthy and happy lives. Under this vision, the following detailed goals were decided: (i) every citizen with equal opportunities to achieve his/her fullest potential, (ii) all citizens enjoying a quality of life where basic health care and adequate nutrition are assured, (iii) all citizens with access to a modern, technical, and vocational education tailored to meet the human resource needs of a technologically advancing nation, (iv) sustainability of development ensured through better protection from climate change and natural disasters, (v) respect for the principles of democracy, rule of law, and human rights, (vi) assured gender equality and the rights of ethnic populations and of all other disadvantaged groups including persons with disability, and (vii) the diversity and creativity of all people being valued and nurtured (p. 10). And *6th Five Year Plan (2011-2015)* and *7th Five Year Plan (2016-2020)* were developed based on this. Then, the next one, *the Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2021-2041* (General Economics Division, 2020b) modified its vision with "becoming a developed country by 2041, with per capita income of over USD 12,500 in today's prices, and fully tune with the digital world" and "eradicating poverty," with strategic goals and milestones as follows: (i) eradication of extreme poverty by 2031, reducing poverty to less than 3 percent by 2041, (ii) towards upper middle-income country (UMIC) by 2031, High-Income Country (HIC) by 2041, (iii) industrialization with export-oriented manufacturing which drives structural transformation into the future, (iv) paradigm shifts in agriculture which will enhance productivity and ensure nutrition and food security for the future, (v) a service sector of the future which will provide the bridge for the transformation of the rural agrarian economy to a primarily industrial and digital economy, and (vi) the Urban transition which will

be an essential part of the strategy to move to a high-income economy (pp. 5-6).

In terms of the indicators that can be expressed in numbers, the quantitative growth of elementary education seems remarkable, but higher education still has a long way to go, with the completion rates of 83%, 65%, and 29% in primary, lower secondary, and higher secondary education, and the repetition rate of 5% and 49% in Grade 8 at the lower secondary and the first year of upper secondary school, respectively (UNICEF Bangladesh, 2020, p. 19). It was found that there are still many difficulties in educational outcomes and quality education. For example, according to the Bangladesh Education Fact Sheets 2020 written by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (hereinafter referred to as "UNICEF") Bangladesh (2020, p. 13), only 33% and 18% of third grade students meet the expected reading and numeracy skills at that grade level. On the bright side, this shows improvement as the grade goes up, but numeracy skills lags behind reading skills: 74% of six graders and 91% of tenth graders with foundational reading skills; and 42% of sixth graders and 65 % of tenth graders with expected numeracy skills for third graders. In addition, Bangladesh ranked 112th out of 138 countries in the Global Knowledge Index 2020 by the United Nations Development (UNDP) (2020), which means that it lags behind in the quality of education. Looking at the sectoral indicators, it came in 117th in pre-university education, 69th in technical and vocational education and training, and 96th in higher education.

Focusing events serve to highlight policy problems by drawing the attention of the public and policy participants. Bangladesh has shown notable growth in the access to education particularly in primary education, but as mentioned above, problems such as high student-teacher ratio, low completion rate in secondary

education, educational inequality according to region and income level are still unresolved. Along with this, the issues of the imbalance between current education system and the labor market, namely mismatch between jobs and skills, and low quality of education have been raised in recent years. In this regard, international and domestic institutions released several reports, which led to these emerging as social problems and the government seriously considering them. Therefore, the publication of these reports can be seen as a focusing event. In The Labor Force Survey of 2013 by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), for example, it was found out that the unemployment rate of the youth with TVET diplomas was significantly lower that of the youth with bachelor or master degrees (Rahman, 2017). The Economics Intelligence Unit identified in its 2014 report that 47% of university graduates in Bangladesh were unemployed. Some criticized the measurement of unemployment rate without considering the special circumstances of graduates, such as those who reject employment due to unsatisfied working environment, salary and welfare or female students who did not want to get a job after graduation, or argued that such high unemployment was a global problem as well as Bangladesh. Regardless of debate and criticism, however, this report immediately caught the media's attention (Ahmed, 2023). Another report published by the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) in 2017 went further and confirmed that 66% of university graduates were unemployed. The report also pointed out that 44% of private university graduates got a job without waiting period, while only 32% of public university graduates, and that private universities maintained closer network with industry and employers by running job fairs or internship program more effectively than public universities (Sujon, 2019).

The influx of more than one million Rohingya refugees into Bangladesh and recent COVID-19 pandemic can be seen as ***crisis***. As a country frequently affected by climate change and natural disaster, Bangladesh has been striving to actively respond to these issues with consistent interest at the national level, including education sector. Then, due to the national burden and difficulties originated from the outside like COVID-19 and refugees from the neighboring country, the government became more sensitive to international issues and felt the need to come up with measures to react effectively. As these crises occurred during or shortly before the national development plan (*the Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2021-2041*, and *8th Five Year Plan*) and *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* were established, not only countermeasures but also the importance and related values of SDG 4.7 were mentioned in the plans.

Feedback can affect future policy agenda settings by looking at the previous policies. Until the end of 2020, the *Education Sector Analysis (ESA)* was conducted by the National Expert Team (NET) organized by the government in cooperation with the civil society organization, in order to identify the current education and the achievements from the previous educational policies. In this work, 35 experts from the MoE and Primary and Mass Education, research institutions, non-formal education institutions, and NGOs and civil society organization also participated in consulting (Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2020, pp. 6-7). In the *Education Sector Analysis (ESA)* report, the current status and key issues by school level, and major cross-cutting issues, which should be dealt with in common regardless of school level, were selected as shown in the [Table IV-5]. The results of this analysis were regarded as major policy problems, and *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* was later formulated

based on these.

[Table IV-5] Key Findings of the Education Sector Analysis (ESA)

Key issues for the education system and the education sub-sectors
• Significant differences between services available in rural and urban areas and by income status of households.
• Inadequacy in number and quality of skilled and professionally motivated teachers.
• Heavy reliance on summative assessment and high-stake public examinations with their effects on teaching-learning practices.
• Nature of skills and competencies achieved by students and weaknesses in the transition from education to work resulting in high unemployment and under-employment among the youth.
• Challenges of coordinating and directing activities under many different auspices towards addressing the persistent skills gaps.
• The system being inherently inequitable for aspirants of higher education from the lower socio-economic strata.
• The distribution of curriculum offerings and the absence of planning and strategies for improving market relevance.
• Low public investment in education and expansion of the system resulting in poor quality outcomes.
Major cross-cutting issues
• Supply and quality of the education workforce for school education.
• Implications of climate change and natural and man-made emergencies including the Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals (FDMN) in Bangladesh and the COVID-19 pandemic.
• ICT for and in education, 21st century skills and the Fourth Industrial Revolution.
• Inclusion priorities including children with special educational needs, incentives – stipends, mid-day meal, and free books -- and girl-friendly school facilities.
• Assessment of student learning and system performance.

Source: Ministry of Education (2020, pp. 4, 99), and Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (2020)

4.3.2. Political Stream

In the GCED-integrated curriculum revision, the political stream has been absolutely influenced by the current ruling party's long hold on power. In this situation, the national mood tends to be created in the direction pursued by the regime, and it seems difficult for   pressure groups to raise their voices.

[Table IV-6] Political Stream of the Introduction of the GCED-integrated Curriculum

Factor	Analysis
Changes in the ruling power	• Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina securing a third consecutive term in the parliamentary election
National mood	• Formed by the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and her party, the Bangladesh Awami League
Pressure group	• Controlled by the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and her party, the Bangladesh Awami League

In Bangladesh with a parliamentary, the prime minister, who is the head of the cabinet, holds all administrative power (Encyclopedia of the Nations, n.d.). Sheikh Hasina, the current prime minister and also head of the ruling Awami League, is a daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the first president to lead Bangladesh's independence in 1947, serving as prime minister from 1996 to 2001, and a fourth in power after winning parliamentary elections in 2009, 2014, and 2018 consecutively. In the 2018 national election, the government's opposition suppression and media control led to the election in favor of the Awami League, with 600,000 people including activists and opposition leaders arrested ahead of the election (Hossain, 2018), and the alliance of opposition parties was attacked by police and ruling party supporters (Sarker, 2018). In particular, criticism of the unfair election was raised as the former prime minister, Khaleda Zia who is Hasina's longtime political rival and the leader of the main opposition party, was sentenced to seven years in prison for corruption and embezzlement ("Bangladesh Court Jails," 2018). These led to allegations of fraudulent election and the opposition alliance declaring a boycott, but the Awami League could remain in power after all. As such, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and her party have faced some criticisms, but they have maintained their power to date based on the achievement of high economic growth.

Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina is basically following the thoughts and ideologies that her father, the father of the nation and the first president, had to create the country he dreamed of. And she made this clear again during the 2018 general election campaign, saying that "I promise to build a more beautiful future by learning from the past. We will build a non-communal golden Bangladesh free from hunger, poverty and illiteracy as cherished by Father of the Nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman." (Liton & Hasan, 2018). Looking at the election manifesto at the time, the Awami League promised 33 parts under the theme of "Bangladesh on March towards Prosperity", which was also based on the strategic plan of SDGs and Delta Plan 2100 – comprehensive development plan for next 100 years formulated by the government. It mostly focused on "extending modern urban facilities to every village" and "transformation of the youth into skilled manpower and ensuring employment," and specified increasing GDP growth, eradicating poverty, and creating jobs for youth including overseas jobs. At the same time, it gave a special undertaking as follows:

- Adopting "zero-tolerance policy" against corruption
- Women empowerment, gender parity and child welfare
- Ensuring nutritious and safe food
- Uprooting terrorism, communalism, militancy and drugs proliferation
- Speedy and proper implementation of the mega projects.
- Consolidating democracy and the Rule of law
- Elimination of poverty
- Upgrading the standard of education at all tiers.
- Increasing investments in public and private sectors

- Ensuring quality healthcare for all

- Increased utilization of digital technology in overall development in every sector

- Ensuring power and energy security

- Modern agricultural system: Mechanization is the goal

- Efficient and service-oriented Public Administration

- Citizen-friendly law enforcement agencies

- Blue Economy—development of marine resources

- Assurance of road safety

- Welfare of the elderly, disabled and autistic people

- Sustainable and inclusive development: a prosperous Bangladesh

(Bangladesh Awami League, 2018, p. 5)

In this regard, we can notice that the values of peace, democracy, inclusion, and sustainable development are embedded in general, and enhancing the education standard is also considered as one of the priorities.

During the Sheikh Hasina administration, the National Education Policy 2010 was established, which is in fact the first official education policy since the independence. At the time of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's presidency, the education policy was formulated at the First Education Commission, but failed in its implementation due to subsequent events like military coups, the murder of the president, and interim government rule. In 1996, the Awami League, led by Sheikh Hasina, came to power and prepared Education Policy 2000, which was immediately abolished with the government change (Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 2). Since then, as Sheikh Hasina was re-appointed as prime minister in the

2008 general election, the National Education Policy 2010 was framed based on the education ideology promoted by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's regime in the past, which has been consistently reflected in the educational plan so far. Recent attempts to change education, such as expanding compulsory education from grade 5 to grade 8 and incorporating pre-primary education into compulsory education, albeit unsuccessfully, can all be seen as a result of the 2010 National Education Policy.

The **national mood** showing national interest and controversy can be examined mainly by analyzing the trend of press release. However, it is difficult for the media to criticize the PM and the ruling party due to the regime's suppression of the media, weak freedom of media, and lack of transparency in media ownership. According to a report on the freedom of media published by the Centre for Governance Studies (CGS) (Riaz & Rahman, 2021), most of the owners of the media outlets including newspapers, radio, television, and web portals are directly or indirectly affiliated with political parties in the following forms: (i) whether a media outlet gets a license largely depends on the government's relationship with the entrepreneur; (ii) politicians themselves become involved in media ownership; (iii) influential ruling party politicians lobby for different business group to help attain licenses for media outlets; or (iv) ownership of the media changes hands to those who are connected to the incumbent political parties (p. 16). Furthermore, the Digital Security Act was passed by Bangladeshi parliament in October 2018, which has become a powerful tool for controlling all forms of criticisms towards the government, including independent journalism that scrutinizes government officials' actions. It is one of the strictest laws in Bangladesh, providing extensive authority to

block or remove digital media contents that is considered by the government detrimental to harmony or public order, or may foster hostility within the community (*The State of*, 2021).

Since the media seems to be quite under the government control, this paper looked directly at the direction in which the current administration is leading the national mood instead of analyzing media reports. Prior to that, it should be noted that Bangladesh moved up from Lower-Income Country (hereinafter referred to as "LIC") to the Lower Middle-Income Country (LIMC) in 2015 according to the World Bank (The World Bank, 2015). Moreover, Bangladesh satisfied all the UN criteria to graduate from Least Developed Country (LDC) to a developing country in 2018, and is expected to formally graduate from LDC in 2024 (General Economics Division, 2020a). Then in March 2020, the government announced *the Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2021-2041* with Vision 2041 which established the roadmap "to become an Upper Middle-Income Country (UMIC) and eliminate extreme poverty by 2031, and to achieve a High-Income Country (HIC) status by 2041" (General Economics Division, 2020b, p. 5). Therefore, the current government has been creating a national mood towards entering UMIC and HIC in phase after practically graduating from LIC, and is making all-out efforts to achieve these. Since then, all policies such as Five Year Plan and sectoral plans including *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* were developed accordingly based on this Perspective Plan.

In terms of education, there is a mood of emphasizing the significance of human development and capacity building, especially healthy and skilled labor force and productive employment in order to achieve this economic development (General Economics Division, 2020b). The need for a change in education policy

according to the changed goals and environment was once again stressed in the *Education Sector Analysis (ESA)* written in 2020, and immediately and eventually led to *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*.

Along with this, it is noteworthy that the government continues to highlight its participation in achieving SDGs at the national level. Back to the Awami League Manifesto in 2018, it saw the implementation of the SDGS as essential with the development of MIC, and stated the participation of young people to fulfil this internationally agreed goals as one of the party's objectives and plan (Bangladesh Awami League, 2018, p. 38). The importance and necessity of achieving SDGs also continued to emerge in the Perspective Plan, Five Year Plan, and *Education Sector Plan (ESP)*.

Pressure groups, or interest groups can also play a significant role in leading or influencing the direction of public policies. In Bangladesh education, student unions are historically considered the largest and most powerful pressure groups (Hasan, 2019), most of which are involved with and motivated by political parties (Hasan, 2023; "The New President," 2020). In addition, the Campaign for Popular Education (CAMPE) has recently been outstanding, which was established in 1990 as a coalition of more than 1,300 NGOs, 15 teachers' organizations, and thousands of educational activists across the country. It fundamentally aims to form public policy discourse and contribute to changes in the education system for the continuous development of Bangladesh education, and also carries out the role of Education Watch by participating in various studies and surveys to analyze current education and evaluate its performance. Notably, CAMPE submitted 40 major proposals to the National Education Policy Formulation Committee in 2009 for incorporation into the 2010 National

Education Policy, and most of them were actually accepted into policy, including expanding primary education to grade 8, improving teacher training, reducing teacher-student ratios, and emphasizing the need for quality learning materials (Hoque, 2015). Although CAMPE is one of the representative civil societies in education, it seems to support the government by working in accordance with the government's policy direction and conducting study required by the government rather than checking the government power and raising critical and constructive discourse, just like the above mentioned student unions.

Under the current regime and also the political situation where the media and pressure groups are all linked to the political parties, it seems quite difficult to present and collect diverse opinions on policies regardless of politics. In this circumstance, the role of pressure groups is bound to be very limited, and for the time being, their activities, including those of the opposition parties, are not expected to have a significant impact on the political stream. Separately, the image of political parties usually affects the political process and policy mobilization of the country, but it is identified that political parties in Bangladesh has been suffering from low credibility and pow public trust (Institute of Governance Studies, 2009). In this regard, Shakil and his colleagues (2016, p. 3) found in their report that bureaucrats account for 90% of the public policy formation process, while politicians and pressure groups for 7% and 3%, respectively.

4.3.3. Policy Stream

In Bangladesh, as mentioned in 4.1, GCED in Bangladesh, GCED related values and topics have been already deeply embedded in education policies and

curriculum in general since its independence. In particular, such values as patriotism, ethnicity, empathy, solidarity, tolerance, peace, and respect for religious and cultural diversity have been stressed as basic values of the country, considering the historical background of colonization, language movement, liberation war, and separation and independence. And this was confirmed once again through an interview with the Research Participant "#3", director at the government directorate under the MoE as follows.

> "… I remember his name ("Sheikh Mujibur Rahman," Father of the Nation and the first president) because he has given us independence, and along with the independence he has given us a complete goal of how the country will look like. The exact word he used was that "I want a Golden Bengal with Golden People". With this, he tried to envision Bangladesh where people have global view, global citizenship perspectives within themselves, and they build themselves as persons with all the qualities, with empathy, peace, and love for nature, and with all the qualities so that they do not become only persons of Bangladesh, they become global citizens.
>
> … To be very honest, why I just started to explain your question with this particular reference? Even if we go to our constitution, it also tells us a clear idea that we want peace, we want secular country where everyone has democracy, we want love, we want no hunger and no fight and confrontation among the race of the people, and at the end of the day we have to love each other, we have to ensure   education, and we have to ensure food. These are how the constitution has been developed."
>
> (Research participant "#3", 8 January, 2023)

Then, he further explained that "With this background, I would also like to say this (*GCED*) is not a very new thing specially in case of Bangladesh. … Since the independence, it has been practiced. … If you see our curriculum, you can find out how the students are groomed since their infancy with the lessons of peace, prosperity, love and respect for nature and environment, and all of these". According to him, Bangladesh is basically a country born in pursuit of the above-mentioned values. In the same context, it was also found that experts in Bangladesh felt strongly that the country's value systems are consistent with core ideals and values of global citizenship (Ministry of Primary Education & Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2020, p. 44). Then, as GCED emerged as a global education agenda, the importance and necessity of such values further highlighted. Citizenship began to be understood not only at the national level but also at the international level, and GCED became incorporated and contextualized in the education policy and curriculum. To see how the values and perspectives associated with GCED were reflected in the previous curriculum, the quickest and most accurate way to do this is to look at the subject, *Bangladesh and Global Studies*, which was discussed in more detail in 4.1.2, GCED-related Values in Education and Previous Curriculum, above.

Taken together so far, Bangladesh education has pursued GCED-related values from the perspective of national citizenship since the birth of the state. As GCED attracted international attention as a global agenda, its importance was strengthened and the scope expanded to the international level as well, and it was finally reflected in the education policy and revised national curriculum. Then, what specific events or mechanisms occurred in Bangladesh to support and facilitate the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum? In this regard, we

first need to recall that Bangladesh government has devoted to realizing SDGs at the national level, which was mentioned as one of the national moods of the above political stream. In terms of the policy documents, as can be seen from [Table IV-7], it can be witnessed that the achievement of SDGs is incorporated with the national development plan, and SDG4 itself, education related goal, is even included as part of the goal in *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*. In this respect, the State Minister of Primary and Mass Education officially mentions, "The government has reiterated its commitment to integrating SDG4-Eduaction 2030 through aligning the SDG4 targets into national education policies and planning processes." (Ministry of Primary Education & Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2020).

Then, it should be recognized that all these plans, especially Education Sector Plan (ESP), and curriculum are linked to the National SDG4 Strategic Framework, citing "GCED is embedded in the National SDG4 Strategic Framework, Education Sector Plan (ESP) and the newly-revised competency-based curriculum. In the National SDG4 Strategic Framework, GCED is mentioned as one strategic area under SDG4.7." (Research participant "#1", 28 December, 2022). Thus, it can be said that there is the National SDG4 Strategic Framework for Bangladesh at the beginning of contextualizing and mainstreaming of SDG4 in the education policy[7].

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[7] Around the same time, the National Action Plan of Ministries/Divisions by Targets for the Implementation of SDGs (General Economics Division, 2018a) was developed in 2018. Although the SDG4.7 target and its indicators were mentioned in the document, the government's goal, directions and strategies to achieve this this goal were not explained enough.

[Table IV-7] SDGs-aligned National Development Plan in Bangladesh

Perspective Plan of Bangladesh (2021-2041)
Message from the Minister of Planning • Apart from the above, we have to keep pace with the world by achieving the global agenda - called SDGs. We will be implementing SDGs through the next two Five Year Plans (p. Message). **Sector:** Human Development through quality education and harnessing the demographic dividend • Beyond human development: Values, culture and heritage : The gov't has been devoted to the development of youth and plans to continue investing in their future in the upcoming decades, so as to pave the way to achieving the development goals and commitments at the national level and the int'l level such as SDGs (p. 62).

7th Five Year Plan (FY2016-Fy2020)
Development Approach of the 7th Plan • The first year of the 7th Plan also coincides with the launch of the UN post-2015 SDGs (p. xxxv). Strategies for Promoting Pro-Poor and Inclusive Growth • Seventh plan core targets in the context of Vision 20201 : … since the start of the 7th FYP coincides with the final year of MDGs and the launch of UN's post-2015 SDGs, the development approach underlying the 7th Plan is consistent with the global agenda for higher growth in developing countries with appropriate measures for protection of the environment. The 7th FYP embraces the goals proposed by the Open Working Group (OWG) as the post-2015 SDGs and endorsed the Rio+20 outcome document, The future we want, … in line with the UN post-2015 development agenda (p. 31).

8th Five Year Plan (July 2020-June 2025)
Development Approach of the 8th Plan • One of the six core themes the 8th Five Year Plan centers around : (vi) Attaining SDGs targets and coping up the impact of LDC graduation (p. xlii) Sector development strategies: Education and technology • 8th Five Year Plan target for education and TVET : The main education sector targets to be achieved under the 8YP are based on SDGs as well as the targets for PP2041. Specifically, the targets are commensurate with achieving the following SDG goals: SDG4-quality education; SDG5-gender equality: SDG10-reduction in income inequality. Importantly, the PP2041 target to eradicate extreme poverty and reduce moderate poverty will be helped by achieving these targets (pp. 635-636).

Perspective Plan of Bangladesh (2021-2041)		
Education Sector Plan (ESP) for Bangladesh (Fiscal Years 2020/21-2024-25)		

Rationale for the ESP
- Bangladesh is also committed to the 2030 SDGs agenda including SDG4, the overarching education goal. This goal commits the country to "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all." (p. 7).

Overarching goal of the ESP
- To contribute to achieving the SDG4 of equitable, accessible and quality education towards building a sustainable and prosperous society and promoting lifelong learning for all, in line with the objective of Bangladesh becoming a developed country by 2041 (p. 11).

Source: Reconstructed by author from General Economics Division (2012), (2015), (2020a) & Ministry of Education (2020)

The National SDG4 Strategic Framework (Ministry of Primary Education & Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2020) was developed in 2017—but officially published in 2020—under the leadership of the MoE and the MoPME in cooperation with UNESCO, as part of its CapED Programme (2016-2021) [8]. This framework was formulated to provide consistent guidance to enhance the government's ongoing efforts to implement education-related policies and plans in accordance with SDG4 principles and to support the achievement of seven targets and three means of implementation of SDG4. Moreover, it would be implemented primarily through national education system based on the current and future policies and plans, which also requires the involvement of communities and civil societies (Ministry of Primary Education & Ministry of

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[8] The CapED (Capacity Development for Education) Programme is a delivery platform for UNESCO's education sector in the framework of the Education 2030 agenda. It supports developing countries so that they can design and implement education reforms essential for the achievement of national development priorities and the fulfilment of SDG4. Under the CapED's 2016-2021 cycle, it supported 14 countries including Bangladesh (UNESCO, 2022a). Bangladesh has been participated in its next phase for 2022-2025 for the purpose of monitoring the process, following-up, and localizing SDG4 at sub-national levels (UNESCO Office in Dhaka, 2022).

Primary and Mass Education, 2020, p. 4). SDG4.7 target and indicators were also included as the targets and indicators for SDG4 in Bangladesh. As a strategic direction, it specified that the curriculum would be reviewed with the aim of incorporating relevant GCED content that fits the Bangladesh context (Ministry of Primary Education & Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2020, p. 2). Indeed, National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) immediately undertook this task and found that the current curriculum at the time basically inspired the idea of democratic and secular principles, but needed to be more consistent with the principles of global citizenship (Ministry of Primary Education & Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2020, p. 45). On the front page of this strategic framework document, the Head of Office and UNESCO Representative to Bangladesh stated that the framework was officially approved by the National SDG 4 Steering Committee on 3 October 2019, and would soon be reflected in *the 8th Five Year Plan* and *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*.

Between 2018 and 2019, UNESCO, particularly UNESCO Dhaka, translated the guidebook for GCED, *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives*, into Bengali in collaboration with International University of Business Agriculture and Technology (IUBAT). This translated version was used not only at the time of the NCTB's training program for the faculty, but also in the actual curriculum revision work. During this period, National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB), Ministry of Education-affiliated organization, organized and provided GCED related training courses for its curriculum experts, together with UNESCO, UNESCO APCEIU and UNESCO MGIEP (UNESCO Office in Dhaka, 2020). In this regard, an expert from UNESCO filed office in Bangladesh explained as follows.

"Let me just add for how the Bangladesh translated book (UNESCO's "Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives" in Bengali) was used. When the curriculum revision was going on and NCTB was collecting the related materials, we provided two training programmes on GCED in 2018 and 2019. Those trainings were for all the curriculum developers and the researchers, the unit members on GCED. And how to accommodate GCED in the curriculum and learning materials was the main topic of the training."

(Research participant "#2", 28 December, 2022)

As a result, GCED was included in the Comprehensive Skills Framework and the 2021 National Competency-based Curriculum Framework, and finally, GCED-integrated revised curriculum has been introduced by grade throughout Bangladesh from 2023.

Meanwhile, National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) carried out curriculum revision work since 2017[9] (Billah, 2021; "Emphasis on Learning," 2022). A Curriculum Development Revision Core Committee was formed right away with 10 academicians, which prepared a 114-page *National Curriculum Outline, Pre-Primary to Class XII* at the end of 2020. After collecting opinions from experts and academia on this outline, NCTB submitted it to the National Curriculum Coordination Committee (NCCC) ("Emphasis on Learning," 2022). Since then, the Prime Minister approved the outline of the new curriculum in principle in September 2021 ("Major Changes in Education," 2022), and

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[9] Curriculum revision was supposed to be carried out by the Secondary Education Sector Investment Program (SESIP) or Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP). Due to financial difficulties and some other issues, however, it continued to be delayed and finally all responsibilities fell to the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) itself in 2019 (Billah, 2022).

officially approved it at the joint meeting of the two National Curriculum Coordination Committees (NCCCs) of the MoE and the MoPME in May 2022 ("The changes coming," 2022). Through local newspaper articles, I was able to find the following interviews with the experts who were involved in this curriculum revision work.

> <Dr. Dipu Moni > *Minister of Education*
> "The entire curriculum is being reviewed. The new curriculum will be formulated based on the spirit of liberation war."
>
> ("The changes coming," 2020).
>
> "The new curriculum aims to ensure a sensitive, accountable integrated and participatory education system. The core of the National Curriculum has been developed to enhance students' attitudes, knowledge, competencies, values and skills. The spirit of the liberation war has been determined as the motivation of the students in determining the qualification."
>
> ("The changes coming," 2022)
>
> <Prof. AKM Reazul Hassan> *Member of the Primary Curriculum Wing, National Curriculum and Textbook Board*
> "This curriculum has been revised to align with changing global needs, *Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2021-2041*, the government's 2018 election manifesto, and SDGs targets."
>
> (Robin, 2021).
>
> <Unidentified expert from National Curriculum and Textbook Board>
> "The National Curriculum and Textbook Board has named 10 subjects of primary and secondary level as *Shikhankshetra*, the new curriculum

will be written on these subjects. Curriculum will be written with emphasis on three subjects. The themes are – Innovation, Interconnection and Accountability."

<div align="right">("The changes coming," 2020).</div>

<Prof. Quazi Faruque Ahmed > *Member of the Curriculum Development Revision Core Committee, and the Drafting Committee for the National Education Policy 2010; President of the Bangladesh College Teachers' Association, and Secretary General, Bangladesh Federation of Teachers' Associations (BFTA)*

"We gave our opinions separately. The curriculum has been modernized in lie with the education policy ("National Education Policy 2010"), but I said that education should be based on the spirit of the liberation war. Moreover, as I said, at the time we were formulating the national education policy, the concept of online education was not very familiar. However, this time, due to the COVID-19 outbreak, the need for online education program has increased, and we also gave our opinion on this issue."

<div align="right">("The changes coming," 2020).</div>

These interviews show that the curriculum revision has been based on the government's education policy, namely National Education Policy 2010, and the global needs including fulfilling the SDGs, and stressed the spirit of liberation was as its underlying ethos. It is also emphasizing interconnectedness as a major theme, which seems to have had a significant impact on COVID-19 pandemic.

From the above, it was identified that SDG4 Framework and *the 8th Five Year Plan* and *Education Sector Plan (ESP)* based on the framework, which

mention about mainstreaming GCED in the curriculum as the SDG4.7 target or indicator, were formulated successively during the curriculum revision period. Accordingly, GCED seems to have inevitably and naturally been incorporated into the revised curriculum as part of the national development plan based on the fulfilment of SDGs and national development. In addition, in the curriculum revision process, UNESCO provided several training sessions to strengthen the GCED capacities of National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB)'s curriculum developers and other experts, and the translated version of the so-called GCED guidebook *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives*, was used not only in these training but also in actual overall curriculum revision.

4.3.4. Economic Stream and International (Educational) Space

1) Economic Stream

In recent years, Bangladesh has shown sharp economic development. It is worth recalling that Bangladesh graduated from a Low-Income Country (LIC) and entered a Lower Middle-Income Country (LIMC) in 2015 according to the World Bank's classification of countries by income level (The World Bank, 2015). Furthermore, its GDP growth rate was 7.13% during the period of *the 7th Five Year Plan (2016-2020)* (General Economics Division, 2020a, p. xxxviii), and 6.94% and 7.2% in 2021 and 2022, respectively ("Bangladesh Growth rate," 2023), which can be said to be very high worldwide during the COVID-19 pandemic. With this momentum, the government has set up the perspective plan aimed at eliminating extreme poverty and moving up to High-Income Country

(HIC) through an Upper Middle-Income Country (UMIC) by 2041.

Meanwhile, Bangladesh is often known as a country which has received a huge amount of foreign assistance since its independence from Pakistan. Right after independence, 100% of the annual development plan funds were raised through Official Development Assistance (hereinafter referred to as "ODA"), but this figure declined in the 1990s and measured to be less than 50% in 2011, indicating that the overall dependence of the economy on foreign assistance decreased (Hasan 2011). As such, quantitative dependence on assistance has decreased noticeably, but qualitative dependence, such as having a critical influence on policy agenda setting or formation, seems to have remained or rather strengthened.

Before identifying ODA status, if we look at how much the government has invested in its education, the World Bank (The World Bank, n.d.b) estimated that the government spending on education, expressed as a percentage of GDP, in Bangladesh has remained in the 2.0% range since 1997. Comparing the figure as of 2020, Bangladesh showed a 2.0% share of government spending on education, lower than the average of countries in the same region (2.9% in South Asia), as well as the average of countries by similar income level (3.0% and 3.8% in low-income countries and lower-middle income countries, respectively, and 3.0% in the Least Developed Countries (LDC) classified by UN 3.0%). Meanwhile, Net ODA received per capita increased steeply from USD 7 in 2009 to USD 32 in 2020 (The World Bank, n.d.d), and Bangladesh was ranked second, after India, in the top ten recipients of Gross ODA between 2020 and 2021 (OECD, n.d.b).

[Table IV-8] ODA Disbursements in Bangladesh (in millions of USD)

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
<ODA by delivery channel>							
1. Bilateral							
Total DAC countries	1381.3	1200.5	1221.6	2224.8	2354.4	2521.5	3194.6
2. Multilateral							
Total Multilateral	1049.3	1370.4	1225.9	1508.2	1750.4	1818.0	2162.3
- EU institutions	98.2	79.5	115.1	141.4	168.6	160.7	279.5
- IBRD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- IDA	551.9	757.8	752.5	1050.9	1252.4	1399.7	1148.9
- IMF	65.2	208.8	-18.7	-12.7	-51.8	-61.4	120.3
- Regional development banks	192.6	100.9	118.8	74.4	164.7	83.5	368.2
- UN agencies	75.0	82.2	89.6	66.8	66.8	79.6	70.7
- Global fund	17.6	40.7	36.4	60.3	34.0	47.9	75.6
- Other multilateral	48.7	100.8	132.1	126.9	114.8	103.2	94.0
<Bilateral ODA by purpose: Education>							
Total bilateral ODA	2190.7	2106.2	2478.7	2644.7	3537.7	3711.7	4870.1
1. Social infrastructure & services	709.3	559.8	467.0	328.1	844.9	371.6	458.9
Social infrastructure & services /Total bilateral ODA	32.4%	26.6%	18.8%	12.4%	23.9%	10.0%	9.4%
- Education	141.0	95.0	232.4	72.8	133.4	82.2	122.1
Education/ Social infrastructure & services (%)	19.9%	17.0%	49.8%	22.2%	15.8%	22.1%	26.6%
- Health & population	280.4	311.7	116.8	125.9	290.5	153.0	206.9
- Water supply & sanitation	143.9	71.4	31.0	25.1	265.1	19.4	15.9
2. Economic Infrastructure & services (energy; transport & communications)	756.6	935.2	1610.2	1678.2	1925.1	2402.6	3073.8
Economic infrastructure & services / Total bilateral ODA (%)	34.5%	44.4%	65.0%	63.5%	54.4%	64.7%	63.1%

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
3. Production sectors (agriculture, forestry, fishing; industry, mining, construction; trade & tourism)	154.4	205.9	82.6	187.8	183.2	252.0	172.5
Production sectors / Total bilateral ODA (%)	7.0%	9.8%	3.3%	7.1%	5.2%	6.8%	3.5%
4. Multisector	507.9	338.1	63.3	89.0	51.9	64.9	313.2
Multisector / Total bilateral ODA (%)	23.2%	16.1%	2.6%	3.4%	1.5%	1.7%	6.4%

Source: Reconstructed by author from OECD (2022, pp. 243-245)

[Table IV-8] shows ODA disbursements by the delivery channel and purpose from 2014 to 2020. It can be easily found that both bilateral and multilateral ODA have been expanded overall despite some fluctuations but that education accounts for a modest proportion of bilateral ODA. In terms of improving the education system in Bangladesh, the activities of the Global Partnership for Education (hereinafter referred to as "GPE"), which corresponds to global fund in multilateral ODA, are noteworthy.

GPE, which was established in 2002 as the Education for All-Fast Track Initiative, is the largest global funding platform and multilateral global partnership to contribute to transforming education in Lower-Income Countries (LIC). It brings all participants together including partner countries, namely LICs, donor countries, international organizations, civil society, and private sector and foundations, with the aim of improving education (Global Partnership for Education, n.d.).

Republic of Korea (hereinafter Korea) and Bangladesh joined the GPE in

2015 as donor and partner countries, respectively (Global Partnership for Education, 2015; 2023), and the World Bank Group is the grant agent for GPE grants mobilizing over 70% of GPE funds (The World Bank, 2022). Since joining in 2015, Bangladesh has received USD 179,705,715 for total grant support. Only for the purpose of responding to COVID-19, the World Bank provided USD 15 million in 2021-2022, and UNICEF Office in Bangladesh received USD 140,000 in 2020 to support the MoE (Global Partnership for Education, 2021).

GPE points to most notable achievement in Bangladesh in leading and supporting the government to formulate its first comprehensive education plan. Education in Bangladesh has traditionally been operated based on sub-sector plan, such as Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) by the MoPME and Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP) by the MoE, and there was no sector-wide and integrated plan. *The Education Sector Plan (ESP)*, frequently mentioned above, is Bangladesh's first comprehensive and overarching education plan and was developed alongside an *Education Sector Analysis (ESA)* with the support of UNESCO as part of GPE's Education Sector Plan Implementation Grant (ESPIG) (Universalia, 2020). There is no doubt that it has great historical and national significance in that it has established an integrated and consistent plan that encompasses completely divided education by school level. Though, it is questionable whether this should be viewed as the voluntary will of the government of Bangladesh.

In 2015, when Bangladesh became a party to GPE, the MoPME's sub-sector plan, the Third Primary Education Development Program (PEDP-3), was already in process. Thus, GPE provided USD 100 million ESPIG, which was entirely

used to support the program to operate properly for three years. Later, in 2018, GPE approved USD 53.9 million ESPIG as the second grant, and unlike the first case, developing *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* was suggested as a condition. Then, in 2019, GPE approved and provided USD 465,000 as Education Sector Plan Development Grant (ESPDG), another type of GPE grant, so that Bangladesh can establish *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* and conduct *the Education Sector Analysis (ESA)* (Universalia, 2020, pp. 11, 28). This means that GPE's second grant was a conditional grant subject to the establishment of *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* and *Education Sector Analysis (ESA)*. And it is noteworthy that in the *Education Sector Plan* established in this way, the achievement of SDG4 itself was included as an overarching education goal.

2) International (Educational) Space

Bangladesh learned from its experience during the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that a planned policy approach including not only the government but also the private sector, and as well as full political commitment from the highest level of the government is necessary to fulfil this kind of global agenda. In the case of SDGs, therefore, the government actively participated from the planning stage. The most representative case would be the submission of *the Post 2015 Development Agenda: Bangladesh Proposal*, which emphasized human rights, peace, inclusiveness, and equality, to the UN as a member of the UN-Open Working Group for setting up the SDGs in 2013 (General Economics Division, 2013). It is also highly engaged in SDG monitoring on the international stage, for example, as a member and observer country of the Technical

Cooperation Group on the Indicators for SDG4-Education 2030 (TCG) (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2017; 2020), formed in early 2016, it has been involved in the development and implementation of a global and thematic indicator framework to monitor the education targets of SDG 4 (UNESCO Clearinghouse on Global Citizenship Education, 2019). The country also participated in the meeting of the Global Alliance to Monitor Learning (GAML), which is working with TCG and supporting the use of learning assessments for SDG4 reporting, to share progress on SDG indicators (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2018). Moreover, Bangladesh is active in GCED, notably as a champion country of the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI), which first proposed global citizenship as an education agenda, and has played a role in supporting and promoting the initiative at the international level (United Nations, n.d.a), and is a participating member of the Group of Friends for Solidarity and Inclusion with GCED, which was formed by UNESCO in 2020 to promote international cooperation through GCED (UNESCO APCEIU, 2020).

Right after the announcement of the SDGs by UN, the government of Bangladesh formed a High-Level Coordination Mechanism to link and match national policies and programmes for the actual implementation of the SDGs (Ministry of Education, 2020, p.7). For example, the Office of Prime Minister appointed a Principal Coordinator for SDGs affairs to lead the *International Ministerial Committee on SDGs Implementation and Review* (Ministry of Primary Education & Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2020, p. 4). Then, under the leadership of this Principal Coordinator, the *SDGs Implementation and Monitoring Committee* was organized to promote the implementation of SDGs and monitor its progress (General Economics Division, 2017b).

As described in [Table IV-7] above, SDGs were first incorporated into *the 7th Five Year Plan* immediately after the application to Bangladesh. Then, *the Perspective Plan of Bangladesh (2021-2041)* reflecting SDGs was established, and *the 8th Five Year Plan* was accordingly formulated based on this long-term plan. Finally, in *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*, the attainment of SDGs itself was set as part of the overall education goal.

In the meantime, General Economics Division (GED) in the Planning Commission developed various strategies to implements SDGs in practice. For instance, firstly, the *National Action Plan for SDGs* was set up in 2018 in order to practice SDGs-related goals and targets specified in the continuous Five Year Plans (7th, 8th, 9th). In this Action Plan, Secondary and Higher Education Division (SHED) and Technical and Madrasah Education Division (TMED) of the MoE were designated as the lead ministry/division for realizing Target 4.7 of the SDGs, and the MoPME and others as the associated ministry/division (General Economics Division, 2018a).

For monitoring and evaluating the progress of SDGs, General Economics Division (GED) designed a *Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Framework of SDGs* in cooperation with relevant government ministries in 2018 (General Economics Division, 2020c), and has published the SDGs Progress Report regularly (General Economics Division, 2018b). In addition, *SDGs Tracker*, a web-based data storage system that can check the implementation and fulfilment of SDGs along with national development goals, has also been developed and operated. This has been opened by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) and Statistics and Informatics Division (SID) in collaboration with the Cabinet Division, the Prime Minister's Office, the General Economics Division (GED),

other relevant government ministries and the private sector (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, n.d.). Moreover, *Data Gap Analysis for SDGs*, an analysis document for identifying data availability in Bangladesh was published in 2017 to monitor and evaluate the achievement of the targets of SDGs (General Economics Division, 2017a).

As mentioned at the end of the above economic stream, *SDGs Financing Strategy* was also devised to assess the additional cost for successful implementation of SDGs. This strategy paper identified five types of potential sources of fap financing: 1) public financing; 2) private sector financing; 3) public-private partnership (PPP); 4) external sources including Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Foreign Aid and Grants; and 5) financing by Non-government Organizations (NGOs). Although public and private sector were designated as the main types of financing for FY2017-FY2030, accounting for 34% and 42% of the total financing requirements, the State Minister of the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning also announced to raise funds through bilateral and multilateral engagements to supplement regular budgets which enable to successfully fulfil the SDGs (General Economics Division, 2017b).

[Table IV-9] Bangladesh's Financing Outlook for the Period FY2017-FY2030

Type	Public	Private sector	PPP	External sources	NGOs
Expected contribution to total financing requirements by type (%)	34%	42%	6%	15%	4%

Source: Reconstructed by author from General Economics Division (2017b)

Specifically in relation to SDG4, the *National SDG4 Strategic Framework*

was developed by MoE and MoPME, and later strategic documents were published as follows: (1) The National Indicator Framework (NIF), (2) the Data Mapping and Action Plan (DM&AP), (3) the Data Quality Assessment Framework (DQAF); and (4) the National Strategy for the Development of Education Statistics and Action Plan (NSDES&AP) (UNESCO Office in Dhaka, 2020, p. 8).

4.3.5. Policy Entrepreneur

From the above, we could see that Bangladesh has been highly involved in establishing and implementing the global agenda, SDGs, at the national level. In particular, it has shown systematic and continuous policy efforts, starting with aligning SDGs with national development plan and accordingly sector plan. The introduction of GCED-integrated curriculum also appears to be part of these policy efforts to implement SDGs, especially SDG4.7. Then it is found out that the General Economics Division (GED) of the Planning Commission, the MoE, in cooperation with the MoPME , and UNESCO have played a central role in the policy change of introducing the GCED-integrated curriculum. In particular, UNESCO has had profound impact on the overall process of incorporating GCED into the revised curriculum as well as promoting and supporting GCED by directly contacting domestic key stakeholder, the MoE.

Hedayet Islam Shakil and his colleagues (2016, p. 2) clarify that political commitment at the highest level is the most significant factor in formulating and implementing the policy. As noted in the international space above, several committees to implement and monitor SDG targets were organized around the

Principal Coordinator for SDGs affairs in the Office of Prime Minister. Afterward, national development plans reflecting SDGs and various strategies, action plans, and monitoring frameworks for the actual implementation of SDGs have been developed in succession, and it is the General Economics Division (GED) of the Planning Commission that has been in charge of all these tasks. General Economics Division (GED) is one of the six divisions of the Planning Commission, the central body of Bangladesh. It is responsible for developing national development plans and other relevant plans and strategies including financing, evaluating these plans, conducting research, and meeting and negotiating with development partners like international organizations and donor countries, as sown in [Table IV-10].

[Table IV-10] Key Functions of the General Economics Division (GED) of the Bangladesh Planning Commission

Main functions
• Preparation of national, medium and long-term strategies, guidelines and plans
• Preparation of technical frameworks for plans of various timeframe
• Formulation of alternative strategies and policies for mobilization of domestic resources to achieve the plan objectives
• Undertake research and analysis on issues (e.g. economic diplomacy, fiscal and monetary affairs, international economics, savings and investment, employment and income distribution)
• Undertake macro and sectoral evaluation of different term plans
• Estimation of national income, consumption, savings and investment, domestic resources and foreign exchange requirement, external trade and balance of payment
• Preparation of memorandum for the Bangladesh aid group meetings
• Preparation of briefs for meetings and negotiations with the multilateral organizations as well as other bilateral development partners

Source: General Economics Division (n.d.)

In fact, I visited Bangladesh in 2012 in the planning stage of KOICA's training program to strengthen the capacity of Bangladeshi civil servants. At that time,

One of my tasks was to negotiate the program, so I remember meeting with an official of the General Economics Division (GED) to explain our plan and budget. In other words, this division makes direct contact with development partners to discuss and coordinate potential programmes/projects, and perhaps even make decisions.

When the General Economics Division (GED) establishes the overall guidelines such as policy plan, framework and strategy, then the responsibility for policy issues and their implementation by sector falls to the ministers of each linear ministry. In this regard, Rules of Business 1966 (Cabinet Division, Revised up to April 2017, p. 4) stipulates in its Section 4. Transaction of Business that one of the major responsibilities/roles of a ministry is policy formulation, planning and evaluation of execution of plan. In case of education sector, there are two ministries, the MoPME in charge of primary education, and the MoE for secondary and higher education, technical and vocational education, and madrasah education, which are headed by minister and state minister, respectively. Compared to the Minister of Education, who is a member of Cabinet, the State Minister of Primary and Mass Education is a junior minister, but unlike other ordinary junior ministers, he is given the authority to lead the ministry separately without reporting to the Minister of Education. Due to these differences in positions and the scope of work in charge, the MoE seems to have more power than the MoPME. Back to the role of the ministry, the MoE aligned SDG targets with its educational goals by formulating *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* and *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* in 2020 in cooperation with the MoPME. *The National SDG4 Strategic Framework* especially presents the directions and strategies for practicing SDG4.7, namely GCED, and the National

Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB)'s finding on GCED in the curriculum, and finally emphasizes the need to link and reinforce GCED in the future curriculum. In consequence, the MoE is currently leading the introduction and implementation of GCED-integrated curriculum in phases, and also modification of textbooks and provision of teacher training according to the revised curriculum, through the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB). In short, the General Economics Division (GED) establishes the overall national development plan, the SDGs framework, and the implementation plan for the SDGs including the action plan, and designates the lead and associated ministries/divisions for each sector or SDG targets as well. Based on this, then, the MoE designated as a lead ministry for SDG4 develops its sector plan reflecting the demands and needs and *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* and realize all of these, with the MoPME, an associated ministry.

To explain a little more, National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB), which is a main agency responsible for curriculum development and implementation, and textbook revision and distribution, formed the Curriculum Development Revision Core Committees and developed the National Curriculum Outline immediately after starting the revision work in 2017. It is certain that National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) played a key role in the revision of the curriculum that incorporates GCED. Nonetheless, it should be considered as just having implemented the policy decided at the top, not as a policy entrepreneur leading the policy formation process. NCTB is one of the affiliated organizations of the MoE that realize the education policy set by the Ministry, and it is bound to lack its own autonomy and decision-making power. In fact, the curriculum revision and its link to the GCED are all those already

mentioned in *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* and *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* prepared by the MoE.

It is UNESCO that brought GCED into Bangladesh as a global education agenda and made great efforts to enlighten GCED and mainstream it in the national policy by contacting domestic policy stakeholders above. With regard to UNESCO's GCED related activities in Bangladesh including the introduction of GCED-integrated curriculum, the most representative example would be supporting the development of *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* with GPE's Education Sector Plan Implementation Grant (ESPIG). Moreover, UNESCO helped organize the high-level national consultation on the SDG4 Framework as part of the CapED Programme (2016-2021), which eventually enabled the MoE and the MoPME to establish *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* including the need for GCED-integrated curriculum. Bangladesh is then participating in the next phase, CapED Programme (2022-2025), and UNESCO plans to monitor and follow up the first phase activities and localize SDG4 at subnational level.

Especially with regard to GCED-integrated curriculum revision, UNESCO with UNESCO APCEIU and UNESCO MGIEP organized GCED related training for curriculum developers of the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) and other experts. Earlier, UNESCO, in collaboration with International University of Business Agriculture and Technology (IUBAT), translated the GCED guidebook *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives* into Bengali, which was used not only for this training but also for the actual process of the curriculum development. As a result, GCED could be mainstreamed and contextualized in the revised curriculum by being included in the Comprehensive Skills Framework and the 2021 National Competency-based

Curriculum Framework.

In summary, it was the General Economics Division (GED) of the Planning Commission and the MoE, in cooperation with the MoPME, that converted SDGs or SDG4 targets into the national development policy and the education policy, and finally incorporated GCED into its national curriculum. In the meantime, UNESCO has had continuous and decisive role in bringing this policy change by actively contacting and working closely with the government and also in giving full supports to its implementation.

4.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, since independence, Bangladesh has experienced a long period of poverty, weak governance, political instability, war-induced destruction, natural disasters, and human resource shortages, so poverty reduction and economic development have been considered the top priorities for the country's development. In addition, based on the historical background of independence from Britain, India, and Pakistan, patriotism and nationalism as well as GCED-related values such as empathy, solidarity, peace, tolerance, and respect for religious and cultural diversity, have been emphasized as basic national values, and they have been reflected in national policies and curriculum. On the other hand, when the 2011 Curriculum was revised to emphasize 21st century skills, a new subject called *Bangladesh and Global Studies* was introduced, emphasizing citizenship from a national perspective, and learning about international issues was also conducted within it. Then, with the inclusion of GCED in the 2021 Revised Curriculum, the scope of citizenship has been expanded to a global level.

However, given that the spirit of the Liberation War, promoting patriotism, and enhancing productivity through skill acquisition were at the core of this revised curriculum, and that while global citizenship is stressed, it is mostly aimed at creating a workforce that can compete in the international community, it is clear that Bangladesh is still approaching GCED from a very national perspective and understands global citizenship as one of the competencies in an increasingly globalized world. Last, but most importantly, using Kingdon's analytical framework, the main factors and processes that led to the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh, and the main stakeholders in the process, can be summarized as follows (Also see <Figure IV-3>).

Firstly, regarding the policy stream of the issues facing the country at the time, if in the past the focus at the national level was only on economic development and poverty reduction, over time there has been a shift to emphasize economic development as the basis, but also human development, inclusive and sustainable development. In recent years, the scope of development has expanded further, such as recovery from COVID-19, achievement of the SDGs, and moving up to UMIC (Upper Middle-Income Country) status. This broadening of the scope of development can also be seen in the education sector, where improved access to education has led to significant quantitative progress and now emphasizes qualitative progress.

	~2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Problem Stream	•Continuous report on the lower employment of the youth/university graduates		•Huge influx of Rohingya refugees _More concerned of global issues_		•COVID-19 pandemic	•Ranked 112th in the Global Knowledge Index _More concerned of global competencies_		
	•Rapid economic development required •Low access and low quality education → Low quality of the labor force	<Problems recognized by the gov't according to the Five Year Plan> •Rapid economic development required with human development, social protection and social inclusion •Low quality education: More required for improved teaching and learning including **quality curriculum**, pedagogy, etc. focusing on science and math •Other education issues (e.g. enrolment rate, drop out rate, basic competencies) still problematic					•Required for rapid recovery from COVID-19, rapid economic development, inclusive development, achievement of SDGs, moving up to UMIC and coping up the impact of LDC graduation •Alignment of human capital development strategy with overall economic development strategy needed •Quality education and competencies, and **curriculum revision at all school level needed**	
Political Stream	•Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and the ruling Awami League in power (Won the parliamentary → Fundamentally following the spirits and ideologies of the first president on national development					elections in 2009, 2014, and 2018 consecutively) emphasizing love, peace, freedom, harmony, etc.		
Policy Stream	Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2010-2021 developed by _"GED"_					_SDGs integrated_	Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2021-2041 developed by _"GED"_	
	6th Five Year Plan developed by _"GED"_	**7th Five Year Plan** developed by _"GED"_					**8th Five Year Plan** developed by _"GED"_	
			•**SDG4 Strategic Framework** developed by _"MoE (&MoPME)"_ with support of _"UNESCO"_		•**SDG4 Strategic Framework approved** by the Steering Committee	•**Education Sector Plan(ESP)** developed by _"MoE (&MoPME)"_ with support of _"UNESCO"_	_SDG4 part of the ESP goal_	
	•2011 Curriculum Revision and its implementation		•Initiate curriculum revision work by NCTB •Curriculum Development Revision Core Committee was organized	•**GCED-related training** provided by NCTB for curriculum developers with support of _"UNESCO"_ _UNESCO's GCED guidebook used_		•The National Curriculum Outline prepared, reviewed and submitted	_GCED-integrated curriculum_ •The **outline of the new curriculum** approved by the PM and the National Curriculum Coordination Committees in 2021 and 2022, respectively	
Econ. Stream	•2015: Graduate from LIC •2015: Join the GPE & receive the first grant		•Join the _UNESCO_'s **CapED** (2016-2021)	•Receive the second grant from the GPE	•Receive another type of **grant from the GPE**	•Receive more grant from the GPE to respond to COVID-19		•Join the _UNESCO_'s CapED (2022-2025)
Int'l (Educat-ional) Space	MDGs	SDGs						
	•2012: Designated as a Champion Country of GEFI •2013: Submitted the proposal for the Post 2015 Development Agenda to UN	•2016 ~: Member country of the TCG on the Indicators for SDG4-Education 2030				•2020 ~: Member country of the UNESCO GCED Group of Friends		
		•Principal Coordinator for SDGs affairs appointed in the Office of PM	• _"GED"_ developed SDGs Financing Strategy: External funding as one potential option	•2018: _"GED"_ developed the National Targets for the implementation of SDGs **ministry for realizing Target 4.7**, ministry Implementation of SDGs •2018: _"GED"_ developed Monitoring and		Action Plan of Ministries/Division by → _"MoE"_ **designated as a lead** and _"MoPME"_ as an associated Evaluation Framework of SDGs		

(Vertical red bands: "New subject 'Bangladesh and Global Studies' introduced in the 2011 Revised Curriculum" and "Curriculum revision work ongoing & SDG4 Strategic Framework and Education Sector Plan (ESP) developed")

*CapED (Capacity Development for Education) Programme, GED (General Economics Division), GEFI (Global Education First Initiative), GPE (Global Partnership for Education), MoE (Ministry of Education), MoPME (Ministry of Primary and Mass Education), TCG (Technical Cooperation Group)

<Figure IV-3> Summary of the Process of Introducing the GCED-integrated Curriculum in Bangladesh

Meanwhile, unemployment and lack of qualifications and skills among the youth and graduates have been a persistent problem in Bangladesh, and it is finally being recognized as a serious domestic issue, with numerous reports from local and international research institutions documenting the phenomenon numerically and the country ranking 112th out of 138 countries in the UNDP's Global Knowledge Index in 2020. This has raised the need to align of human capital development strategy with overall economic development strategy. In addition, the massive influx of Rohingya refugees and the COVID-19 pandemic have created the need to be more sensitive and proactive in responding to international issues.

In terms of political stream, secondly, Sheikh Hasina, the eldest daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who led Bangladesh to independence and served as its first president, has repeatedly won general elections and has been the country's prime minister for many years. From the above analysis, it was noticed that the current Prime Minister, Sheikh Hasina, has been carrying on her father's values and ideology of national development. Those values that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman promoted are mainly described as love, peace, and freedom and are specifically referred to as Bangabandhu's philosophy (Palak, 2021). In this context, *Bangabandhu* means "Friend of Bengal" or "father of the nation" in Bengali. On the other hand, Hasina and her party have succeeded in holding on to power based on their immense power and recent record of rapid economic growth, which makes it difficult for the opposition to mobilize and for the media to speak out against the current regime.

Looking at the policy stream, the General Economics Division (GED) of the Planning Commission under the Ministry of Planning has been formulating the

Perspective Plan, a long-term goal for national development, and the Five Year Plan, a medium-term goal based on the Perspective Plan, and these plans basically face the above-mentioned problems and propose measures and strategies to solve them. It is very remarkable that the SDGs have been integrated and linked to these national development plans since the UN announced the SDGs. In the meantime, after the introduction of the SDGs, the MoE and the MoPME established *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* for the successful implementation of SDG4, and later developed *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*. Prior to this, education in Bangladesh has traditionally operated at the sub-sector level through the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) under the MoPME and the Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP) under the MoE, with no sector-wide and integrated plan. Regarding the curriculum, the next curriculum revision work started in 2017, followed by the formation of the Curriculum Development Revision Core Committee. However, due to financial issues, the work was delayed, and it was decided that the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) would be solely responsible for the revision, which began in earnest in 2019. During the revision process, the NCTB also organized and provided GCED-related training specifically for its faculties and other curriculum development professionals. Meanwhile, the Curriculum Development Revision Core Committee prepared the *National Curriculum Outline, Pre-Primary to Class XII* ate the end of 2020, which was reviewed and revised by the NCTB and submitted to the National Curriculum Coordination Committee (NCCC) ("Emphasis on Learning," 2022), and then approved in principle by the Prime Minister in September 2021 2021 ("Major Changes in Education," 2022), and officially approved at the joint meeting of the two National Curriculum

Coordination Committees (NCCCs) of the MoE and the MoPME in May 2022 ("The changes coming," 2022).

Fourthly, the economic stream can be viewed from two perspectives. One is an improvement in economic status, with Bangladesh moving up from a Lower-Income Country (LIC) to a Lower Middle-Income Country (LMIC) according to the World Bank in 2015 (The World Bank, 2015). Moreover, Bangladesh satisfied all the UN criteria to graduate from Least Developed Country (LDC) to a developing country in 2018, and is expected to formally graduate from LDC in 2024 (General Economics Division, 2020a). With this economic growth, in March 2020, the government of Bangladesh finally announced *the Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2021-2041*, which includes Vision 2041, a roadmap "to become an Upper Middle-Income Country (UMIC) and eliminate extreme poverty by 2031, and to achieve a High-Income Country (HIC) status by 2041" (General Economics Division, 2020b, p. 5). The economic stream can also be seen from an ODA perspective. Specifically in the education sector, Bangladesh joined the Global Partnership for Education (GPE), a type of multilateral ODA, as a partner country in 2015 and has received a total of USD 179,705,715 since then. Only for the purpose of responding to COVID-19, the World Bank provided USD 15 million in 2021-2022, and UNICEF Office in Bangladesh received USD 140,000 in 2020 to support the MoE (Global Partnership for Education, 2021). The support from GPA enabled the development of Bangladesh's first education sector integrated plan, *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*, mentioned above. In addition, the country received support for the formulation of *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* by joining UNESCO's Capacity Development for Education Programme (CapED) (2016-2021), which

aims to help developing countries in designing and implementing education reforms that are essential for achieving national development priorities and implementing SDG4 (UNESCO, 2022a), and recently decided to participate in a follow-up program focusing on at monitoring and following up on Phase 1 activities and localizing SDG4 at the sub-national level (UNESCO Office in Dhaka, 2022).

Regarding the international (educational) space, fifthly, it can be seen that Bangladesh has been actively involved not only in the implementation of the SDGs, but also in agenda setting and monitoring. For example, Bangladesh submitted *the Post 2015 Development Agenda: Bangladesh Proposal* to UN in 2013 as a member of the UN-Open Working Group for setting up the SDGs (General Economics Division, 2013); formed a high-level coordination mechanism after the adoption of the SDGs to align the national development plan with the SDGs and formulate various action plans and strategies, including financing and monitoring; and has been actively involved in the formulation and monitoring of SDG4 indicators as a member and observer country of the Technical Cooperation Group on the Indicators for SDG4-Education 2030 (TCG) (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2017; 2020). When it comes to GCED, the country has supported and promoted it as a champion country of the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) (United Nations, n.d.a), which first proposed global citizenship as an education agenda, and is a member of UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education Friendship Group since 2020 (UNESCO APCEIU, 2020).

Finally, main government department involved in the introduction of GCED-integrated curriculum was the General Economics Division (GED) of the Planning Commission under the Ministry of Planning, which is responsible for

planning and leading the alignment and integration of the SDGs with the national development plan, establishing strategies to implement the SDGs, as well as coordinating and making decisions with international organizations and donor countries. Then, the MoE, in collaboration with the MoPME, specifically matched its educational goals to SDG4 and planned the revision of GCED-integrated curriculum. The actual curriculum revision work was carried out by the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB), a Ministry of Education-affiliated organization, and it was not seen to have influenced policy formation or policy making, as decision-making authority rests with the MoE. Lastly, another key stakeholder was the international organization UNESCO, which was identified as supporting the government at various levels, not only in the curriculum revision work, but also in the development of *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* and *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework*, and subsequent implementation of the GCED. In the above process of integrating GCED into Bangladesh's national curriculum, policy windows were opened twice, and the occurrence of these policy windows appears to have been most influenced by economic flow and the international (educational) space of the SDGs era.

   <Figure IV-3> also briefly shows how each stream is combined to open the policy windows. The first window was opened at the time of the 2011 curriculum revision with the introduction of a new subject *Bangladesh and Global Studies* for the purpose of cultivating history, geography and citizenship by acquiring knowledge on environment, climate and other global issues in the 21st century. Through this, students could learn more about the interconnected world and global issues, but the development of citizenship at the national level was emphasized rather than at the global level. Later, a second policy window was

opened as the timing of revising the curriculum and establishing *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* and *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* overlapped. The demands and needs of revising the curriculum tailored to the rapid changing environment has been consistently mentioned in the Five Year Plans. Finally, the curriculum revision began in 2017 centered on the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB), but it continued to be delayed due to financial problems, and eventually began in earnest as the NCTB took over all its roles in 2019. Around the same time, the MoE formulated *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* that included the need to mainstream GCED into the curriculum, followed by *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* that set the achievement of SDG4 itself as its overarching goal. Considering that GCED-integrated curriculum revision is in line with these *National SDG4 Strategic Framework* and *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*, it can be said that the delay in curriculum revision rather bought time for these framework and plan to be developed and approved, so GCED to be mainstreamed into the revised curriculum.

CHAPTER V. DUSCUSSION

Previously, in Chapter 4, the contextual factors – policy, political, economic and international factors – were examined using the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), and it was found that government ministries particularly the General Economics Division (GED) of the Ministry of Planning and the MoE in cooperation with the MoPME, as well as the international organization UNESCO, were policy entrepreneurs, namely key stakeholders in driving this policy change. This chapter will take an in-depth look at the dynamics between these two, government ministries and UNESCO, in the process of introducing the GCED-integrated curriculum, and discuss how and why these dynamics came about from their perspectives.

In the process of introducing the policy identified above, stakeholders such as the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) and the Curriculum Development Revision Core Committee organized by the NCTB also appeared, but as mentioned earlier, they had no policy-making power and in fact played a role in implementing the decisions made above. In general, it is also true that opposition parties, media, civil society, and policy consumers such as teachers, parents or students are frequently involved in the policy formation and policy making process and their opinions are actively reflected. In the current situation in Bangladesh, however, it is rather difficult for them to voice their opinions to the government, and it seems virtually impossible for particularly negative opinions to be reflected in policy. Therefore, this study identifies the General Economics Division (GED) of the Ministry of Planning, and the MoE (in cooperation with the MoPME) as key stakeholders, or policy entrepreneurs, in

the government that drove this policy change.

5.1. Dynamics between Key Stakeholders in the Introduction of the GCED-integrated Curriculum in Bangladesh

<Figure IV-3> above illustrates the process of introducing the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh, focusing on contextual factors based on each stream, and identifies the stakeholders in the process. However, the ultimate concern of this study was to understand what interactions and dynamics occurred between key stakeholders, particularly the government of Bangladesh and UNESCO, during the process of introducing the policy, and why these relationships were formed. Therefore, to find answers to these questions, <Figure IV-3> was reorganized by centering on the stakeholders, which is shown in <Figure V-1>.

To look at the process of introduction of GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh, we need to go beyond the curriculum revision stage to the national development planning stage. As soon as the SDGs were officially announced by the UN, the Prime Minister's Office designated and assigned a Principal Coordinator to oversee the fulfilment of the SDGs, and the General Economics Division (GED) of the Ministry of Planning developed a long- and medium-term plan for national development in line with the SDGs, and formulated various strategies for the implementation of the SDGs. Based on this, each ministry has developed its sectoral plan, in the case of the MoE, the *Education Sector Plan (ESP)*.

Establishing the National Development Plan

Revising the Curriculum

Prime Minister's Office	• Appoint a Principal Coordinator for SDGs affairs → Lead the 'International Ministerial Committee on SDGs Implementation Review' → Organize 'SDGs Implementation and Monitoring Committee'

GED, Planning Commission	• **Align SDGs with national development goals** • Establish the mid/long-term National Development Plans • Establish the plan and strategies to implement SDGs

UNESCO (incl. Dhaka Office, APCEIU, MGIEP)

MoE (w. MoPME)	• Organize the National Expert Team to conduct Education Sector Analysis (ESA) • Establish Education Sector Plan (ESP) based on the ESA → **Achievement of SDG4 included as a main goal of ESP** • Establish the National SDG4 Strategic Framework

Support through Global Partnership for Education (GPE)

Support through Capacity Development for Education (CapED) programme

NCTB	• **Review and revise the National Curriculum ← "GCED integrated"** : Organize Curriculum Development Revision Core Committees → Develop the National Curriculum Outline : Review, modify and submit the National Curriculum Outline

Cooperate with NCTB to provide GCED-related workshops for the faculties of NCTB and curriculum developers
(by *UNESCO, APCCEIU and MGIEP*)

Prime Minister & NCCs	• Prime Minister: Approve the revised curriculum in principle • NCCs of the MoE and MoPME: Officially Approve the revised curriculum

Translate the GCED guidebook into Bengali

Implementing the GCED-integrated Revised Curriculum & Promoting GCED at the School Level

Support through other individual projects

<Figure V-1> Dynamics between Key Stakeholders in the Process of Introducing the GCED-integrated Curriculum in Bangladesh

In this plan, achieving SDG4 itself was set as an overarching educational goal, and curriculum revision was included as one of the goals to be pursued over a five-year period. The MoE also established the *National SDG4 Strategic Framework*, which clearly stated the need to further strengthen and link GCED in the curriculum in relation to the indicator of SDG4.7.

Based on the *Education Sector Plan (ESP)* and the *National SDG4 Strategic Framework*, the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB), an autonomous organization under the MoE, finally embarked on curriculum revision work in relation to GCED. The actual curriculum revision work was carried out by the *Curriculum Development Revision Core Committee* organized by the NCTB, and the National Curriculum Outline developed by the Committee was reviewed by the NCTB, submitted to the *National Curriculum Coordination Committee (NCC)*, and finally approved by the NCC and the Prime Minister. As a result, this revised curriculum began to be implemented in some grades from January this year. What I can see from this is that the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum is actually part of the government's efforts to realize its national development plan aligned with the SDGs, and the process has been very top-down, starting with the Prime Minister's Office, then the GED of the Ministry of Planning, the MoE, and finally the NCTB under the MoE.

Most of these processes were actively supported by UNESCO, and the government of Bangladesh appears to have cooperated actively with UNESCO. The implementation and dissemination of GCED at these different levels has been achieved through a variety of activities, including not only the GCED-integrated revised curriculum, but also the formulation of policies to lay the groundwork, and programmes/projects to promote GCED at the school level, and

most importantly through partnerships and collaborations between UNESCO field offices, Category 1 and 2 institutions and centers such as UNESCO-MGIEP and the UNESCO APCEIU, and UNESCO National Commissions. It is particularly noteworthy that in addition to GCED, UNESCO was also highly involved in the formulation of the Education Sector Plan (ESP), the education policy of the MoE, and the National SDG4 Strategic Framework, the government of Bangladesh's direction and strategy for SDG4 implementation. As mentioned earlier, the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh was based on these policy and strategy documents, and UNESCO was involved in the formulation of all of them. In other words, it seems that UNESCO's involvement in the formulation of Bangladesh's policies and strategies from a long-term perspective helped to build the foundation for the implementation of the SDGs and the GCED as a whole, making the later activities possible.

So how has this dynamic been possible? Or, to put it another way, why and how did Bangladesh decide to introduce the GCED-integrated curriculum as part of its national development plan in line with the SDGs and actively partner with UNESCO? And why and how did UNESCO go beyond simply supporting Bangladesh's GCED efforts and become actively involved from policy formulation to implementation? In the following, the study will take a closer look at this from the perspective of the Bangladeshi government and UNESCO.

5.2. Why GCED-integrated Curriculum in Bangladesh? Different Views from the Government of Bangladesh and UNESCO

5.2.1. The Government of Bangladesh: Eventually Economic Development for National Development

From <Figure V-1> above, it has been found that the introduction of GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh should be seen as part of the government's efforts to achieve a national development plan that is in fact aligned with the SDGs. This section will discuss why the government needed to align its national development plan with the SDGs, how GCED-integrated curriculum fits and operates within that plan, and ultimately, what this curriculum means for Bangladesh.

1) National Development Plan Aligned with SDGs

The first national development plan to incorporate the SDGs was *the 7th Five Year Plan (FY2016-2020)*. However, in this case, due to the overlap between the end of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the launch of the SDGs, the goals proposed by the Open Working Group (OWG) as the post-2015 SDGs and endorsed the Rio+20 outcome document, "The future we want" which encourages nations to forge compacts for sustainable and inclusive development in line with the UN post-2015 development agenda were reflected instead of the final SDGs (General Economics Division, 2015, p. 31). As a result, inclusive development and sustainable development were added to this Five Year Plan alongside economic development mostly related to GDP growth acceleration, employment generation and rapid poverty reduction, a theme that has been

emphasized in the past (General Economics Division, 2015, p. xxxv).

Since then, a new long-term plan, *the Perspective Plan of Bangladesh (2021-2041)*, and a medium-term plan based on it, *the 8th Five Year Plan (July 2020-June 2025)*, have been developed in succession, and compared to *the 7th Five Year Plan (FY2016-2020)*, the SDGs are more deeply embedded in these plans. For example, *the Perspective Plan of Bangladesh (2021-2041)* clarifies the implementation of the SDGs through two five-year plans over the next 10 years, linking and strengthening the SDGs across the most sectors such as human development, agriculture, and employment. In *the 8th Five Year Plan (July 2020-June 2025)*, achieving SDG targets has been set as one of the six major themes.

Building on these long-term and medium-term plans, the MoE and the MoPME developed *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* in the same year. While the above plans highlighted the SDGs as key themes and provided a direction for national development, *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* included the attainment of SDG4 as the overarching education goal, as follows:

> "To contribute to achieving the SDG4 goal of equitable, accessible and quality education towards building a sustainable and prosperous society and promoting lifelong learning for all, in line with the objective of Bangladesh becoming a developed country by 2041."
>
> (Ministry of Education, 2020, p. 11)

In the case of Bangladesh, the SDGs are not just a rhetorical phrase in policy documents, but are actually linked and aligned with national development plans, and policy efforts to practice them seems to be highly organized. As shown in MSF's analysis of the international (educational) space in Chapter 4, the General

Economics Division (GED) developed a number of strategies to implement the SDGs, including the establishment of *the National Action Plan for SDGs*, which identifies SDG targets to be implemented by ministries and assigns the lead ministry/division and the associated ministry/division in charge (General Economics Division, 2018a). It also developed *the SDGs Financing Strategy: Bangladesh Perspective* to finance the successful implementation of the SDGs. Regarding monitoring, the General Economics Division (GED) also created *the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Framework of SDGs* and has periodically published *the SDGs Progress Report*. In addition, the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) and the Statistics and Informatics Division (SID), in collaboration with other government departments, including the Genera Economics Division, have launched and operated *the SDGs Tracker*, a web-based data storage system that can check the implementation and fulfilment of SDGs along with national development goals.

So why has Bangladesh so committed to fulfilling the SDGs, even in conjunction with its national development plans? In this regard, we should not overlook the fact that as a developing country, foreign assistance can be an important source of funding for Bangladesh to achieve national development. According to the above MSF's analysis of the economic stream, Bangladesh had seen a quantitative decline in the overall dependence of the economy on foreign assistance for some time in the past - for example, immediately after independence, 100% of the annual development plan was financed through ODA, but this figure declined in the 1990s and was measured at less than 50% in 2011 (Hasan 2011). By contrast, qualitative dependence, such as having a critical influence on policy agenda setting or formation, seems to have remained or

rather strengthened. In this respect, Rehman Sobhan (2007), a prominent Bangladeshi economist argued as below.

> The psychology of dependence on donors has become ingrained in the psyche of military, political and bureaucratic decision makers in Bangladesh who remain firmly convinced, even today, that donors hold their political lifeline in their hand.
>
> (Sobhan, 2007, p. 54)

How foreign aid influences national policy in Bangladesh is best exemplified by the case of Global Partnership for Education (GPE), a type of global fund within Multilateral ODA. Since joining the GPE in 2015, the country has received USD 179,705,715 for total grant support. Only for the purpose of responding to COVID-19, the World Bank provided USD 15 million in 2021-2022, and UNICEF Office in Bangladesh received USD 140,000 in 2020 to support the MoE (Global Partnership for Education, 2021). Especially, while the first grant from GPE, the Education Sector Plan Implementation Grant (ESPIG), allowed the MoPME to use the full budget to implement the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP), which was already underway, the second ESPIG was conditional on conducting an *Education Sector Analysis (ESA)* and developing *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*. The government of Bangladesh accepted these conditions and received a second ESPIG, as well as a separate grant, the Education Sector Plan Development Grant (ESPDG), to fulfill these conditions. The resulting *Education Sector Plan (ESP)* included the achievement of SDG4 as part of its overarching education goal, as noted above.

In this context, GPE's second grant is seen as a conditional grant based on the

completion of *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* and *Education Sector Analysis (ESA)*, but on the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that Bangladesh may have accepted these conditions as a means to successfully implement its planned and ongoing sub-sector plan. In fact, GPE seems to be aware of this to some extent, citing that "However, within both MoPME and MoE there is a near universal belief that the prime purpose of a new *Education Sector Plan (ESP)* is to trigger additional GPE financial support via an ESPIG" (Universalia, 2020, p. 23). Furthermore, GPE noted in its report that main reason for the government's decision to qualify for GPE membership also appears to be based on the need to narrow the existing funding gap (Universalia, 2020, p. 13). This seems to correspond to the external sources, including Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Foreign Aid and Grants, one of the types of financing presented by the government in its *SDGs Financing Strategy: Bangladesh Perspective*, to estimate the approximate funding required for the successful implementation of SDGs. A Bangladesh expert in the Dhaka office of a U.S.-based non-governmental organization (NGO) that has worked primarily with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) explained via email that Bangladeshi policies are very much in line with the SDGs, and the government seems to perceive this as necessary in order to receive ODA and loans from developed donors and international organizations.

From this, this study argues that the Bangladeshi government is ultimately using international assistance to finance the implementation of its already established national development plan, and that the alignment of its policies with the SDGs should be seen as a strategy by the government to externally demonstrates its commitment to the SDGs and secure more international

assistance. Especially since Bangladesh is a country that has received huge support from the international community for a long time and has a lot of experience working with international organizations and developed donor countries, it would have learned from experience how to work effectively and efficiently with them and how to get more support from them. In fact, according to the Sustainable Development Report 2022 (Sachs et al., 2022), which measures the SDGs Index annually, from the adoption of the SDGs in 2015 to 2021, East and South Asia made the most progress in implementing the SDGs, with Bangladesh having the largest change in SDG Index Score among all countries (p. 12). Furthermore, in the category of government commitment to the SDGs, Bangladesh was categorized as a moderate SDG commitment country, as it met the following criteria: high-level statements, SDG strategy, SDGs into sectoral action plans, national SDG monitoring, and a designated lead unit. Bangladesh has also seen a sharp increase in net ODA and official development assistance received since 2010, as shown in <Figure V-2>, and ranked second among the top 10 ODA recipients in 2020-2021 according to the OECD (OECD, n.d.b).

In summary, the Bangladesh's active implementation of the SDGs has attracted more international support, and its linkage to government policies and demonstration of SDG achievements are evidence of the government's commitment to the SDGs to the international community.

<Figure V-2> Net Official Development Assistance and Official Aid Received by Bangladesh
(in billions of USD)

2) Competency-based Curriculum in Bangladesh

Considering that global citizenship education is an indicator of SDG 4.7, the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum should be also viewed in the same context as the above, that is to say, as a strategy to gain more international support by demonstrating progress in SDGs and thereby achieve national development goals. Then how did the government connect and make the GCED-integrated curriculum work within the existing national development plan? First, from Chapter 4 above, the following points were made. First, Bangladesh's education policy has consistently emphasized enhancing the country's competitiveness through human resource development through education, and this is now still being reinforced by the government's new goal of becoming an upper middle income country. To this end, secondly, the 2021 revision of the

curriculum is particularly aimed at improving educational coordination between the two school levels, primary and secondary schools, and matching the competencies acquired in school with those required in the actual job market. Third, the revision of the 2021 curriculum has resulted in the inclusion of the GCED in the Comprehensive Skills Framework and the 2021 National Competency-Based Curriculum Framework, and as a result, global citizenship is included in the learning areas, key competencies, and directly stated in the revised curriculum outline. As a result, competency-based curriculum, which was previously applied only at the primary level, has been expanded and strengthened to the secondary level with the aim of strengthening human capacities for economic development, and global citizenship has been included as an important competency in this process. Therefore, before discussing how GCED connects to and works within competency-based curriculum, it is important to take a look at competency-based curriculum in Bangladesh.

Competencies have emerged as a concept to describe the transformation of education systems in recent decades. In public education, competency-based education and curricula have been promoted and disseminated mainly in Western industrialized countries as recognition of the importance of competencies has spread amidst moves to develop curricula that meet national economic needs (So, 2007). In particular, the OECD's Defining and Selecting Core Competencies (DeSeCo) project, launched in 1997, led the competency-based curriculum discourse by introducing competencies into schooling, moving away from the traditional view of competencies centered on vocational education and training (TVET) and adult education. Competency-based curricula are considered appropriate to address changing social, economic, and technological needs and

demands to achieve sustainable development and address youth unemployment and underemployment by emphasizing the acquisition of a range of skills, knowledge, behaviors, and attitudes (Maodzwa-Taruvinga, M. & Cross, M., 2012), and specify learning standards that describe the competencies students should achieve through learning activities (Obaydullah & Jahan, 2020, p. 56).

Bangladesh introduced competency-based primary curriculum in the early 1990s when primary education was converted to be compulsory, and textbooks, teachers' guides, and supplementary teaching and learning materials were all modified accordingly (Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation, 2014; Molla, 2021; Roy, 2016). The background to its introduction is that *the 1st Five Year Plan (1973-1978)* set one of its goals for primary education to closely align the curriculum with real life (Planning Commission, 1973). Then, during the period of *the 3rd Five Year Plan* (1985-1990), the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) finally conducted comprehensive revision of primary school curriculum with the ultimate goal to meet the demands of Universal Primary Education (UPE) at primary level (International Bureau of Education-UNESCO, 2000, p. 67). In this context, NCTB embarked on a qualitative reform of primary education through the curriculum renewal programme in 1986 (Ahmed et al., 2005, p. 88), which resulted in the development of a competency-based primary school curriculum, gradually implemented during the next Five Year Plan period (1990-1995) starting in Grade 1 and 2 in 1992.

As shown in <Figure V-3>, the competency-based curriculum at the primary education level in Bangladesh is basically composed of three types of competencies. Each specific competencies are given to all subjects from Grade 1 to 5, which is called subject-wise competencies, and the combination of

various subject-wise competencies for each grade is referred to grade-wise competencies. And students are expected to achieve both subject-wise and grade-wise competencies for the relevant grade by the end of a school year. Finally, terminal competencies are virtually a summary of all competencies by subject and grade, and students should attain all terminal competencies when completing primary education (Roy, 2016, pp. 10-11).
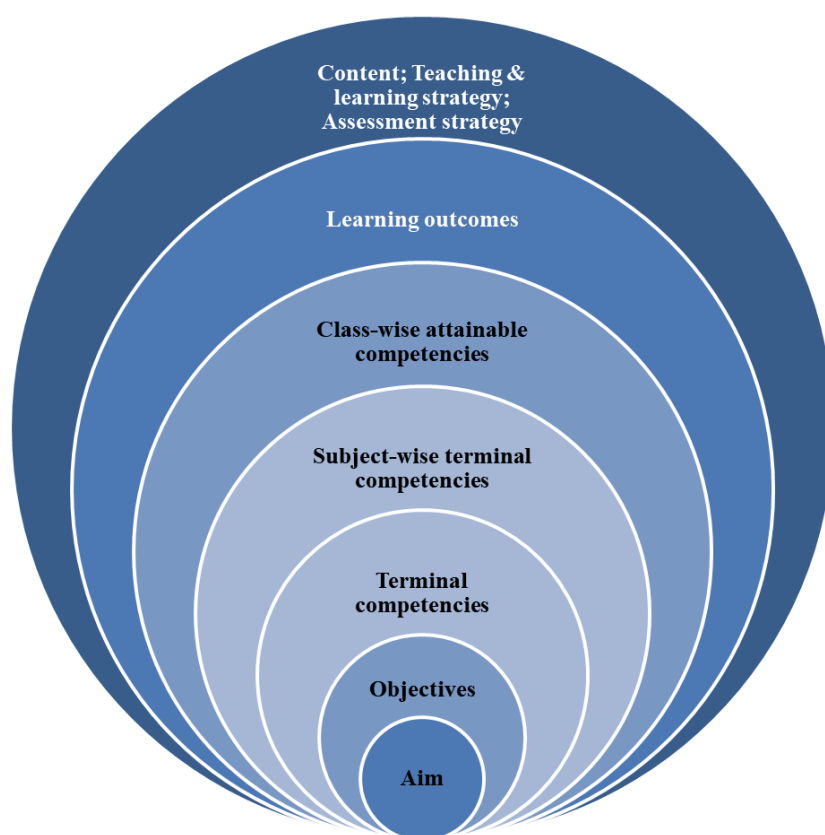
Source: Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (2014)

<Figure V-3> Structure of the National Primary Curriculum in Bangladesh

In 1989, National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) first adopted 53 competencies that needs to be achieved until the end of Grade 5 (NCTB & UNICEF, 1989; as cited in Nath, 2012). Later, Campaign for Popular Education

(CAMPE), which is an advocacy and campaign network operating in Bangladesh since 1991 (Campaign for Popular Education, n.d.), categorized the 53 terminal competencies for primary education into three groups: cognitive, psychomotor and affective domains that cover knowledge and thinking; physical activities and life skills; and faith attitude and interests, by applying the Bloom's taxonomy (Richards et al., 2008, p. 10). Then, the number of terminal competencies has been modified and reduced to 50 and 29 in 2000 and in 2011, respectively, mostly due to overlapping issues (Roy, 2015). The 29 terminal competencies of the 2011 revised curriculum can be found in the Appendix 6.

In the 2011 revised primary curriculum, contents suitable for 21st century education including critical thinking, communication, collaboration and creativity were highlighted in recognition of the necessity of developing competencies related to self-reliance, self-care and personal development. Prior to the revision, National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) conducted a need assessment for the curriculum revision, and in its result report clearly stated the need for students to equip with practical competencies that can be applied to real-world situations locally and globally (Obaydullah, A. K. M. & Jahan, N., 2020).

On the other hand, the secondary curriculum was developed in 1995 and revised for the first time in 2011 (National Curriculum and Textbook Board, 1995; as cited in Hossain, 2015). Although the secondary curriculum is known for objective-based one, the 2012 revision places great importance on the acquisition of 21st century skills as in primary education. It can be confirmed that the detailed guiding principles for the 2011 revised secondary curriculum in Appendix 7 also include learning skills necessary for the 21st century and skills

for employment after graduation. In addition, Hossain (2015) explains the main features of the 2011 revised secondary curriculum as follows: (i) integration of knowledge, skills and values, (ii) integration of 21st century skills into the curriculum to prepare for the 21st century and respond to global issues, and (iii) composition of new learning areas by designating ICT, and Bangladesh and Global Studies as core subjects, and by introducing new contents such as climate change and life skills related topics. In this respect, it seems to take a competency-based approach just like the primary curriculum, even though the secondary curriculum is called an objective-based curriculum. In the same context, Abdus Sattar Molla (2021), a curriculum researcher from National Institute of Education (NIE), Singapore, said in a local newspaper in Bangladesh that the secondary curriculum appears to contain more competency items than the primary curriculum, and that simply putting the educational objectives in the competency table cannot be considered as a competency-based curriculum.

While primary and secondary education previously operated through separate curricula, the 2021 curriculum has been revised to strengthen academic connections between different school levels and develop competencies that prepare students for the real world of work. In this process, as described in Chapter 4, global citizenship was included as the third of 10 key competencies to be mastered through the revised curriculum.

3) Strengthening and Expanding Competency-based Curriculum for Economic Development, and Global Citizenship as a Competency

Taken together, Bangladesh has been introducing and implementing competency-based curriculum in primary education since the early 1990s, before

the OECD's DeSeCo project, which spearheaded the global spread of competency-based curriculum. Through this revision, competency-based curriculum has been strengthened and expanded to the secondary education level, skills acquisition has been stressed more than ever, and global citizenship has been added as an important competency. So how does the GCED-integrated curriculum link to and work within the competency-based curriculum? In this regard, it is worth recalling this revised curriculum was designed to strengthen the connection between education and job market.

As previously verified by Kingdon's MSF analysis, the government of Bangladesh has set economic development as its top priority since independence-although the scope of national development has widened from only economic development and poverty reduction to inclusive and sustainable development, economic development is still at the center of national development. And, it has been considered that effective and productive labor force is essential for such economic development, and education is a means to improve the productivity of human resources. In other words, the government has pursued national development and economic development based on the so-called human capital theory. This government's position is also clearly stated in *the Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2021-2041* as follows.

> The government has been devoted to the development of youth and plans to continue investing in their future in the upcoming decades, so as to pave the way to achieving the development goals and commitments at the national level and the international level such as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
>
> <div align="right">(General Economics Division, 2020b, p. 62)</div>

As a result of continuous investment in education, quantitative improvements, particularly access to education, has been made, but qualitative improvement has emerged as another big educational issue. As moved away from its LIC status in 2015, Bangladesh has been putting all of its efforts to achieve economic development as it has done so far, or rather more than that, by establishing an upgraded long-term goal of entering a UMIC, and then later HIC. Increasing productivity and labor force through human resource development is more critical than ever, but the problem of youth unemployment is intensifying, and the government considers it as a factor that hinders the entire economic and national development. In this regard, the imbalance between education and labor market, mismatch between jobs and skills, low educational attainment, and low quality of education are all pointed out as the cause. At the same time, in today's highly globalized world, the government senses the need for cultivating competitive human resources not only domestically but also globally, and is strengthening its efforts to develop students' global competencies. Based on this, it can be easily inferred that the government approaches global citizenship as a competency to foster competitive talent in the global world, namely global market. Therefore, with this background, the relationship between education and employment and more specific situation will be examined below.

In the meantime, inconsistencies between education and labor market, and the low quality of education, which appear to be behind the recent curriculum revision, are concerns not only for the government but also for schools, students, and industries. In 2017, UNICEF (Daewan & Sarkar, 2017) conducted a survey of school administrators, students, employers and workers, and revealed that Bangladesh's education system is focused on academia and rote memorization

and neglects foundational skills, teaching methods and job-oriented education and training. Furthermore, it stressed the need to narrow the gap between skills employers require and those provided through school education, expressing concern about negative impacts on both students and the industry.

The main industries that have driven Bangladesh's economic development are low-value, labor-intensive industries such as garments and textiles, which required relatively cheaper and lower-skilled labor force (Daewan & Sarkar, 2017). Nonetheless, recent striking economic development, changes in the economic environment and structure, incorporation into the global economy, and technological advances have led to a surge in demands and needs for new or higher skilled labor force, whereas education has failed to keep up with these trends and productivity has continued to remain low with low quality of education, all of which has led to a disconnect between education and labor markets (Farole et al., 2017; World Bank Office Dhaka, 2018). At the same time, the impact of demographic transition on the economy is also emerging as a challenge for the government. Bangladesh has recently seen a rise in the proportion of the working age population, aged 15-64, due to a decrease in mortality and fertility rate. For example, a 2022 census report by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) showed that the percentage of the working-age population was measured at 65.53%, which was 60.62 percent in the 2011 census (Bidisha, 2022), with 27.82% of the total population being young generation, usually referred to the group aged 15-29 (Rahman, 2022). Thus, in this context of young population soaring, there has been a call for government policy efforts to develop students' competencies required from the industry and job markets and to create jobs to accommodate the increased graduated students and job seekers,

so that the country can ultimately seize the opportunity for demographic dividend[10] (Bidisha, 2022; Farole et al., 2017; Rahman, 2022; "Rise of Youth," 2014; World Bank Office Dhaka, 2018). The government has also recognized this issue and tried to come up with a solution. In 2020, the MoPME conducted an *Education Sector Analysis (ESA)*, and mentioned the inclusion of a huge population into the labor market every year, youth unemployment, and questions about the quality and relevance of education as the rationale for the survey in the very beginning of its report (Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2020, p. 24). As mentioned in the above MSF analysis, *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* was then established, and based on these, curriculum has been revised to reinforce competencies and skills while adding and integrating global citizenship as one of the competencies. In the same context, a local newspaper interviewed the Deputy Education Minister regarding this curriculum revision and issued an article as follows.

> "The Bangladeshi government has decided to adopt a competency-based education system to meet the country's growing demand of skilled manpower in the private sectors and address the enlarging unemployment problem. … Bangladesh has to hire an increasing number of foreign skilled manpower as the existing education curriculum failed to produce the required manpower in decades. …"
>
> (Sakib, 2021)

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[10] Demographic dividend refers to economic growth as a result of changes in a country's demographic age structure. In this regard, Kotschy and his colleagues (2020) specifically explain as follows: "An increase in the working-age population share has a strong and significant positive effect on growth, even conditional on human capital, in line with the conventional notion of a demographic dividend. An increase in human capital only has positive growth effects if combined with a suitable age structure. An increasing share of the most productive age groups has an additional positive effect on economic performance" (p. 25982).

With this background, the competency-based curriculum was more strengthened, and as described above, global citizenship education was integrated within the framework of the existing competency-based curriculum. Looking again at the revised curriculum outline in Appendix 2, it is clear that the government's intention with GCED is to develop students into citizens who can contribute to change in local and international society by respecting different cultures and understanding global issues, but it is more likely that the government is seeking to achieve national economic development by developing a future workforce that is competitive not only domestically but also internationally in today's interconnected and globalized world. In other words, the government is still taking the traditional stance of national economic development through enhancing human resource, only the scope has expanded to a global level. The Bangladeshi government's perspective on GCED is therefore in line with the OECD's concept of global competence, which considers global citizenship to be one of the important competences for students to acquire. As introduced in Chapter 2, different approaches to GCED from a neoliberal perspective, the OECD defines global competence as "a multi-dimensional construct that requires a combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values successfully applied to global issues or intercultural situations". It is important to note that the goal of this competence is ultimately focused on the "success" of individuals and societies in an interconnected world. Also, when looking at the expected outcomes of global competence, we can see that the basic values of GCED are included, but in addition, it is mentioned to prepare for work through capacity building (See [Table V-1]). Bangladesh's GCED-integrated curriculum also emphasizes GCED-related values, but it focuses heavily on strengthening

the national and international competitiveness of the future labor force, so it can be seen that it has more of a neoliberal, OECD global competence character than the original concept of GCED based on UNESCO's universal values.

[Table V-1] What to Expect from OECD's Global Competence

Global competence can help young people;
1) Develop cultural awareness and respectful interactions in increasingly diverse societies
2) Recognize and challenge cultural biases and stereotypes, and facilitate harmonious living in multicultural communities;
3) Prepare for the world of work, which increasingly demands individuals who are effective communicators, are open to people from different cultural backgrounds, can build trust in diverse teams and can demonstrate respect for others, especially as technology continues to make it easier to connect on a global scale
4) Capitalize on inherently interconnected digital spaces, question biased media representations, and express their voice responsibly online;
5) Care about global issues and engage in tackling social, political, economic and environmental challenges.

Source: OECD (n.d.e)

5.2.2. UNESCO: The Expansion of Global Governance

From <Figure V-1> above, it was seen that UNESCO has been actively involved not only in both the revision of the GCED-integrated curriculum and the implementation and promotion of GCED at the school level, but also in the formulation of the overall education policy and strategy for the realization of SDG4. In fact, the 2018-2019 Biennium Report of UNESCO's Dhaka office shows that during this period, UNESCO worked to localize and contextualize SDG4 by supporting Bangladesh's policy formulation and focused on SDG4.7, GCED, among other SDG4 targets (See [Table V-2]).

[Table V-2] Priority Areas for the UNESCO Office in Dhaka in 2018-2019

Focus Area		Sub Area
1. Strengthening National Capacities in Localizing SDG4-Education 2030	1.1	Developing National SDG4 Strategic Framework
	1.2	National Capacity Building for Education Data Strengthening
	1.3	Networking and Sharing of SDG4 Progress in Asia-Pacific Meeting on Education 2030
	1.4	Conducting a Review of the National Legislations on the Right to Education in light of SDG 4
	1.5	Conducting a Sector Analysis of Bangladesh's Education Sector in Preparation for Formulation of Education Sector Plan (ESP)
2. Contextualizing Relevant SDG4 Targets in Education Policies and Plans in Bangladesh	2.1	Enhancing Global Citizenship Education (GCED) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)
	2.2	Advocating Learning for Empathy for Secondary Teachers
3. Literacy and Non-formal Education	3.1	International Literacy Day (ILD) Celebrations
	3.2	Development of Guidebook on Equivalency Education Curriculum Assessment and Accreditation and Promotion of Literacy
4. Leveraging Information and Communications Technology (ICT) for Education	4.1	Digital Kids Asia-Pacific - Bangladesh Country Report on Insights into Children's Digital Citizenship
	4.2	Facilitating Progress Review Report 2019 on Master Plan for ICT in Education 2012-2021
	4.3	Promoting Guidebook on Advancing Mobile Literacy Learning in Bangladesh
5. Inclusive Education	5.1	Advancing Mother Tongue-Based Bilingual and Multilingual Education in Bangladesh
	5.2	Conducting Inclusive Education Research Report
6. Education in Emergency	6.1	Enhancing Education for Rohingya Refugees and Host Communities in the Cox's Bazar District
7. Understanding Education Dynamics	7.1	Promoting International Mother Language Day
	7.2	Promoting World Teachers Day
	7.3	Launch of Global Education Monitoring Reports in Bangladesh

Source: UNESCO Office in Dhaka (2020, p. 4)

In this regard, it is particularly notable that UNESCO has been able to effectively

and efficiently implement and disseminate GCED in Bangladesh, which has a very top-down policy process, by involving in education policy formulation from the very beginning.

So how can we understand UNESCO's holistic approach to GCED and its activities to support it, especially its engagement at the level of national policy formation? And why is GCED in Bangladesh important to UNESCO? Before getting to the answers, let's take a look at the role of international organizations in the international community and UNESCO's situation and position within it.

1) The Rise of Other International Organizations in Education and the Shifting Position of UNESCO

Over the decades, a myriad of actors has emerged and their roles have changed in an increasingly pluralistic global politics. In particular, non-governmental sector actors have played an important role in the formulation and implementation of national policies, engaging in various activities including shaping global policy frameworks. In this context, international organizations and global governance, or the relationship between them, have been widely studied within the broader discipline of international relations. They are generally understood as sub-concepts of international relations, often used synonymously, or in some cases, global governance is thought of as something that international organizations do (Kobayashi, 2017; Weiss & Wilkinson, 2018).

First coined in the 1990s, global governance is a term that has been and continues to be used to address issues related to the emergence and recognition of transnational issues, the proliferation of non-state actors responding to the lack of state capacity, and the pluralization of the global political arena that has

occurred since the end of the Cold War (Zürn, 2018). Global governance is "the purposeful ordering that results from institutions, processes, norms, formal agreements, and informal mechanisms that regulate behavior for the common good, encompassing activities at the international, supranational, and regional levels, and involving public and private sector actors across borders" (Benedict, 2001). The Global Challenges Foundation (Global Challenges Foundation, n.d.) explains that the goal of global governance is roughly to provide global public goods, such as peace, security, conflict, justice, and arbitration systems.

According to Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (Weiss & Wilkinson, 2018), international organizations tend to refer primarily to formal interstate institutions that exercise or have the potential to exercise global influence, such as the UN, although less formal regional interstate institutions can also be classified as international organizations. Today, international organizations play a significant role in coordination and cooperation on a wide range of political, economic, social, military, and cultural issues and are seen as important participants in the international system that, along with nation-states, dominates international politics (Claude, Jr. & Larres, n.d.). As critical actors in global policymaking networks, international organizations have influenced the international community through hard governance, such as fiscal and regulatory instruments, and soft governance, such as agenda setting and persuasive tactics (Zapp, 2021). Soft governance refers to normative mechanisms, and in recent years, international organizations have focused on the role of soft governance in transferring knowledge (Jakobi, 2009) or establishing, promoting, and disseminating norms (Finnemore, 1993; Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Klotz 1995).

Michel Paul Foucault (1980) argued in his book that knowledge and truth are produced in power struggles and are used to authorize and justify the actions of power. Ian Macpherson (Macpherson, 2016) claimed that those who have the power of communication and information can produce more knowledge, which in turn creates more power. In other words, power creates knowledge, and knowledge becomes power. For Foucault, discourse is the "tactical dimension" of how power relations between institutions, groups, and individuals work (Peterson, 2001). Furthermore, he believes that modern domination is realized not through the display of power and repression, but through discipline, and that enforcing conformity to norms is therefore central to domination (Foucault, 2012). Taken together, those who develop and spread discourse are able to produce more knowledge, which in turn creates more power. Applying this to the relationship between international organizations and global governance, international organizations can exercise influence in the international community, or global governance, by developing, promoting, and spreading a global agenda.

In the past, UNESCO was arguably the pre-eminent international organization in education, leading the expansion of specialized discourse, agendas, or policies at the global level, but in recent decades it has been challenged by other economically-based international organizations. Indeed, many scholars have observed that the World Bank and OECD have grown to become influential policy makers in education, and thus major actors in the global governance of education, while UNESCO's influence has declined (Burnett, 2010; Mundy and Verger, 2015; Woodward, 2009).

The number of International Non-governmental Organizations (hereinafter referred to as "INGOs") exploded from the 1950, after World War II, through the

late neoliberal era (Ramirez et al., 2016; Union of International Associations UIA, 2013). While INGOs have traditionally focused on service delivery, their involvement in the policy process has increased over time (Bromley, 2010). Among these INGOs, education has traditionally been dominated by UN education specialized agencies such as UNESCO and UNICEF, but as education has been recognized as essential to national development, economic sector INGOs such as the World Bank and OECD have expanded their activities to include education. Especially in recent years, these organizations have used their huge capital (World Bank) or technical expertise in developing and providing education data (OECD) to advance global discourse and influence national policies. Their efficient and strategic production, dissemination, and transfer of policies and knowledge has effectively threatened UNESCO's position by giving these organizations legitimacy and a competitive advantage in global education governance (Woodward, 2009). Just look at the number of publications on education from the World Bank and OECD, and you can find that their involvement in education has grown exponentially, surpassing that of UNESCO (see <Figure V-4>). Below, we will take a closer look at these international organizations, UNESCO, the World Bank, and the OECD, which have dominated global education governance.

Firstly, established in 1945 as the specialized agency for education of the UN, UNESCO has defined and promoted education as a human right and as a tool and essential element in efforts to create and foster a more secure and peaceful world order. Beginning with its call for member states to provide free and compulsory primary education in the context of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (United Nations, 1948), UNESCO has over the years led the way in

educational knowledge production and dissemination, standard-setting, and capacity building, with particular priority given to the right to education, gender equality in education, literacy, and support for teachers (UNESCO, n.d.b). However, UNESCO has consistently struggled to strengthen or sustain its policies and capabilities due to its normative leadership based on a universal value system, conflicts with key member states over its political stance on behalf of emerging economies, the subsequent withdrawal of some members, and chronic budget shortfalls (Burnett, 2011; Engel and Rutowski 2012; Pavone, 2007).
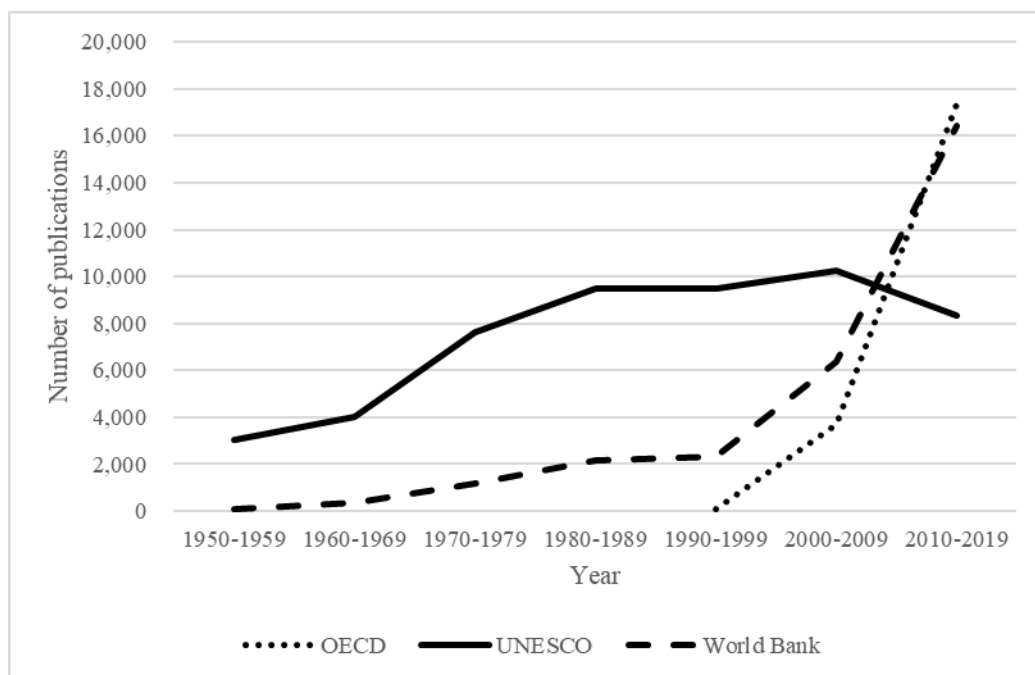
Source: Reconstructed by author with the data from OECD (n.d.d); UNESCO (n.d.a); The World Bank (n.d.a)

Note: The figures above represent the number of publications of all kinds that have "education" as a topic or theme. For the OECD, the number of publications was only available from the period 1996-1999.

<Figure V-4> Changes in the Number of Publications in Education
by International Organizations

In this context, the World Bank has evolved from a large, well-capitalized global financial institution to a critical institution responsible for funding, advising, and designing education policy around the world, and has become the most influential international organization in education, particularly in developing countries. Founded to rebuild Europe after World War II, the World Bank is the largest single provider of development finance to developing countries (The World Bank Group, n.d.), and its stability and dominance of internal resources have made it central to global governance in social policy in the Global South. Since its inception, education has not been as important as other social sectors to the bank, which has expanded its lending activities to newly independent developing countries by financing infrastructure projects such as roads and dams. However, as education gained prominence in terms of improving the productivity of workers and expanding the economy, the Bank began to pay attention to education by providing loans in 1962 to invest in the education system (Jones, 1997).

As part of the UN system, the World Bank had a close relationship with UNESCO in the early years of its education work. The World Bank and UNESCO signed a co-operative agreement in 1964, establishing a joint UNESCO-World Bank department, the Educational Financing Division (EFD) at UNESCO headquarters (Edwards & Storen, 2017). At the time of the agreement, the partnership began as a fairly equal one, with UNESCO providing technical expertise in education and the World Bank financing these projects (Elfert, 2018; 2021), but soon the partnership weakened as the demand for educational loans skyrocketed and the World Bank built its own staff for education programmes/projects. In other words, the World Bank's financial dominance

changed the dynamic between UNESCO and the World Bank. S. P. Heyneman (2003) commented on the situation at the time, "UNESCO's cooperative Program for instance was 75% financed by the Bank hence often placing UNESCO in a position of compromise. The bank virtually had the field of education policy to itself" (pp. 328-329).

After initially focusing on resources for infrastructure and workforce development, the World Bank emphasized basic and early childhood education in the 1970s and 1980s, and today it becomes the world's largest financier and implementer of programmes/projects in education, covering all sectors of education, from higher education to lifelong learning (Zapp, 2021). The Bank is also very active in education sector research, with a dedicated research department and a wide range of external experts. While the World Bank's high profile and influence in the field of education persisted, Karen Mundy and Antoni Verger (2015) argued that this hegemony would be challenged in the future, and Kjell Rubenson (2008) predicted the growing influence of the OECD due to its ability to shape a "common sense of society." Indeed, the OECD has become a major international player in 21st century education policy, contributing to the development of global education policy through its soft power, such as the production and provision of education data.

Founded in 1961 to rebuild Europe under the U.S. Marshall Plan, the OECD has focused on economic policy from the outset, with the Convention on the OECD setting out the highest sustainable economic development and employment, and expansion of world trade as the organization's main objectives (OECD, n.d.c). For the OECD, which had a neoliberal policy orientation, education was viewed as the extent to which science and math education should

be strengthened to nurture knowledge workers for economic development. The globalization of the economy has led individual countries to focus more on the production of human capital, and in this context, international comparative performance data has become key to assessing a country's potential economic competitiveness (Brown et al., 1997). In effect, data on human capital has become a measure of the competitiveness of a country's economy. This growing global interest in education statistics led the OECD to launch PISA in 1997 and administer it for the first time in 2000 (OECD, 2017; OECD, n.d.a). While the OECD has long been involved in education policy, the success of PISA made it a central actor in the field since the 1990s, and the creation of the Directorate for Education in 2002 and its expansion into the Education and Skills Directorate in 2012 further strengthened its position within the organization (OECD, 2010). Meanwhile, the OECD has been expanding the scope and scale of its education work by developing a series of programs such as PISA for Development, PISA for adults (PIAAC), and PISA for schools, as well as expanding the scope of education assessment to non-cognitive areas. In other words, by reinforcing its statistical work and enlarging its scope and scale, the OECD could exert a cognitive influence on politicians and policymakers in OECD member countries as well as non-OECD countries (Carroll & Kellow, 2011) and influence education globally by producing and providing statistics, especially international comparative data, needed for national policy making. Therefore, this expansion of the OECD's assessment work in education can be seen as an expansion of its global governance role as well as that of its infrastructure. In the same vein, Kerstin Martens and Anja P. Jakobi (2010) explained that "the OECD today not only defines the problem, but also offers the solution... With the new generation

of indicators, the Organization has therefore gained an important status in several stages of national policy-making, ranging from agenda setting to policy formulation and implementation" (p. 176). As a result, the OECD has become a very powerful policy actor, using its expertise to exercise a wide range of influence in education policy around the world. As early as 2009, Woodward claimed, the OECD had surpassed UNESCO to become the leading international organization in education.

2) UNESCO's Efforts to Secure Global Governance by Leading the Global Education Agenda

As described above, UNESCO's role in global governance of education has been diminished by the rise of the World Bank and OECD, whose resources, originality and expertise have become critical to gaining competitive advantage in an increasingly complex global policy arena. Despite these challenges, UNESCO has continued to work to secure and maintain its leadership position in global education policy. For example, as the lead agency for Education For All (hereinafter referred to as "EFA"), UNESCO was responsible for coordinating international efforts to achieve EFA (UNESCO, 2014b), specifically providing normative and technical policy leadership on related issues (Menashy & Manion, 2016). Subsequently, it was mandated to lead the Global Education 2030 Agenda through SDG4, providing global and regional leadership in education, as well as efforts to strengthen education systems and advance quality education worldwide. In particular, based on the Education 2030 Agenda and Framework for Action, also known as Target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Agenda, it has recently taken the lead in the implementation and dissemination of GCED. In its report,

UNESCO identified GCED as one of its 2020-2025 major programs, stating that "UNESCO will continue to sustain its global leadership in GCED through its normative guidance and intensify efforts to support national education systems operationalize these tools" (UNESCO, 2022b). In other words, UNESCO is continuing to build its legitimacy and influence in the international community by driving global support for huge global agendas such as EFA, SDG4, and GCED.

UNESCO's activities as a whole are characterized by a focus on global norm-setting, policy guideline formulation, and policy advice, rather than the implementation of individual programmes/projects (Menashy & Manion, 2016). In the case of the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh, UNESCO's holistic approach to GCED implementation and dissemination, and its influence from the education policy formulation stage, can be seen in the same context. In this regard, it is necessary to look at the above-mentioned lack of funding, and the institutional structure.

Firstly, regarding finances, UNESCO's budget is adopted on a biennial basis (UNESCO, 2023) and is funded by membership fees paid by each member country depending on its national wealth (UNESCO, 2015a, p. 19). However, decision-making within UNESCO is based on the one-country-one-vote principle (UNESCO, n.d.d), which has sometimes caused dissatisfaction among heavily dues-paying countries. For example, UNESCO's normative leadership and political stance in favor of developing countries over Western interests has led to the withdrawal of some member countries, which has badly damaged the already underfunded organization and further constrained its capacity. Especially, the United States, which had historically funded 22% of the organization's total

budget each year (Noce, 2023), suspended funding in 2013 in opposition to Palestinian membership in UNESCO ("US Loses UNESCO," 2013) and announced its formal withdrawal in 2017 (United Nations, 2017). This left UNESCO in severe financial difficulties. China has since emerged as the organization's largest financial donor, reportedly providing more than 15% of the organization's budget as of 2020 (Better World Campaign, n.d.). Budgetary constraints have not only led to programmatic difficulties, but also to a weakening of institutional expertise and a rigid organizational culture due to underfilling of research positions within UNESCO. In terms of budget allocation, the Integrated Budget Framework (IBF) for 2022-2023 allocates 3.3% of the total budget to general policy and direction, 10.8% to cooperative services (including administration and management, and headquarters common costs), and 10% to programme-related services (strategic planning, communication and public engagement, field offices programme management and support services etc.). Programmes received 75% of the budget, of which 47% was allocated to training (UNESCO, 2022b, p. 6).

When it comes to staffing and administration, UNESCO is a very centralized organization. As of 2020, 49% of all staff were based at headquarters (UNESCO, 2020, p. 5), and 41.6% of the total budget approved for 2022-2025 goes to headquarters (UNESCO, 2022b, p. 13) (See <Figure V-5> and <Figure V-6>). Some scholars have pointed out the inefficiencies caused by this centralized and bureaucratic structure of UNESCO and argued that structural changes are needed to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of its programmes/projects (Benavot, 2011; Heyneman, 2011). In particular, Aaron Benavot (2011) notes that persistent underfunding has resulted in a conservative bureaucracy and an introverted

organizational culture within UNESCO that prioritizes formality and procedures.
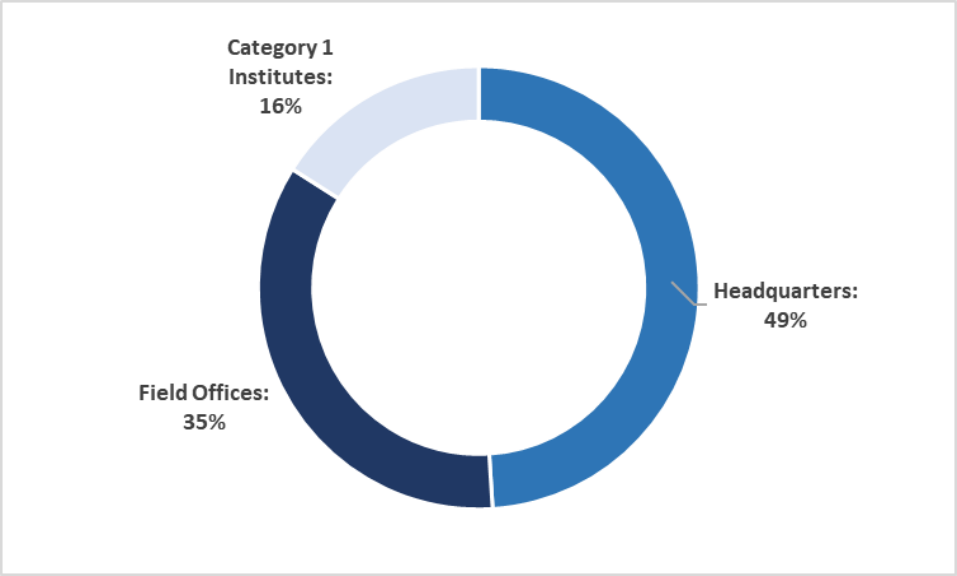
Source: Reconstructed by author with the data from UNESCO (2020, p. 5)
Note: Category 1 Institutes and Centres: UIS, IBE, IIEP, UIL, IITE, IICBA, IESALC, MGIEP, ICTP

<Figure V-5> UNESCO Staff Allocation by Region (June 2020)
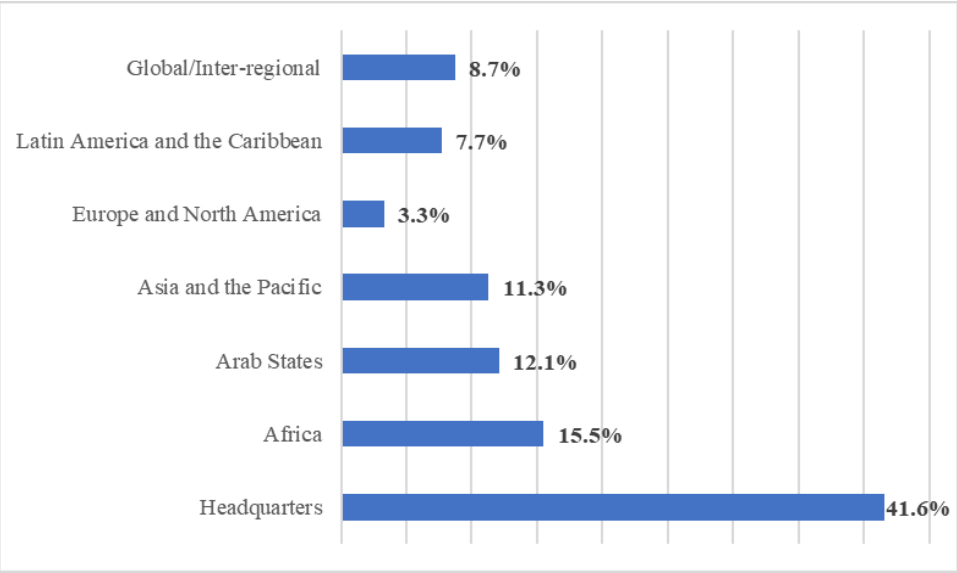
Source: Reconstructed by author with the data from UNESCO (2022b, p. 13)
<Figure V-6> UNESCO Budget Allocation by Region
(Approved Programme and Budget for 2022-2025)

This situation at UNESCO should not be viewed as a common feature among UN organizations. In the case of UNICEF, another UN agency specializing in education - although it is clearly different from UNESCO in that it acts as a humanitarian aid provider and relies on a fundraising system - about 85% of its staff is based in the field (UN Jobnet, n.d.), and according to its 2022-2025 budget, 89.2% of its budget is dedicated to programmes and only 6.4% to administration (UNICEF, 2021). This decentralized structure, and the flexibility it provides, is considered to allow UNICEF to be more responsive to local country conditions and project implementation (Menashy & Manion, 2016).

As we have seen above, in recent decades, UNESCO's position in the global education policy arena has narrowed due to persistent underfunding, a lack of researchers and institutional expertise, and a centralized structure that concentrates more resources and funding in the headquarters than in the field offices, while the influence of economic-based international organizations such as the World Bank and OECD has increased. In this situation, UNESCO, of course, as the specialized agency for education of the UN, still holds the title of setting global norms and consulting on education policy, but at the same time, it seems that it is more committed to the implementation, promotion and diffusion of the global education agenda in order to maintain and expand its influence, that is, global governance, by drawing international consensus, support and participation. GCED, one of the strategic areas of UNESCO's Education Sector programme, is a global education agenda that is grounded in UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Education 2030 Agenda and Framework for Action, Target 4.7 of the SDGs, the Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and

Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974), and the World Programme for Human Rights Education, and is highly reflective of UNESCO's fundamental values of peace and human rights education (UNESCO, n.d.c). UNESCO continues to prove its influence in international education, particularly by monitoring and measuring global citizenship as an indicator for SDG 4.7, providing policy-relevant data, and leading policy dialogue through its biennial Global Forum on Global Citizenship. And incorporating global citizenship into national curriculum is one of the many activities of UNESCO related to GCED. Meanwhile, engaging in policy formulation and implementing its global agendas in a top-down manner, as seen in the case of Bangladesh, can also be considered a strategy for UNESCO to maximize the efficiency and effectiveness of its work, given its limited budget and expertise.

3) Bangladesh in the Spotlight of UNESCO

As seen above, UNESCO has been engaged in a number of activities to integrate GCED into the curriculum as well as to build the capacity of teachers, implement and disseminate GCED at the school level. In addition, the GCED Curriculum Development and Integration Project and the GCED Cooperation Center Project are currently underway or planned. So why is UNESCO focusing so much on GCED in Bangladesh?

Firstly, the government of Bangladesh has shown a strong commitment to implementing GCED through its participation in various GCED-related activities in the International community, as well as by incorporating SDG 4.7 into its national policy, and its extensive experience in collaborating with UNESCO has

led to UNESCO's active support for GCED in Bangladesh. As mentioned earlier, Bangladesh was a champion country of the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI), which first put global citizenship on the education agenda, participated in the Friends for Global Citizenship Education Solidarity and Inclusion group formed by UNESCO in 2020 to promote international collaboration on GCED, and recently collaborated with the Islamic World Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ICESCO) to expand understanding and engagement   in global citizenship in Islamic cultures. Bangladesh's close collaboration with the United Nations and UNESCO is also worth noting, for example, the United Nations in Bangladesh jointly with the Government formulated the UN Development Assistance Framework 2017-2020 and the UN Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework (UNSDCF) 2021-2025, the latter of which is reflected in the Eighth Five-Year Plan (United Nations Bangladesh, n.d.a). Bangladesh also maintains a Permanent Delegation to UNESCO in Paris and has participated in various activities such as Vice President of General Conference of UNESCO, Committee on Conventions and Recommendations, Headquarters Committee, Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC), Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission of UNESCO (IOC), Legal Committee, and has been elected to the Executive Board of UNESCO six times in recognition of its contributions (Embassy of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Paris, n.d.). Indeed, in the Bangladesh feasibility study I participated in last year, GCED's connection and relevance to the partner county, as well as its working experience with UNESCO were among the priority factors considered for conducting the project.

Alongside this, and to put it in a very intuitive way, it can be also seen that UNESCO is also active in Bangladesh because it is an easy country to work with and produce results in. In fact, it is not only UNESCO, but also other international organizations and INGOs that are attracted to Bangladesh. Currently, there are 15 UN organizations, including UNESCO, and about 265 INGOs in Bangladesh (United Nations Bangladesh, n.d.b). From the perspective of planning and implementing aid programmes/projects, before selecting a partner country or starting a project in earnest, donors look at various factors such as the appropriateness of their programmes/projects for implementation in the country, linkage and consistency with local policies and existing activities, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, and sustainability in conducting the project, as well as similar aspects in evaluating the project at a later stage. And I can tell you that Bangladesh is a very attractive country in terms of its potential, its regional influence, and its favorable working environment.

To break this down further, firstly, Bangladesh is a country that has made significant progress in recent years and has a lot of potential for further development. Bangladesh is a country that has been growing rapidly, with an average annual growth rate of around 7 percent, even during times of global uncertainty, and its economic growth has remained strong during the COVID-19 pandemic, finally achieving Lower-Middle Income country status in 2015 and graduating from the UN's Least Developed Countries (LDC) list in 2026. The poverty rate has also decreased from 43.5% in 1991 to 14.3% in 2016 (The World Bank, 2023), and the Human Development Index (HDI) has steadily increased, ranking 129th out of 189 countries in the 2022 UNDP Human Development Report, which is significantly higher than other South Asian

countries such as Nepal (143rd), Pakistan (161st), and Afghanistan (180th) (United Nations Development Programme, 2022). As a result, Bangladesh, once a "basket case," has recently emerged as the New Asian Tiger, the Next Asian Tiger, and the First Asian Tiger in South Asia (Çolakoğlu, 2019; Garber, 2017; Šerić, 2022). Hence, for donors including international organizations, Bangladesh is an attractive country to support because of its ability to absorb assistance, its development achievements so far, and its high potential for future development.

Secondly, Bangladesh's strong influence in the South Asian region also seems to be attracting international attention. Bangladesh is considered a geopolitically important player in South Asia. Especially, it is a natural link between South and Southeast Asia, an important ally of India, and its access to the Bay of Bengal makes it an important country for many countries, including China and the United States (Ashrat, 2023). Along with this geopolitical position, Bangladesh's high economic growth rate and potential to become the first Asian Tiger in South Asia, as mentioned above, is expected to further increase its regional status and influence, as well as play a significant role in promoting regional integration and stability. In South Asia, there is a regional intergovernmental organization and geopolitical union called South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), which aims to accelerate the process of economic and social development of its members through increased intra-regional cooperation (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, 2020). Bangladesh is not only a member, but has also played the most prominent role in its organization process and has good relations with other member countries in the economic and trade fields (Gazi et al., 2022). Considering its reputation, role, and influence in the

region, it would be very effective for international organizations to start with Bangladesh and spread out in the region when they want to implement any global agenda or programme/project in South Asia. In fact, according to the Sustainable Development Report 2022 (Sachs et al., 2022), Bangladesh ranked 14th in the East and South Asia region in terms of SDG implementation, with an overall score of 64.22, and ranked 5th in the spillover score, which measures the impact on surrounding regions, with a score of 97.91, officially proving that the country has a high impact on neighboring countries.

Thirdly, when it comes to a favorable environment for working, the willingness of government departments to cooperate and the unique culture of Bangladesh should not be left out. In my personal experience of working with Bangladesh over the years, the Bangladeshi government or government agencies have always been very active and cooperative in conducting programmes/projects and communicating with. At the same time, the country's moderate Islamic culture, which respects gender, racial, and cultural diversity, and its relatively stable security, have made it feel very accessible compared to other developing countries.

However a simpler and less polished way of putting it is that donors including international organizations, developed donor countries, and INGOs prefer to work with Bangladesh because it is a relatively easy country to work with and produce tangible results. Of course, it would have been nice to be able to confirm this with an expert within UNESCO, but unfortunately, it was not possible to discuss such a critical and revealing topic in a one-time meeting. Instead, I was able to hear from a Bangladeshi expert who works in the Dhaka office of an INGO with whom I have a casual relationship, about why

international organizations and INGOs are rushing to Bangladesh, as follows.

> "Bangladesh is just good for business - disaster hits every year, there are always areas where the country needs help, the geography and communications/ transportation are not that challenging, the threats are never life-threatening and the real people are always warm and hardworking and accepting/adopting -- these are very favorable for the operation of INGOs or international organizations; it's easy to showcase yields. … Anyhow, I think, Bangladesh is an easy country to work with and in; the potentialities are always high which is easy to sell to source donors, the country has favorable conditions culturally, socially, language and gastronomically and of course most importantly politically."

To summarize, Bangladesh, which has a history of diverse cooperation experiences with UNESCO, has been actively advocating for GCED in the international stage and has shown its willingness to implement GCED by reflecting SDG4.7 in its policies, thus attracting more GCED support from UNESCO. Moreover, from the perspective of donors which are planning and implementing international cooperation programmes/projects, they seem to focus more on working in Bangladesh considering its high potential, high regional impact, high willingness of the government, easy access and communication compared to other developing countries, which makes it a friendly and favorable environment to work in and produce tangible outcomes. And this is probably true for UNESCO as well.

5.2.3. Strategic Compromise for Mutual Benefits

This section explored why and how global citizenship could be integrated into the national curriculum in Bangladesh from the perspective of the government Bangladesh and UNESCO. From the Bangladeshi perspective, the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum was actually part of an effort to achieve a national development plan aligned with the SDGs. While the government has consistently and actively demonstrated to the international community its commitment to the SDGs and how well it has incorporated them into its policies, in reality it should be seen as a strategy to get more international assistance and ultimately use that to achieve its national development plan. Thus, while the government always emphasizes how dedicated it is to the SDGs, it is really just implementing the economic development that has been consistently a top priority of the national development since independence. In this context, the GCED-integrated curriculum should be seen as a way to prove to the international community that the country is implementing the SDGs by achieving SDG 4.7, rather than being introduced out of its own demand or need. For UNESCO, on the other hand, its position in global education policy has been threatened in recent decades by the growing influence of economic-based international organizations such as the World Bank and OECD. Therefore, it can be argued that UNESCO is more devoted to the implementation and dissemination of the global education agenda in order to maintain and expand its influence and global governance in the field of education. GCED is a global education agenda that UNESCO has highlighted and promoted in recent years, and it is one of the strategic areas of UNESCO's Education Sector Programme

and the one that perfectly reflects UNESCO's fundamental values. And from a donor perspective, Bangladesh is a country with high relevance and coherence to GCED, a strong government commitment to implementing GCED, and good in-country potential, regional influence, and accessibility - in other words, a country that is easy to work with and easy to deliver the results.

After reviewing the findings and discussions so far, I found two contradictions: the first is that Bangladesh claims to have adopted the GCED-integrated curriculum, but it does not seem to have any substance. To be more specific, this revised curriculum is said to integrate and align with GCED, but a closer look reveals that Bangladesh has maintained its existing competency-based curriculum and strengthened some of its content to meet the changed context. The revised curriculum mentions respect and understanding of diversity, including culture, religion, and class, and also global citizenship. Yet, the former has been stressed as a fundamental value since Bangladesh's independence and has been continuously reflected in education policy and previous curricula, while the latter aims to adapt the traditional policy framework of economic development through human resource development to the current interconnected and globalized world, nurturing human resources that can compete not only domestically but also internationally. Therefore, while it can be said that the curriculum is merely an improvement and strengthening of the existing curriculum, by mentioning global citizenship or adding expressions that capture the values associated with GCED, it is packaged as if GCED is newly integrated and linked. In fact, while global citizenship is clearly mentioned in the revised curriculum outline document and included in the learning areas and key competencies, there is no mention of how global citizenship will be implemented

in classroom learning. The second contradiction is that the policy lender and policy borrower are taking different positions on a global citizenship or GCED-integrated curriculum, with UNESCO undoubtedly taking a liberal perspective based on human rights and universal values, while Bangladesh appears to be taking the OECD's global competence perspective based on a neoliberal perspective. [Table V-3] compares the features of both the 2021 revised curriculum, which this study refers to as Bangladesh's GCED-integrated curriculum, and the key approaches to GCED introduced in Chapter 2. As the table shows, Bangladesh's GCED-integrated curriculum ostensibly contains features of both liberal and neoliberal approaches, in that it emphasizes commitment to the welfare of others, respect for different religious and social groups without discrimination, and striving for peaceful coexistence, while aiming to nurture productive citizens who contribute to national development through skill acquisition. However, the former, as mentioned earlier, is not a new feature of this revised curriculum, but rather a value that has been consistently reflected in the curriculum as a fundamental value of the country since independence. Indeed, the revision of the curriculum was aimed at emphasizing the spirit of liberation war, strengthening the linkage between primary and secondary education, and enhancing alignment of the current education system with the labor market. In this context, global citizenship has been newly integrated into the Comprehensive Competency Framework and the 2021 National Competency-based Curriculum Framework, and as a result, it has become one of the key competencies within the existing curriculum framework that pursues a competency-based curriculum.

[Table V-3] A Comparison of GCED-integrated Curriculum in Bangladesh with Main Approaches to GCED

Bangladeshi 2021 Revised National Curriculum*	Vision
	• Growing up as an honest, ethical, value-oriented, scientific, confident, skilled, creative and happy generation that cherishes the history, traditions and culture of the nation and is inspired by the spirit of the Liberation War
	• Committing to the welfare of others and striving for friendly behavior and peaceful coexistence regardless of religion and social class
*Referred to as the GCED integrated curriculum	• Contributing to the development of Bangladesh by creating productive citizens with creativity and skills
	• Respecting diversity and becoming an adaptable global citizen in a globalized world

Perspective		Main purpose	Priority values
Neoliberal perspective	-	• Strengthening knowledge in a global society • Fostering globally competent citizens • Economic prosperity	• National competitiveness • Free market • Excellence • Technology • Global leadership
	OECD's global competence	Expectation from GCED	
		• Developing cultural awareness and interaction in an increasingly diverse society • Promoting harmonious living in a multicultural society • Preparing for the work in a more globalized society • Utilizing digital media/online and expressing their own voices • Taking an interest in global issues and participating in solving social, political, economic and environmental problems	
Liberal perspective		• Cultivating citizens who are considerate and respectful of others • Seeking collective solutions to global issues • Developing selfless and philanthropic citizens who will contribute to the shared prosperity of humanity	• Humanity • Int'l development/ assistance • Consideration • Coexistence/ harmonization • Peace
Critical perspective		• Understanding the concept of GCED as a social and political construct • Critically reflecting on power relations and inequalities inherent in the political, social, and cultural system of their own and other countries • Protecting the human rights of minorities	• Pluralism • Justice • Empowerment • Inclusion/tolerance

That is, global citizenship is recognized as an important competency that students need in the era of globalization in order to become competitive future workers not only domestically but also internationally. In light of this, it can be seen that GCED in Bangladesh is, first, very close to the OECD's concept of global competence, which is based on a neoliberal perspective, and, second, is approached from a very national viewpoint that stresses patriotism and contribution to national economic development.

Nevertheless, the introduction and implementation of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh was possible because both the government of Bangladesh and UNESCO clearly had something to gain from it, and there appears to have been a kind of strategic compromise in the process. And as discussed in Chapter 2, the fact that the concept of global citizenship is very broad and encompasses a number of similar concepts; that it can be described through a number of different approaches, which further expands its meaning; and that it can be understood in a number of different ways, depending on the perspective or position of the actor, seems to have enabled the Bangladeshi government to package its curriculum as being in line with global citizenship and to achieve a strategic compromise on both sides. This is not the only case, but it seems to be a common occurrence in Bangladesh in the process of borrowing policies from outside the country. During a preliminary fieldwork visit to Bangladesh in 2019, a university professor specializing in curriculum criticized the Bangladeshi government's indiscriminate acceptance of all programmes/projects from donors, stating that the current Bangladeshi (education) policy is like a "patchwork" of all the good things from around the world. This phenomenon is not only seen in government-level education policies,

but also in school education, as stated by an expert from an INGO's Dhaka office.

> "Another issue I want to illustrate, since the country's systems, for example - education system - was heavily influenced by donor aids and different donors present different models of teaching-learning. In many cases we see that a teacher got training from multiple organizations and if you go randomly to a teacher for class observation, he/she might ask - which model you prefer, Save the Children, World Bank, ADB? and then conduct the class based on your choice. But the real problems never resolved which is sad. For example, the class sizes didn't get smaller, we are not recruiting more qualified teachers (this might not seem right as the degree requirement and pedagogy education improved; but motivation wise, dedication wise it gets worse I believe), continuously experimenting with text books and evaluation systems etc."

In conclusion, the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh appears to have been driven not by its own demand or need, but by another need, which is securing external resources to achieve economic development, with the decision to borrow policy made first, and then artificially linked to the existing national issues and an already planned curriculum revision work. In other words, the formation of policy did not follow the rational sequence of recognizing a domestic problem and developing a policy to solve it, but on the contrary, the policy decision was made first, and the problem was created and matched to it. Applied to Phillips and Ochs' Spectrum of Educational Transfer in <Figure II-1>, it seems more likely that the Bangladeshi government has "purposefully borrowed" from the global agenda as a strategy to achieve

another goal. David P. Dolowitz and David Marsh (2000) describe this as "voluntary transfer," where a country actively borrows another policy of its own will. The reason why this policy borrowing was possible despite some contradictions is that Bangladesh is a place of perfect alignment of interests between those who need to deliver results and those who want to work with them and attract more support from them, thereby ultimately achieving another goal of its own. As a result, the policy output that emerge from this strategic compromise appears to be fancy and may satisfy policy lenders and policy borrowers, but is not the policy for the actual policy consumers.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary

This study analyzed the contextual and situational factors of why and how the global education agenda was introduced in developing country policies from a policy borrowing perspective through the case of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh. It also identified the key stakeholders involved in the process, particularly focusing on the government of Bangladesh and UNESCO, international organization, and explored the dynamics between them. As a result, the study found the following.

First of all, the government of Bangladesh has set the attainment of Upper Middle-Income country (UMIC) category as a long-term goal for the country as it graduates from a Lower-Income Country (LIC) in 2015, and is pursuing rapid economic growth through all-sector development in line with this. To this end, the same and perhaps even more emphasis is being placed on improving the productivity and effectiveness of human resources through education, but persistent youth unemployment, student skill shortages, mismatch between skills and jobs, and low education attainment and quality of education are seen as serious domestic problems that are hampering this. In addition, the large influx of Rohingya refugees and the COVID-19 pandemic have created a need for greater sensitivity and proactive response to international issues.

Secondly, the above circumstances have led to the revision of the curriculum to further strengthen the existing competency-based curriculum and expand it to the secondary school level with the aim of connecting education with the skills

required in the job market. At the same time, in the current environment of increasing globalization and the introduction of advanced technologies, the need for students to develop the ability to compete on the world stage has been highlighted, and as a result, "social and global citizenship" has been set as one of the learning areas that students should acquire through school education.

Thirdly, the government of Bangladesh expressed its commitment to the SDGs immediately after the official announcement of the SDGs by the UN and immediately worked on aligning the SDGs with its mid- and long-term national development plans, and formulated various strategies, including a financing strategy, fur the successful implementation of the SDGs. For example, the MoE and the MoPME developed *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*, the first integrated education plan covering both primary and secondary education, which included the attainment of SDG4 as an overarching educational goal. The two ministries also established *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* for SDG4 implementation. Based on these two, the curriculum has been revised and GCED has been integrated into this process.

Fourthly, the integration of GCED in the revised curriculum should be seen as part of a very strategic policy effort by the government to achieve the goals of the National Development Plan and the Education Development Plan, which are in fact aligned with the SDGs, rather than as a result of the actual need and demand for GCED in Bangladesh. Also, this policy process was very top-down, from the Prime Minister's Office - the General Economics Division (GED) of the Planning Commission - the MoE in cooperation with the MoPME - the National Curriculum and Textbook Board under the MoE. And the alignment of the SDGs with the National Development Plan appears to be a government-wide strategy

for mobilizing external support, including securing the necessary resources to achieve certain already planned goals of the National Development Plan.

Fifthly, it was found that UNESCO has been involved in all of the above processes in various ways. Not only at the stage of policy formulation by the MoE and curriculum revision by the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB), but also after the revision, UNESCO is involved in activities to further strengthen GCED in the already GCED-integrated revised curriculum, as well as in strengthening teacher capacity on GCED, and spreading the implementation and promotion of GCED at the school level. In a context where the World Bank and the OECD, both well-funded and technologically advanced international organizations, are actively engaged and influential in the global education sector, UNESCO appear to be focused on garnering international support for bold global agendas like GCED as a strategy to gain and maintain leadership in global education policy, albeit for the nominal reason of performing global norm-setting and education advisory functions as the UN's specialized agency for education. In addition, it is also possible to speculate that UNESCO is implementing, promoting, and disseminating its global norms or agendas in a very top-down manner by getting involved from the policy formulation stage to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of its work with limited resources.

The government of Bangladesh has been trying to align its national development plans and policies with the SDGs as a strategy to secure external funding to achieve the national goal of economic development that it has maintained since independence, and the GCED-integrated curriculum can be also seen in this context as an effort by the government to achieve SDG 4.7, GCED. That is, on the surface, it appears to be practicing the SDGs or GCED, but in

reality the country is actually working towards its another original goal. Therefore, in the end, it seems that the GCED-integrated curriculum introduced in this way is of unclear substance, and is simply an adaptation or enhancement of what has been already in place to fit the changing times and make it look plausible as a GCED-integrated curriculum. It is also clear that the government of Bangladesh and UNESCO, as policy borrower and policy lender, respectively, have quite different positions and perspectives on GCED. Nevertheless, the translation of the global agenda into national policy in Bangladesh, albeit superficially, seems to have been possible because of the alignment of interests of both sides and a kind of strategic compromise. However, the resulting policy may satisfy both sides, but it does not seem to be a policy for the people who demand it.

6.2. Implications for Further Studies

This study expanded the traditional framework of cross-national policy borrowing research to an international frame to examine how the global education agenda is transmitted to individual countries, particularly developing countries. Instead of taking the position that countries unconditionally accept or advocate the global education agenda in order to adapt to the wider international space in the era of globalization, or criticizing these adjustments as coercive, as previous studies have done, this study viewed the adoption of the global education agenda as simply one of the forms of policy borrowing. Instead, it sought to expand and reconceptualize the existing debate on policy borrowing by looking at the interactions and dynamics between developing countries as active

and willing actors, rather than helpless and passive recipients, and international organizations in the position of policy lenders. Among other things, the study showed that, depending on the national context and the intentions and objectives of the government, the GCED-integrated curriculum can be implemented differently from the original purpose of the lead organization, UNESCO, and that existing curriculum can be packaged as the one incorporated with GCED by simply mentioning and emphasizing global citizenship or related values on the surface. In particular, the Bangladesh case study demonstrated that in Bangladesh, the mutual interests of the local government, which wants to strategically utilize international assistance for national economic development, and the international organization, which needs to successfully initiate and complete development programmes/projects, has led to the introduction of a contradictory and empty global education agenda. While this study focused on the specific case of Bangladesh, I believe that this discussion is applicable and insightful to other developing countries and, conversely, to international organizations seeking to expand their global education agenda to developing countries.

As mentioned above, it can be seen that UNESCO, which leads, promotes, and disseminates the global agenda of GCED and GCED-integrated curriculum, has a liberal approach based on universal values such as human rights, while the Bangladeshi government, which accepts and implements it, has a position closer to OECD's global competence by focusing on human resource development based on a neoliberal approach. In other words, the two sides are talking about the different things for the same GCED with different approaches. The fundamental reason this is possible is, of course, that there is no single agreed-

upon definition of a GCED and it can be interpreted differently depending on the perspective, as we saw in Chapter 2, the different approach to GCED. Furthermore, the two sides seem to be turning a blind eye to the fact that they are in fact taking different positions, since it is so clear that they have something to gain from each other: the Bangladeshi government to achieve its national development goals through external support, and UNESCO to expand its influence on the international stage through the promotion and dissemination of its global agenda. Widening the scope a bit and looking at SDG4 as a whole, we see the same phenomenon, which can be clearly seen in *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework* developed by the MoE and the MoPME of Bangladesh in 2020 with the support of UNESCO. The first ten pages of this document are dedicated to messages from government ministries and UNESCO officials who led or participated in the development of the strategy, with the following excerpts from the opening or key points of each of their writings:

<Minister, Ministry of Education>
"It has been widely accepted that education, a foundation for peaceful societies and effective institutions, is essential for building the knowledge base. It has been imperative to help youth to be prepared for employment in the high-skill jobs of the fourth industrial revolution. However, in terms of access, equity and quality of education, we are faced with number of challenges in the rapidly changing global scenario."

<Minister of State, Ministry of Primary and Mass Education>
"Primary education is the foundation of human capital. … Quality education reduces poverty, decreases social inequalities, empowers

women and helps each individual to reach their full potential. It also brings significant economic returns for an individual, a family and an entire country, helping societies to achieve lasting peace and sustainable development."

<Deputy Minister, Ministry of Education>
"Since the adoption of the SDG 4 Education 2030 agenda, the government of Bangladesh has taken initiatives to reform its policies, prioritize actions, and implement strategic interventions to strengthen its service delivery at all levels of education matched with the contemporary job market. It has been observed that Bangladesh is going to experience inevitable changes those are brought about by the fourth industrial revolution. As part of the globalization process, changes around the world creating impacts in different areas are expected to be continued."

<Secretary, Technical and Madrasa Education Division>
"There is no denying the fact that the relationship between education and employment is quite critical. Technical and Vocational Education & Training (TVET) helps the emerging young population of the country to acquire market responsive skills that they need for employment and self-employment. The Government duly emphasizes on the importance of technical education and takes a number of initiatives and programs. … In line with the national vision 2041, an 'Integrated TVET Development Action Plan' has been developed aligning with the SDGs and *the 7th Five Year Plan*. In order to meet the challenges of the job market both in the local and global market, market responsive trades and technologies have been included in technical education."

<Head of Office and UNESCO Representative to Bangladesh>
"As a basic human right and the foundation on which to build peace and drive sustainable development, education is a top priority for UNESCO."

(Ministry of Education & Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2020, Message pages)

If you take a closer look at the above, you can clearly see that they are all talking about the background, necessity, and importance of establishing an SDG4 strategy, but the Bangladeshi government is ultimately linking education to economic development, employment, and the job market, while UNESCO is linking it to human rights. As described above in the case of GCED, both sides are talking about different things about one SDG4. However, despite these different perspectives, they still work together because they have made strategic compromises for mutual benefit. In the end, the same phenomenon is happening over and over again, just in different cases.

Steiner-Khamsi (2016a) points out that government officials in developing countries often engage in "double-talk" and may present conflicting attitudes to national and international audiences. This can also be described as "policy bilingualism," which implies that "policy actors operate simultaneously in two spaces that are populated with two or three different audiences: local and global actors" (p. 54). The Bangladesh case study has led me to suspect that the Bangladeshi government has also taken this contradictory position in some extent. While government documents written in English for external sharing continue to refer to global citizenship in the context of the curriculum revision,

and government officials I interviewed emphasized the connection between global citizenship and the revised curriculum, it was difficult to find references to global citizenship in materials written in the local language, Bengali. In addition, while the revision directly adds "social and global citizenship" to the ten learning areas, it is not clear how global citizenship is specifically incorporated into the curriculum or what the expectations are. Most notably, the curriculum was revised, but the revised subject curriculum document was not available. Based on what was mentioned in the Eighth Five-Year Plan and *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)*, it could be only be predicted that the revised curriculum would further emphasize the basic values of GCED education, such as empathy, peace, tolerance, and respect for religious and cultural diversity, and that the subject *Bangladesh and Global Studies*, which was added during the last curriculum revision, would be strengthened in this context. I also looked up some local newspaper articles using a translator and found that, apart from the inclusion of global citizenship in the learning areas, most of the content of the revised curriculum was related to developing students' competencies and skills and improving the labor force. Of course, due to language constraints, it is possible that I was not able to collect and identify enough materials written in the local language, but it is also reasonable to suspect that the Bangladeshi government may have strategically talked about GCED differently to external audience including international organizations and partner countries and domestic audiences in order to mobilize external support including funding. Therefore, I suggest that future research should explore whether the Bangladeshi government has a consistent attitude towards GCED, a global agenda, and whether it speaks in one language to external and domestic audiences.

In addition to this, as briefly mentioned above, both the government and UNESCO stated in the interview that while the GCED-integrated curriculum has been introduced in Bangladesh, it remains to be seen how well it will be implemented at the school level. In fact, local newspaper articles indicate that the new school year with the revised curriculum already started earlier this year, but with little or no guidance and teacher training on the new curriculum, leading to criticism that it was unilaterally introduced before school sites were ready (Ahmed, 2023; Alamgir, 2023; "New Curriculum Begins", 2023). Therefore, further research is needed on the implementation status of GCED-integrated revised curriculum in frontline schools and teachers' understanding and awareness of GCED.

Finally, the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) analysis revealed that the government of Bangladesh joined the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) in 2015, conducted the *Education Sector Analysis (ESA)* and developed *the Education Sector Plan (ESP)* as a condition for receiving a second GPE grant in 2019, and later incorporated GCED into the revised curriculum based on this *Education Sector Plan (ESP)* and *the National SDG4 Strategic Framework*. Of course, it seems that Bangladesh used GPE as a strategy to secure external funding to achieve its national development goals, but in any case, GPE provided grants to developing countries and influenced their policy formulation. In this regard, it would be also meaningful to conduct a comparative study of the policy impacts of GPE's grants in different developing countries and how the level or scope of policy impacts varied depending on the situation of the countries.

6.3. Limitations

As illustrated in <Figure II-2>, according to Phillips and Ochs (2003), policy borrowing consists of four main stages as follows: (1) cross-national attractions, factors causing policy adoption, 2) decision-making procedure, 3) policy implementation, and 4) internalization/indigenization in the home context. This study has focused on the first of these stages, as mentioned at the beginning, to identify the situational and contextual factors that led to the borrowing of a policy or the Global Agenda, and to answer the second stage, why this decision was made. The analysis of the policy implementation phase, which is about how well the adopted policy or global agenda works in the context of the recipient country, especially at the field level, and the internalization/indigenization phase, which is about how well it has been integrated into the context of existing institutions and whether further adjustments have been made or are needed through policy evaluation, needs to be done in future research. However, Bangladesh has only implemented the GCED-integrated curriculum for three grades in January of this year and plans to expand to all school levels and all grades in 2027, so it still remains to be seen.

Moreover, this study has focused on two main actors that have strong decision-making power or influence in policy borrowing: the government ministries, specifically the General Economics Division (GED) of the Planning Commission and the MoE and the MoPME, and the international organization UNESCO. In any policy process, including curriculum revision, it is critical to examine the various opinions of not only the ruling party, but also the opposition, the media, civil society, and the consumers of the policy, as they all have a voice

and some influence. Nonetheless, it is important to note that in the case of Bangladesh, this study did not give much consideration to these actors, as it is difficult to speak out against the government or negative opinions are rarely reflected in actual policy under the current strong regime.

Finally, this study originally sought to identify the key actors (referred to as policy entrepreneurs in Kingdon's MSF) who drove the introduction of the GCED-integrated curriculum in Bangladesh, and to further explore the interactions and dynamics between them, separating them into the government side and the international organization UNESCO. In the end, while the research was able to determine the main actors on the government side and confirm that there was a strategic compromise between the two sides in introducing this global education agenda as a national policy for mutual benefit, it was limited in capturing the vivid and specific details of the process. In fact, this is only known to those involved in the policy process at the time, either on the government side or at UNESCO, and this kind of highly internal, practical, and critical and controversial information is generally not available to the public. Of course, I interviewed both government and UNESCO officials for this research, but as an outsider and a one-off meeting for personal research, what I could hear from them was very restricted. Against this backdrop, I tried to collect and analyze as wide and diverse a range of secondary data as possible. Regarding these materials, I utilized mostly documents written in English, except for curriculum documents, textbooks, and some newspaper articles written in Bengali, which later caused another, unexpected issue. While this is not the case for international organization reports or English-language academic journals, most documents produced by government departments in English are official documents intended

to be shared with external stakeholders, such as international organizations or partner countries, and are likely to be based on what they want to show to the outside world. On the other hand, documents with substantial and practical content are mostly written in local language, making them difficult to access from outsiders, which was also the case in this study. In this context, the question arises as to whether the Bangladeshi government is strategically and intentionally engaging in policy bilingualism, as Steiner- Khamsi found in her case study of other developing countries, and further research, such as that suggested above, that comparatively analyzes documents produced by the government for domestic and international audiences would be needed to confirm this.

6.4. The Researcher's Own Reflections on This Study

When I started my thesis on this topic, I was intrigued that Bangladesh, a developing country, had adopted one of the most popular global education agendas of the day, and I wondered if there was something special about the country that made it so interested in GCED-integrated curriculum. But in the end, what I found was that this GCED-integrated curriculum was just a plausible packaging of what the country has been doing all along, a strategy or a trick to get more assistance from the international community. This is not to disparage or criticize the government's efforts. After all, Bangladesh still receives huge international support and has achieved remarkable economic development around the world through these efforts. The government has been very smart and strategic with its long experience in international development cooperation, and I think it has gotten what it wanted and will continue to do so. However, as a

person who works in the field of international development cooperation, I felt a sense of loss and skepticism. This made me reflect on my own experience.

When I first started working in this field, I was involved in planning and implementing training programs for government officials in developing countries. While it was great to have fun with the participants and experience different cultures, it was also very upsetting and self-defeating to think that while the people in those countries were still facing many challenges, the government officials were traveling to other countries like tourists on these programs, and in the end, the policies would not improve and the lives of the people would not be better. But now, more than 10 years later, I am just rushing to win contracts and produce results. I do not really listen to the voices on the ground, I mostly talk to the government and if I notice something is not right, I just let it go to some extent. At some point, I became just an employee working in international development cooperation, writing a plausible proposal to win a project, considering a country as a partner because it seemed easier to work with and more likely to promote and disseminate to the others, and making the appropriate compromises, cover-ups, and plausible outcomes to get the project done on time and within budget. Eventually, I realized that I and many other people like me working in this field are helping to create policies and outcomes that are empty, as in the case of Bangladesh. Or, should I console myself that in the case of Bangladesh, it can not necessarily be a bad thing because the country is achieving the rapid economic development it has been aiming for anyway? The field of international development cooperation has long since become a business with many competing interests. I end this study with a sense of guilt and bittersweetness as I feel like I have been part of this process without even

realizing it.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1. List of Collected Bangladesh Government Policy and Strategy Documents

No.	Name of document	Type of document	Year	Source
1	Sixth Five Year Plan (FY2011-FY2015): Part-1	Policy/Strategy	2011	GED
2	Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2010-2021	Policy/Strategy	2012	GED
3	Seventh Five Year Plan (FY2016-FY2020)	Policy/Strategy	2015	GED
4	Seventh Five Year Plan (FY2016-FY2020)	Policy/Strategy	2015	GED
5	A Handbook: Mapping of Ministries by Targets in the Implementation of SDGs Aligning with 7th Five Year Plan (2016-20)	Policy/Strategy	2016	GED
6	Data Gap Analysis for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): Bangladesh Perspective	Policy/Strategy	2017	GED
7	SDGs Financing Strategy: Bangladesh Perspective	Policy/Strategy	2017	GED
8	National Action Plan of Ministries/Divisions by Targets for the Implementation of SDGs	Policy/Strategy	2018	GED
9	Sustainable Development Goals: Bangladesh First Progress Report 2018	Policy/Strategy	2018	GED
10	Eighth Five Year Plan (FY2020-FY2025)	Policy/Strategy	2020	GED
11	Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2021-2041	Policy/Strategy	2020	GED
12	Revised Monitoring and Evaluation Framework of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): Bangladesh Perspective	Policy/Strategy	2020	GED
13	National Education Policy 2010	Policy/Strategy	2010	MoE
14	Education Sector Plan (ESP) for Bangladesh-Fiscal Years 2020/21-2024/25	Policy/Strategy	2020	MoE
15	National SDG 4 Strategic Framework for Bangladesh	Policy/Strategy	2020	MoE& MoPME
16	Bangladesh: EFA MDA National Report 2001-2005	Policy/Strategy	2008	MoE

17	Education Sector Analysis (ESA) for Bangladesh	Policy/Strategy	2020	MoPME
18	Bangladesh and Global Studies Curriculum: Primary	Subject Curriculum	2012	NCTB
19	Bangladesh and Global Studies Textbook: Class Three (Revised ed.)	Textbook	2014	NCTB
20	Bangladesh and Global Studies Textbook: Class Six (Revised ed.)	Textbook	2014	NCTB
21	Bangladesh and Global Studies Textbook: Class Seven (Revised ed.)	Textbook	2014	NCTB
22	Bangladesh and Global Studies Textbook: Class Eight (Revised ed.)	Textbook	2014	NCTB
23	Bangladesh and Global Studies Textbook: Class Four (Revised ed.)	Textbook	2015	NCTB
24	Bangladesh and Global Studies Textbook: Class Five (Revised ed.)	Textbook	2015	NCTB
25	Bangladesh and Global Studies Textbook: Class Nine-Ten (Revised ed.)	Textbook	2017	NCTB

* GED: General Economics Division, Ministry of Planning, MoE: Ministry of Education, MoPME: Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, NCTB: National Curriculum and Textbook Board

Appendix 2. 2021 Revised National Curriculum Outline: Pre-primary to Class 12

1) Vision

"Building patriotic, productive, adaptable and happy global citizens inspired by the spirit of the liberation war"

The vision is aimed at creating an honest, ethical, value-minded, science-minded, confident, skilled, creative and happy generation inspired by the spirit of the great liberation war, cherishing national history, tradition, culture. The generation will maintain its individuality and devote itself to the welfare of others and strive for amicable behavior and peaceful co-existence with all irrespective of religion, caste and caste of the society. Freedom benefits as a productive citizen through the acquisition of creativity and transferable skills by making sure it can contribute to the development of a developed and prosperous Bangladesh. Also of self-identity in the context of globalization embrace multidimensionality and develop yourself as an adaptable global citizen.

2) Target

To achieve this vision through education, quality education must be ensured for all students of Bangladesh. For this it is necessary to ensure that the curriculum and its implementation reflect certain strategic features in the overall education management. An effective plan and its proper implementation can ensure the achievement of this vision. The objectives of implementation of the plan are as follows:

- Effective and flexible curriculum in developing in the inherent potential of all students

- Educational institutions are social hubs for student development and excellence

- Opportunities and recognition of multidimensional learning beyond the institutional environment

- Responsive, accountable integrated and participatory education system

- Responsible, self-motivated, skilled and professional manpower at all levels of education system

3) Concept of educational qualification

Acquiring ability to integrate knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes to adapt to changing contexts inspired by the spirit of the liberation war

Knowledge	Skills	Values	Attitudes
• Understanding one's own society and the world • Interdisciplinarity through careful analysis • Making connections between textbook and extracurricular subjects	• Critical thinking and problem solving • Creative thinking and imagination • Basic and digital literacy • Collaboration and communication • Decision making and self-management • Adaptation for life and livelihood • Global citizenship	• Solidarity • Patriotism • Respect and compassion • Secularity	• Affirmation • Constructiveness

Source: Proshikkhon (2023b, February 25)

*Proshikkhon: Largest Online Training Portal in Bangladesh

Appendix 3. 10 Core Qualifications in the 2021 Revised National Curriculum

The National Curriculum 2011 prescribed 29 marginal qualifications from Class I to Class V. The current revised curriculum 2021 has been expanded based on 10 core competencies. And these 10 core competencies have been compiled considering three factors. They are:

- Sustainable Development Goals

- Fourth Industrial Revolution

- Vision 2041

Following are 10 core qualifications as per Revised Curriculum 2021:

1) Respect and understand the views and positions of others, be able to creatively express one's own opinion in an appropriate way according to the context.

2) To take logical and maximum welfare decisions for all by considering the overall issues through indexation on any issue to be able

3) Respecting differences and diversity, being be bearer of own art, culture, history and tradition, love for one's country and qualifying as a global citizen by demonstrating loyalty.

4) Ability to project, quickly grasp, analyze, synthesize and consider future implications of problems to make logical and maximum welfare decisions and solutions through participation of all.

5) To be able to adapt to the changing world through peaceful coexistence maintaining mutual cooperation, respect and harmony and to play a role in creating a safe habitable world for the next generation.

6) Create new paths, techniques and possibilities by applying new perspectives, ideas, perspectives and present them artistically being able to play a role in national and world welfare.

7) Being able to create and maintain risk-free safe and acceptable personal, family, social, national and international relationships and communication by knowing one's position and role in managing one's physical and mental health.

8) To cope with risks and disasters in a constantly changing world and prepare oneself for a safe and secure life and livelihood while keeping human dignity intact.

9) Ability to use mathematical, scientific and technical skills to solve everyday problems in a changing world.

10) Being able to devote oneself to the welfare of nature and humanity through religious discipline, the acquisition of integrity and moral virtues and the practice of chastity.

Source: Proshikkhon (2023a, February 25)

Appendix 4. Principles of the 2021 Revised National Primary Curriculum

Curriculum principles in order to ensure the correct achievement of the curriculum outlines, through proper implementation and follow-up of the curriculum, some principles have been specified considering the context of the country, which will serve as guidelines for the development and implementation of this curriculum, they are:

- Enriched with the spirit of liberation war

- Merit based

- Relevant and flexible

- Integrated and inclusive

- Non-discriminatory

- Multidimensional

- Active to life and livelihood

- Participatory

- Learner-centered and fun

How can students achieve the 10 core competencies of the curriculum?

- By learning different subjects

- By participating in class activities

- By maintaining relationships and communication from individual to global level

- Through mutual cooperation

- Through adaptation

- By practicing religious discipline and moral virtues

- By celebrating various days

Source: Proshikkhon (2023, February 27)

Appendix 5. Topics Covered in the Textbook 'Bangladesh and Global Studies' in Primary and Secondary Education

Grade	Topics	Contents
Primary education		
Grade 3	• Society and environment in Bangladesh • Tradition and culture • The history of the War of Liberation • Basic needs, children's rights, duties and responsibilities • The sense of cooperation and compassion respectful to the culture and occupations of others • Proper use and maintenance of resources • Disaster management • Population and human resources	The natural and social environment; Living together; Our rights and responsibilities; Different occupations of society; Human qualities; Improving our social environment; Protecting our environment against pollutions; The continents and oceans; Our Bangladesh; The father of our nation; Our history and culture; The population and culture; the population of Bangladesh
Grade 4		Our environment and society; Cooperation in society; Ethnic groups of Bangladesh; The rights of citizens; Values and behaviors; Tolerance; The dignity of work; Social and national assets; Developing our locality; Geography of Asia; Geography of Bangladesh; Disaster management; Population of Bangladesh; Our history, liberation war and culture
Grade 5	• Proper use and maintenance of resources • Disaster management • Population and human resources	Our liberation war; British rule; Historical monuments in Bangladesh; Our economy: Agriculture and industry; Population; Climate and disaster; Human rights; Gender equality; Our duties and responsibilities; Democratic attitude; Ethnic groups in Bangladesh; Bangladesh in world politics
Secondary education		
Grade 6	• Society and environment • History-heritage • Culture • Socio-economic-political condition • Global issues of Bangladesh	History of Bangladesh; Bangladesh and World civilization; Bangladesh in the global geographical environment; Intro. to population of Bangladesh; Society, culture, economy of Bangladesh; Bangladesh and her citizens; Environment of Bangladesh; Rights of children in Bangladesh; Children's growing up and its obstacles in Bangladesh; Bangladesh and regional co-operation; Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

Grade 7		Liberation movement of Bangladesh; Culture and cultural diversity of Bangladesh; Growth of child in a family; Economy of Bangladesh; Bangladesh and citizen of Bangladesh; Election system of Bangladesh; Climate of Bangladesh; Intro. to population of Bangladesh; Rights of senior citizens and women in Bangladesh; Social problems in Bangladesh; Some countries in Asia; Bangladesh and int'l cooperation; SDGs
Grade 8		Colonial age and the liberation war of Bengal; The liberation war; Cultural change and development of Bangladesh; Description of archaeological heritage of colonial age; Socialization and development; Economy of Bangladesh; Bangladesh-Sate and gov't system; Disasters in Bangladesh; Population and development, social problems, minority ethnic groups, and natural resources of Bangladesh; Bangladesh and various regional and int'l associate organizations; SDGs
Grade 9-10		The political movement in East Bengal and the rise of nationalism; The independent Bangladesh; The solar system and the earth; The configuration of land and the climate of Bangladesh; The rivers of Bangladesh and the natural resources; The state, citizenship and law; The organs of Bangladesh gov't and the administrative systems; The democracy of Bangladesh and the election; The UN and Bangladesh; SDGs; The national resources and the economic systems; The economic indicators and the nature of the economy of Bangladesh; The financial and banking systems of the gov't of Bangladesh; The family structure of Bangladesh and socialization; The social change of Bangladesh; Social problems of Bangladesh and their remedies

Source: Reconstructed by author from National Curriculum and Textbook Board (2014a), (2014b), (2014c), (2014d), (2015a), (2015b) & (2017)

Appendix 6. 29 Terminal Competencies of the 2011 Revised National Primary Curriculum

	Terminal competencies
1	To repose / place trust and faith on Almighty Allah Ta'ala / Creator and be inspired to love all the created objects.
2	To acquire moral values and qualities of good conduct through practicing the ideals of own religious preachers and religious edicts / rules and regulation.
3	To show respect to all religious and their followers and be inspired to inculcate brotherhood.
4	To be willing to develop imagination, curiosity and creativity.
5	To express creativity, sense of beauty, fine sensibility and aesthetic value through song, fine arts and crafts and acquire capability of enjoying pleasure and beauty.
6	To gain knowledge of science through acquiring knowledge of natural laws.
7	To form habit of solving problems and earn science-mindedness through the use of science principle methods and logical thinking.
8	To acquire the basic skills of Bangla language and to use these skills efficiently in all walks of life.
9	To acquire and use the basic skills of English as a foreign language.
10	To know technology and information and communication technology and improve the quality of life through their application; to grow as skilled manpower by acquiring competence in these.
11	To acquire mathematical concepts and skill and be able to apply these in practical life.
12	To be able to solve mathematical problems through logical thinking.
13	To be interested in and respectful to human rights, sense of internationalism, universal brotherhood and world culture.
14	To feel encouraged in independent and free thinking, and practice democratic principles and procedure.
15	To distinguish between right and wrong through acquiring moral and social qualities and use these in practical life.
16	To be careful in the use and conservation of personal, family, social and state properties.
17	To acquire the mentality / mental set of peaceful co-existence with affection for all irrespective of male-female, nation, religion, color including children with special needs.
18	To earn an attitude of sense of sacrifice through according preference to others, to demonstrate tolerance and acquire human qualities.
19	To participate actively in social activities and become aware of one's own responsibilities and rights.
20	To know adversities and disasters and be skilled in and self-confident to face these.

21	To do one's own work and accord due dignity to labor.
22	To know about and love nature, environment and universe; to be inspired to improve and conserve environment.
23	To play a positive role in tackling / facing the problems of changes in climate and weather.
24	To know about the impact of population on the basic needs of people and environment; also know the importance of human resources.
25	To attain physical and mental development through games and sports; to acquire leadership qualities.
26	To build the habit of safe and healthful living.
27	To be inspired with patriotism and a sense of nationalism; to develop a sense of sacrifice; to actively participate in nation building.
28	To know national history, tradition and culture and to become respectful to these.
29	To know and love Bangladesh.

Source: Annex 4: The 29 terminal competencies made by the NCTB from Roy (2016, pp. 50-51)

Appendix 7. Detailed Guiding Principles of the 2011 Revised National Curriculum (Grade 6 - 12)

1. The national curriculum needs to provide students with an understanding of the past that has shaped the society and culture in which they are growing and developing, and with knowledge, understandings and skills that will help them in their future lives.

2. The curriculum should make clear to teachers what has to be taught, and to students what they should learn and what achievement standards are expected of them in each stage of schooling.

3. The curriculum needs to be flexible. It must allow jurisdictions, systems and schools the ability to deliver national curriculum in a way that values teachers' professional knowledge and reflects local school and regional differences and priorities.

4. The curriculum should relate classroom learning to students' life outside of school (their experiences at home, in the community, and with the environment) and provide opportunities for students to visit and experience nature outside of the school walls.

5. The curriculum should ensure that students gain essential skills in key areas such as Science and Technology, ICT, English, Bangla, Bangladesh and Global Studies and Mathematics needed for 21st century preparation.

6. The curriculum should emphasize developing attitude towards work and suitable work habits to adequately prepare students for new millennium.

7. The curriculum should provide ample opportunities to assess learners' knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes using formative assessment techniques.

8. The curriculum should instill values into learners so that they develop a spirit of patriotism and national pride, a respect for our cultural heritage and natural environment, and know how to act morally and responsibly in society.

9. The learning outcomes must be explicit to students, guardians, teachers, and the general public.

10. The curriculum should provide opportunities for interdisciplinary learning where students make connections with other subjects and understand how 21st century themes cross subject boundaries.

11. The curriculum should be student centered and promote participatory and joyful learning approaches that encourage student to think creatively and independently, to solve problems, to communicate and work cooperatively with others, and to learn by doing.

12. The curriculum must be coherent with proper sequence of topics and themes between age levels to ensure that learning at the higher grade builds on student learning achieved at a lower level with no overlapping.

Source: National Curriculum 2012 (grades vi-viii, ix-x, xi-xii) as cited in Hossain,

국문초록

글로벌 교육 의제의 국가 정책으로의 실현: 방글라데시 세계시민교육 연계 교육과정 도입 사례 연구

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문이슬

오늘날 글로벌 의제는 각국의 정치인과 정책 입안자들에게 큰 공감을 불러일으키며 정책 의제 설정을 포함한 전반적인 정책 형성 과정에 영향을 미치고 있다. 실제로 글로벌 의제에 국가 정책을 일치 또는 연계시키려는 노력들이 자주 목격되고 있다. 하지만 정작 글로벌 의제의 의미에 대한 이해와 합의가 부족한 상황에서 우선 도입한 후 자국의 상황, 맥락에 맞춰 재해석하고 적용하는 경우가 발생함에 따라 이러한 글로벌 의제는 종종 '빈 용기 (empty vessels)'로 표현되기도 한다 (DeRoche, 2013). 한편, 타국의 정책을 국내 정책으로 차용하는 데 여러 배경 요인이 있을 수 있지만 이를 받아들이는 국가를 개도국이라고 가정한다면, 단순하게 외부의 '모범 사례 (best practices)'를 배울 목적으로 또는 의사결정권이나 협상력 부족으로 인한 일방적인 강요 또는 제약 하에 해당 정책을 수용하게 될 것이라 섣불리 판단하는 오

류를 범할 수 있다. 특히 어느 한 국가의 정책을 도입하는 것이 아니라 전 세계적으로 영향력이 큰 국제기구의 글로벌 의제를 도입할 때는 더욱 그러하다.

본 연구는 2023년 1월 1, 6, 7학년을 시작으로 세계시민교육을 연계하여 개정한 국가 교육과정을 도입한 방글라데시의 사례를 통해 글로벌 교육 의제가 어떻게 개별 국가의 정책으로 실현되는지에 대해 정책 차용의 관점에서 분석하였다. 구체적으로는 방글라데시에 세계시민교육 연계 교육과정이 도입된 상황적, 맥락적 요인과 일련의 과정을 자세히 살펴보고, 이어서 이러한 정책 변화를 이끌어낸 주요 이해관계자들을 파악하고 이들 간 어떠한 역학관계가 형성되었는지에 대해 논의하였다. 특히 이번 글로벌 교육 의제를 개발하고 전 세계적인 이행, 홍보, 확산을 주도한 국제기구(유네스코)와 이를 자국의 정책으로 받아들인 정부를 두 축으로 구분하여 분석하는데 초점을 맞췄다. 하여 본 논문은 "방글라데시는 왜, 어떻게 정책 차원에서 세계시민교육 연계 교육과정을 도입하게 되었는가?"를 중심으로 다음과 같이 연구 질문을 구체화하였다. 첫째, 방글라데시의 세계시민교육 연계 교육과정이란 무엇이며, 이를 어떻게 도입하게 되었는가? 둘째, 세계시민교육 연계 교육과정 도입을 이끌어낸 주요 이해관계자들 간 역학관계는 무엇이며 어떠한 배경에서 이러한 관계가 형성되었는가? 연구를 위해 정책문서, 정당 자료, 교육과정 문서 및 교과서, 신문 기사, 국제기구 발간 자료, 통계 자료, 기타 다양한 문헌자료를 수집, 분석하였으며, 자료의 신뢰성과 전체 연구의 타당성을 높이기 위해 실제 정책 도입 및 이행 과정에 직접 참여했거나 당시 상황을 잘 알고 있는 현지 전문가들을 대상으로 온라인 심층면담을 진행하였다.

정책연구에서 널리 활용되는 Kingdon의 다중흐름모형 (Multiple

Streams Framework, MSF)을 변형한 분석틀을 기반으로 위의 수집 자료들을 분석한 결과, 결국 세계시민교육 연계 교육과정의 도입은 사실상 SDGs와 일치시킨 국가발전계획과 교육발전계획 달성을 위한 정부 차원의 전략적 노력이었고, 총리실−기획부 산하 기획위원회의 경제부−교육부(초등대중교육부와 협력)−교육부 산하기관인 국가 교육과정 교과서 위원회 순서로 매우 하향식으로 진행되었음을 알 수 있었다. 그리고 유네스코는 단순히 교육과정 개정 단계만이 아니라 다양한 프로그램/프로젝트 또는 기술 지원의 형태로 이 모든 과정에 참여해오고 있으며, 방글라데시 정부 역시 각 단계별로 유네스코와 긴밀히 협력하고 있는 것으로 파악되었다. 본 연구는 방글라데시의 세계시민교육 연계 교육과정의 도입은 사실상 그 실체가 불명확함에도 불구하고 방글라데시 정부와 유네스코 양 측이 각자의 이익을 얻기 위해 일종의 전략적인 타협을 통해 가능했다고 주장한다. 방글라데시 정부는 유엔이 SDGs를 공식 발표하자마자 중장기 국가발전계획에 SDGs를 일치시키고 이를 이행하기 위한 다양한 전략을 수립했다. 특히 SDGs 이행을 위한 자금 조달 전략도 철저히 준비했으며, 해외 원조 및 보조금을 통한 외부 자금 조달을 주요 재원 중 하나로 제시하였다. 이를 통해 본 연구는 방글라데시 정부가 중상소득국과 상위소득국으로의 순차적 진입이라는 자국의 국가발전목표 달성을 위해 필요한 재원 및 기타 외부 지원을 충당하기 위한 전략적 차원에서 SDGs 이행에 전념하고 국가발전목표를 SDGs와 연계한 것으로 판단하고 있다. 그리고 세계시민교육 연계 교육과정의 도입 역시 이러한 맥락에서 이루어진 것으로 보인다. 다시 말해 직접적인 수요 라기보다는 다른 필요성에 의해 세계시민교육을 교육과정에 통합하기로 결정한 후, 국가적 현안과 이미 계획되어 있던 교육과정 개정에 연결시켜 진행했을 가능성이 높아 보인

다. 반면 유네스코는 전통적으로 국제사회에서 교육 분야 담론 및 의제를 주도해온 명실상부한 국제기구였으나 지속적인 재원 부족과 이로 인한 전문성 약화, 본부에 더 많은 인력과 예산이 집중되는 중앙 집권적이고 관료적인 구조 등으로 인한 어려움을 겪고 있다. 특히 최근 수십 년 동안 막대한 자본이나 교육 데이터 개발 및 제공 등의 기술적 전문성을 바탕으로 한 세계은행, OECD와 같은 경제 기반 국제기구의 영향력 확대로 국제사회에서의 입지가 약해지고 있는 상황이다. 따라서 유네스코가 세계시민교육 또는 세계시민교육 연계 교육과정과 같은 글로벌 의제 개발, 이행, 홍보, 확산에 적극적인 것은 단순히 유엔 교육 전문기구로서 글로벌 규범 설정 및 이행에 앞장서야 하는 역할을 수행하는 것뿐 아니라 글로벌 거버넌스를 둘러싸고 다른 국제기구들과 일종의 경쟁 관계에 놓여 있는 상황에서 글로벌 의제에 대한 국제적 공감대 형성과 지지, 참여를 통해 기관의 정당성을 확보하고 우위를 확보하기위한 노력으로도 생각할 수 있다. 그리고 방글라데시 사례와 같이 정책 수립 단계부터 참여하여 글로벌 의제를 하향식으로 이행하는 총체적인 접근은 제한된 예산과 전문성을 가진 유네스코가 업무의 효율성과 효과성을 극대화하기 위한 전략일 수 있다.

마지막으로, 본 연구는 정책 차용 연구의 대상을 전통적인 양자간 프레임에서 국제적 프레임으로 전환하여 글로벌 의제가 개별 국가, 특히 개도국의 정책에서 어떻게 실현되는지에 대해 살펴보고자 했다. 무엇보다 힘의 불균형 논리에 기반한 이분법적 관점에서 벗어나 정책을 차용(receiving, borrowing)하는 입장의 개도국을 무력한 수용자가 아닌 주도적이고 능동적인 하나의 주체로 보고 정책을 대여(lending)하는 국제기구와의 사이에서 형성되는 역학관계에 대해 탐색함으로써 정책 차용 연구의 범위를 확장하고 글로벌 의제의 국가 정책으로의 실현

을 재해석하였다는 데 의의가 있다고 본다.