

**Notions of Citizenship in Bangladesh Secondary Curriculum:  
The Interface between Policy, Perception, and Practice**

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## Abstract

This research explores the slippages between the intended and the operational curricula in relation to understanding and enacting citizenship in a Bangladeshi secondary school. I draw on Pinar's (2006) notion of the curriculum as a political text to show that it is Western neoliberal understandings of citizenship that are considered as those 'most worth knowing'. The key themes of this research relate to the tensions between neoliberal discourses of citizenship and 'critical' approaches to citizenship (Andreotti, 2006) and also relate to the slippages between the intended and operational curricula in terms of citizenship. Using qualitative research methodologies, I have analysed three Bangladeshi curriculum documents and the stated views of citizenship of a group of teachers and students and a principal at the level of the intended secondary curriculum. I have also analysed how competing views of citizenship are played out in practice in the operational curriculum of a high school classroom. The findings show that Bangladeshi secondary education is reproducing Western neoliberal knowledge of citizenship that thwarts opportunities for political subjectivity and agency for critical citizenship.

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## **Chapter-1: Introduction**

### ***Rationale***

In the 21st century, notions of citizenship are highly contested in relation to issues such as place, identity, and process. According to Ichilov (1998), in the postmodern era the dominant patterns of citizenship are characterised by compelling ideologies which include individualism and changing perspectives. The driving forces behind these ideologies are economic development and national power. Within this reality a good citizen is one who understands the:

Sense of multiple identity most lucidly and who strives most ardently in his public life to achieve the closest concordance possible between the policies and goals of the several civic levels of which he is a member (Heater, 1990; cited in Ichilov, 1998, p. 22).

In such changing conditions those writing curricula need to make decisions about what is worthwhile knowledge for citizenship, for students to learn, and at the same time outline the learning intentions and processes that can best meet these ends (McGee, 1997). In this case curriculum is not a neutral document as “what is to be learned is permeated with objectives and intentions” (Ross, 2002, p. 45).

From the perspective of globalisation, I think the contested views of citizenship encompass the whole of schooling, both explicitly and implicitly. As a teacher educator, I suggest that in Bangladesh contested views of citizenship are played out at the level of the intended curriculum, in curriculum documents, and in people's perceptions as well as at the level of the operational curriculum. The intended curriculum is what is planned at the national level by the government and it provides the base of the school curriculum (McGee, 1997). The operational curriculum is what actually happens in the classroom under the control of schools and teachers. From this perspective I intend to investigate the notions of citizenship being used in Bangladeshi secondary schools. I will do this through an analysis of the intended secondary curriculum documents, the

stated perceptions of those involved at the operational level and by observation in classrooms.

The research design enables me to explore whether the intended curriculum is consistent with the operational curriculum or not. Generally, the intended curriculum takes a different form at the operational level and good intentions may come to little or nothing due to implementation processes (McGee, 1997). It also helps me to gain insight into what teachers' say they believe they should do and what they actually do in practice, in relation to citizenship. This is important because it will enable teachers to reflect on their own role in the classroom setting and to acknowledge that there may be room for modification in their practices. In this investigation, what is written and what is not written about conceptions of citizenship in the curriculum document are both equally important.

We are living in a fast changing world where there are two realities for the young secondary students of Bangladesh. One reality is that of urban students who are coming across controversial issues (the gap between poor and rich, political chaos, insufficient education, health and transport services, price increases of daily used commodities, the influence of exotic cultures and so on) in their daily life through the media and information and communication technology. The second reality is that of rural students, most of who complete their school life fighting against poverty and malnutrition. These two realities raise questions concerning what type of citizen our schooling system should be producing for Bangladesh's future. As a nation, we are now interconnected with others in many aspects of our life and we are competing with other nations to protect our interests, identity, and to be heard positively on the world stage. I think education is the way to prepare our young students to take their place in this competitive world. The prevailing realities force me to think critically about the notions of citizenship that we are imparting through the secondary curriculum and classroom pedagogies. Furthermore, secondary students' are facing the many challenges (the marketisation of education, ecological imbalances, the fuel crisis, decreasing mineral resources, the need for alternative and recyclable fuel and so on) of our time and will continue to face them, and new ones, in the future. Education needs to prepare students to face the anticipated and unanticipated challenges. For this reason, it is important to

understand and explore the notions of citizenship at the level of the intended and the operational curricula, to test the curriculum's effectiveness and to find out if there are any slippages between the two.

To investigate the notions of citizenship I intend to analyse the general aims and objectives of the secondary curriculum document and the curricula of grade nine English Language, Social Science and Business studies. The aim of this is to explore the discourses of citizenship that explicitly and implicitly underpin the purposes of schooling. The analysis will also look deeply at what views of citizenship are being assumed at the policy, practice and perception levels. To contest those assumed views of citizenship, I will also talk with a principal/head teacher, teachers, and students to understand their roles and their perceptions towards citizenship. At the operational level I will also observe some Bangla Literature, English Language, Social Science, and Religious Education classes to explore what kind of knowledge, skills and dispositions are being cultivated during teaching-learning that are considered essential for citizenship. The rationale for choosing the aforesaid classes is that it is expected that teachers in these subjects are most likely to use a mix of transmission and social constructivist teaching which gives students the opportunity to engage critically in the learning process (Brophy, 2006) to become active and democratic citizens.

### ***Background Information***

To understand the complexity of Bangladesh's situation, I would like to present some historical landmarks that have played a part in shaping our nationality and are directly related to ideas of citizenship. Ichilov (1998) states that for many political theorists citizenship means the political relationship between the individual and the state and this constitutes the concept of nationalism and the nation-state. Nationalism is established by the significant markers of "ethnicity, religion, ideology, and territory" (ibid, p. 12) and provides people with individual and collective identities. Thus nationalism can be viewed as the bearer of sovereignty, loyalty and the basis of collective solidarity (ibid). Due to economic and political globalisation the very concept of nationalism has fallen under threat from the rising concept of global consciousness with its new citizenship

identity/ideology (ibid). We need to be aware of the explicit and implicit colonial intentions of the new citizenship identity/ideology.

Understanding the relationship between the curriculum, citizenship and the historical landmarks that have constructed our nationality is, therefore, significant for my study. It is not possible to understand the politics of cultural diversity and identity in Bangladesh without understanding the historical construction of nationalism, and the ways in which its legacy continues to exist in tension with the nation's constitutional ideals and the statements of the intended curriculum. These ideals and statements assume that Islam is the state religion and at the same time also recognise the importance of equal participation in social and political processes and in education irrespective of race, gender, and religion. Here the claim of inclusion falls under the politics of religious identity. Considering these complexities, it is also very important to understand how issues of cultural diversity, and principles of inclusion and justice in relation to citizenship, are mediated at the level of the operational curriculum. To better understand these complexities we therefore need to have some idea about the historical construction of our nationality.

As an integral part of the old colonial united India, Bengal (present day Bangladesh) had more-or- less lost its independence and sovereignty to the British East India Company by 1757. In the historic war against the British East India Company in 1757, some influential people from the Bengali army and from the then king's family had acted silently in favour of the British army. From 1757 to the beginning of the 19th century the British East India Company continued their trading presence but they also in reality controlled the country from behind the scenes through their control over the then puppet Bengali rulers. From 1813, the British company started to influence our education system through missionary activities. Accordingly, by 1854 the whole education system had come under the control of the British Crown Colony. The intention behind British colonial education was to supply the lower level clerks for running the daily state activities. During this colonial period we lost our own indigenous education and knowledge systems.



In 1947 the previously united India was divided into two parts on the basis of religion rather than of language, culture, or heritage. One part was India and the other was Pakistan. Pakistan was comprised of two parts, West Pakistan and East Pakistan, geographically separate and with 1300 miles between them. The language, culture and heritage of the two Pakistan were totally different. For this reason, immediately after partition East Pakistan (present day Bangladesh) became a colony of West Pakistan. In 1952, the East Pakistani people sacrificed their lives to establish Bangla as the state language of East Pakistan. The spirit of the language movement was the same as that which led us to establish the independent and sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh after a nine-month long bloody war of independence in 1971. The dream behind independence was to establish a secular, democratic, and welfare state. Education was chosen as the medium for achieving this dream. Immediately after the war of liberation, a written constitution was passed in Parliament where constitutional obligations regarding education were expressed in articles 17, 28 and 41(2). In 1974, for the education system of Bangladesh, the holistic Kudrat-E Khuda Education Commission Report was published, but for unknown reasons this education policy has not been implemented.

The constitutional obligations that were expressed regarding education are as follows:

Article 17: Free and compulsory education. The State shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of - (a) establishing a uniform, mass-oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children to such stage as may be determined by law; (b) relating education to the needs of society and producing properly trained and motivated citizens to serve those needs; (c) removing illiteracy within such time as may be determined by law. (The constitution of Bangladesh, 1999, p. 9)

Article 28: Discrimination on the grounds of religion, etc. (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. (2) Women shall have equal rights with men in all spheres of the State and of public life. (3) No citizen shall, on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth be subjected to any disability, liability, restriction or

condition with regard to access to any place of public entertainment or resort, or admission to any educational institution. (4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making special provision in favour of women or children or for the advancement of any backward section of citizens. (The constitution of Bangladesh, 1999, p. 14)

Article 41: Freedom of religion. (2) No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or to take part in or to attend any religious ceremony or worship, if that instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own. (The constitution of Bangladesh, 1999, p. 22)

These articles clearly reflect the very strong welfare commitments of the State towards education. There are also strong desires for inclusion regardless of race, culture, gender and religion and to produce motivated citizens who can meet the needs of society. Belongingness, freedom of choice, equal rights and participation, respect for literacy and social needs and empowerment are the values of citizenship that are articulated in the Bangladeshi constitution. In fact, it says that schooling needs to be an institution that includes everybody and promotes everybody's equal participation in education, so that students' from diverse backgrounds can feel that they belong to the country. Citizenship should reflect the values of multiculturalism, inclusion and freedom of choice. It should be about being who the students can be in order to belong to a country that they can respect, love and contribute to and do no harm to others. Perhaps such a notion of citizenship may enable the students of Bangladesh to achieve mental autonomy so that they are enabled to define their own interests, positions and contexts to change the “structures, assumptions, institutions, beliefs, identities, attitudes and, power relations” (Andreotti, 2006, p.47).

Another important aspect of Bangladesh's political landscape is that the nation had military rule for about 15 years. During that period democratic institutions were destroyed and to retain power the military government used religion as a weapon. During this period the national constitution was amended and a new clause inserted stating that Islam would be the State religion. This was done to exploit the sentiments of

the majority Muslim peoples. Another policy used by the military government to retain power, was to keep the donors (the World Bank, IMF, and ADB) happy, in order to ensure they kept making loans, by implementing their agenda through State policies. The influence of the regime's donors became dominant in every sector and especially in the education sector. Though there are strong constitutional commitments to citizenship, welfare and inclusion regarding education, the education system of Bangladesh has never gone in that direction due to the influence of the donors and political instability.

In the 1980s, 1990s and onwards the World Bank (WB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) became the dominant players in our education system. Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman (1996), suggest that we need to make a shift from conceptualising the curriculum in terms of development and implementation to thinking about it more critically by examining what sort of ways of knowing it advocates and what the implications of those ways of knowing are. In Bangladesh this kind of shift could be brought about by raising questions about how the curriculum is framed and used. Is the curriculum a prescribed syllabus or is it a way of thinking about education? How is the curriculum traded by the donor agencies as an international commodity within a context operating in ways to legitimate Western ways of knowing? I think the whole issue is political in nature and concerned with ideas about the global knowledge economy and neoliberal globalisation. This type of traded curriculum has troubling implications. As a teacher educator, I would suggest that, as far as creating critical future citizens for Bangladesh is concerned, it is necessary to see how the issues of diversity and multiculturalism are addressed in the intended secondary curriculum and how they are implemented in the classroom in relation to citizenship.

Multicultural education aims to achieve equal opportunity for all students in all schools. According to Twitchin and Demuth (1981), multicultural education is a concept which includes cultural diversity, participatory teaching, and equal opportunity of learning for all students. May (2009) identifies some key factors for critical multicultural education paradigms. They are; theorizing ethnicity, acknowledging unequal power relations, critiquing the construction of culture and maintaining critical reflexivity. May (2009) argues that critical multiculturalism can create an opportunity to produce plural, inclusive and democratic approaches to education. In a multicultural context, power

sharing relationships in the classroom are critical to repairing students' negative views of themselves and of their potentials (Macfarlane, 2004). According to Bishop and Glynn (1999), as cited in Macfarlane (2004), narrative pedagogy should focus on positive images of relationships in the students' minds and include a holistic approach in the curriculum for developing teaching practices. To bring change in teaching practices we need to trace the origin of authoritarian modes of teaching that are currently dominant in the Bangladeshi secondary education system.

### ***Background to Authoritarian Teaching***

One of the important purposes of my study is to explore how the intended curriculum is implemented in Bangladeshi classrooms and whether it is acknowledging the principles of inclusion and social justice in relation to citizenship. To promote meaningful change, it is therefore necessary to trace the historical roots of the teaching practices that are currently dominant in the Bangladeshi secondary education system. As Bangladesh was an integral part of a united India for many centuries, it would be wise to look at the pedagogical principles of the ancient Indian education system and then the colonial education system during British rule.

The ancient Indian education system was based on two religious traditions, Brahman and Buddhist. First I will discuss briefly the Brahman tradition of education and then I will focus on the colonial education system. The fundamental pedagogical principle of the Brahman education system was an intimate relationship between a guru (teacher) and a shisaya (student) (Mookerji, 1947). The student lived with the guru as a family member and in every way treated as a son so that he could absorb the guru's secrets of efficiency, spirit and work which are not easily taught in an artificial manner (ibid). When a student arrived at the guru's house a sense of inner conflict, regarding what he is and what he ought to be, arose in his mind. The guru took responsibility for resolving this inner conflict by embodying ideals and traditions where he brought up the student in the happiest manner possible (ibid).

One of the important features of this intimate relationship was that the sharing of experiences between the two personalities would have occurred in a non-repressive manner so that the pupil's inner life could develop in a normal manner and a sense of

personal worth could grow in him (Mookerji, 1947). At the beginning of each day's study they would have a moment together to reflect on the value of sacred learning in life and in conduct (ibid). Due to membership in the guru's family, the student would perform duties such as tending to the guru's house and cattle. The intention was to train "the pupil in self-help, the dignity of labour in performing menial service for his teacher and the student-brotherhood" (ibid, p. xxix). It seems like exploitation of the student's labour but this indigenous education system had value in the sense that "tending cattle was education through craft as a part of the highest liberal education" (ibid, p. xxix) in India. However, the Guru's ethical responsibility was to teach the student the truth without hiding anything from him (ibid).

During the colonial period this intimate relationship was replaced by a hierarchical relationship of domination. The coloniser had the knowledge and the colonised needed to get the knowledge in order to get access to resources and wealth. In this period the teacher became the sole guardian of knowledge and to get that knowledge one had to go through the teacher and do what the teacher said. This approach to teaching became institutionalised over the entire Indian subcontinent during the colonial period and its legacy is to be found in the Bangladeshi education system of today.

### ***Government Intervention towards Inclusion in Education***

In 2005 the government of Bangladesh began implementing the Teaching Quality Improvement in Secondary Education Project (TQI-SEP). Under this project the Government is implementing inclusive education strategies. Their intention is stated as follows:

Creating learner-friendly, secure and amenable learning environments is important to enable effective learning. This includes our giving attention to physical access for disabled students, being sensitive to the needs of girl-children and female teachers, and ensuring all students are provided an equitable education regardless of location, ethnicity, or gender. Part of our work is to encourage, through an awareness campaign, the active involvement of parents and community members to ensure children receive a quality education ([www.tqi-sep.gov.bd.org](http://www.tqi-sep.gov.bd.org))

In relation to diversity it is crucial to see how the educational needs of diverse students have been translated into the intended and operational curricula. Addressing the needs of diverse students should be one of the most important priorities and one that must be structured on the basis of equity and best educational practices (Macfarlane, 2007) for the development of the people. As I explain shortly, there are some philosophical tensions between liberal humanist concepts of multiculturalism and poststructuralism, however, critical multicultural education can play a role in productively engaging with culturally diverse notions of citizenship.

Ensuring the equal participation of diverse learners in education is a big challenge for the Bangladeshi education system. Low achievement and high drop-out rates of students within secondary education are serious concerns for the government. Underachievement and high drop-out rates are creating social injustice and increasing the gap between the poor and the rich. Another serious implication of these increasing disparities between the rich and poor is the resulting involvement of the students' in antisocial activities. As a teacher educator, I feel that it is time to understand this failure of education from the perspective of schooling. Therefore, I want to investigate notions of citizenship in secondary schooling both through analysing curriculum documents and through observing pedagogy.

### ***Research Questions***

In the present context of globalisation, it is a challenging and difficult task in parts of the Bangladeshi secondary intended curriculum to decide what the most worthwhile knowledge for citizenship is. Due to economic and political globalisation, the social, political, economic and ideological meanings of citizenship have been transformed (Ichilov, 1998). Democratic citizenship values have been replaced by the post modern capitalist values of citizenship which work against social justice (ibid). We need to think about the new meanings of citizenship and provide Bangladeshi students with the necessary knowledge, skills, and attitudes that enable them to assume their role as citizens. Democracy can only become visible or viable in Bangladesh if its citizens understand and practise it. This can be done by taking informed decisions about what is the most worthwhile knowledge of citizenship to gain at the intended level of the

curriculum and considering the principles of inclusion and justice. This requires a clear understanding of the present local and global context, of the cultural diversity and specific objectives and strategies. Notions of citizenship that are considered most worth knowing for Bangladeshi students to learn at the current intended level (intended secondary curriculum and people's beliefs who work at the operational level) of the curriculum are, therefore, a concern worthy of investigation.

There is also significant scope for research at the level of the operational curriculum because the planned decisions are subverted, although not intentionally, at this level. What teachers do in classrooms in order to prepare Bangladeshi students for assuming their role as citizens has great importance “to school students and society and the processes of education” (McGee, 1997, p.10). It mostly depends on how teachers perceive the present global and local context and citizenship. Teachers are required to create a positive learning environment in the classroom and make ethical judgements about their role so that students get the opportunity to engage critically with their learning processes. In Bangladesh we do not have a very informed understanding of how best the teacher education system can empower and equip teachers so that they are able to practise principles of inclusion and justice in their daily teaching. How teachers make visible the principles of inclusion and social justice in their teaching practices so that they can equip the students to negotiate the contested views of citizenship is therefore a concern worthy of research.

Establishing the links between the intended and operational curricula in terms of citizenship will encourage the curriculum policy makers, teacher educators, and teachers to reflect on their own understandings. From my theoretical understandings and professional and academic experiences I framed four research questions to investigate:

- (1) What are the notions of citizenship in the Bangladeshi Secondary curriculum document?
- (2) How is the curriculum implemented in secondary schools and what is the role of teachers in implementation?
- (3) What are the perceptions of teachers and students about citizenship?
- (4) How do teachers and students make sense of citizenship in terms of the curriculum?

## ***Chapter Organisation***

I have divided my thesis into seven chapters. In Chapter one, I provide a rationale for the study, outline the background information, and present the research questions.

In Chapter two, I develop a theoretical base for my study which includes a discussion of globalisation, understanding citizenship from a postcolonial perspective, the educational implications of citizenship, understanding the curriculum, and understanding pedagogy for citizenship.

In Chapter three I explain the methodological approaches of my study.

In Chapter four, I present the findings of my study and analyse the data that I gained from the intended Bangladeshi secondary curriculum document and the teachers and students stated beliefs about the global and local dimensions of citizenship.

In Chapter five, I present the findings about the operational curriculum by analysing the data that I gained from four participant observations and the teachers' and students' stated views about cultivating dispositions toward citizenship.

In Chapter six I provide a discussion about and the implications of the intended curriculum in relation to citizenship.

In Chapter seven I provide a discussion about and the implications of the operational curriculum in relation to citizenship. I also provide concluding remarks on my thesis.

## ***Definition of key terms***

I identify three key terms in relation to the main focus of my study which are; intended curriculum, operational curriculum, and citizenship. Though I explain the three terms in more detail in the theoretical framework chapter, I want to explain citizenship from my own understanding.

***Citizenship:*** Citizenship is a complex and multidimensional concept and many theorists explain it differently. I understand citizenship as a process, rather than a status, where a person becomes a citizen through participation. This process contains explicit and



implicit colonial aims which work against political and economic self-reliance and have negative implications for our social, political and economic life.

In this section I also provide definitions of some other terms that are used in Bangladesh and might be unknown to readers.

***Secondary education:*** Secondary education in Bangladesh refers to grades six to ten.

***Secondary teachers:*** By secondary teachers I mean here the teachers who teach in grades nine and ten. These were the teachers selected as participants in this study.

***SSC Exam:*** SSC exam refers to the Secondary School Certificate examination in Bangladesh, conducted by Ministry of Education (MoE).

***DSHE:*** DSHE refers to the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education which is the administrative authority below the MoE for secondary education in Bangladesh.

***District Education Office:*** The District Education Office is the administrative authority at the district level in Bangladesh. This office looks after the administrative affairs of secondary education in each district.

***Low achievement:*** Low achievement refers to the high failure rate in the SSC exam.

***Drop-out:*** Drop-out refers to non completion of secondary education.

## **Chapter-2: Theoretical Framework**

In this chapter I will outline the theoretical frameworks. I am going to use to understand how notions of citizenship are articulated in the secondary curriculum and in pedagogy at the levels of the intended and operational curricula. The theoretical grounding of my research project is firstly based on understanding citizenship from peoples' multiple perspectives and relationships in a globalised world. Secondly, it is important to understand citizenship from the perspective of neoliberal globalisation, as neoliberalism has had a profound influence on the educational policy (secondary curriculum document) of Bangladesh. Thirdly, I will develop a theoretical understanding based on Pinar's (1996) notion of understanding the curriculum as a political text. This aspect will include the analysis of intended (policy context, school programmes) and operational (classroom context) contexts where possible. At the intended level, the main focus of my theoretical discussion will be on political contestation around knowledge, power, diversity and difference. At the operational level I will discuss different pedagogical aspects of teaching and learning.

### ***Understanding Citizenship***

The terms globalisation and citizenship attract substantial attention from government and non-government organisations, international agencies, and pressure groups. The use of these terms in education policy documents can reflect contested and conflicting conceptions of the notion of citizenship. Some conceptions are concerned with maintaining national values, culture, and identity. Some are concerned with achieving competitiveness in the global marketplace and some are concerned with issues of justice and unequal power relations. Therefore, it is necessary to understand citizenship within the context of the current era of globalisation. For this reason I want to begin by describing briefly some theoretical ideas around the concept of globalisation.

Theorists are divided in opinion over globalisation. Some argue that it is of benefit to all while others point out that it is only elites who benefit from it. Supporters of globalisation such as Kenichi Ohmae and Francis Fukuyama state that, due to globalisation, we are living in a borderless world, where Western progressive

democratic ideals and civilisation are bringing enlightenment to all and people are becoming empowered to choose their destinies (cited in University of Southampton, 2007). Held's view is that "globalisation can be thought of as the widening, intensifying, speeding up and growing impact of world-wide interconnectedness" (cited in Dobson, 2005, p. 260). Anthony Giddens and Held argue that globalisation can bring about a better cosmopolitan world and address inequalities (cited in University of Southampton, 2007).

On the other hand, Osler and Vincent (2002) contend that economic globalisation is threatening the existence of nation states. They also argue that, despite economic globalisation, "the world has not changed that much" (p. 12). Those who are sceptical about globalisation think that only the powerful countries (the G-7) benefit from it (cited in University of Southampton, 2007). Vandana Shiva criticises globalisation as representing local (i.e. Western) and narrow interests as if they were global interests (cited in Dobson, 2005).

However, globalisation is often seen as synonymous with an economic regime of free trade and minimal state intervention along with greater information and cultural exchange and increased international migration. The global north countries are the enforcers and beneficiaries of globalisation and this situation creates homogeneity of values, identities, individuals, and societies in both the global south and north (Peters, 2004). The economic prescriptions of globalisation are full of aspirations about accumulation, exploitation, control and the exercise of power in many different forms (Peters, 2004). The chronological trend of capital accumulation makes it easy for further accumulation and the imposition of new forms of power seeking strategies (Peters, 2004).

Neo-liberalism is currently the leading discourse underpinning economic theory and contemporary policy can be treated as a model of globalisation (Peters, 2004). The form of globalisation we are experiencing can thus be viewed through the ideological lens of neo-liberalism. The political and economic imperatives behind the introduction of neoliberal policies into developing countries are to expand the movement of trade, goods, and technology all over the world, to make money, to minimise the role of the

state in business, and to enhance economic growth and other services (Peters, 2004). Peters suggests that the costs and morality of these policy directives are questionable. Within neoliberal theory, fundamental values such as individualism, prosperity, and freedom tend to promote personal and private goals at the expense of other moral values such as equity, justice, and respect for others (Peters, 2004).

Now I want to shift the focus to the effect of globalisation on our understanding of citizenship. From the above discussion it is clear that globalisation has a substantial impact on every aspect of our life and is a factor in exacerbating tensions between the advantaged and disadvantaged groups within society. The pressing question is; how are the complexities of structures and the assumptions made by globalisation mediated through the curriculum and pedagogy? I suggest that students would benefit from becoming aware of the potential challenge of globalisation to our institutions and to those of our beliefs associated with national identity, culture, the environment, politics and the economy. The nature and scale of the changes caused by globalisation also raises questions concerning the extent to which the basis of personal and social responsibility and action are addressed in the curriculum and in teaching practices. How are we equipping our students to respond to the challenges of globalisation? How do teachers redesign their strategies to respond to the global changes? According to Humes (2008), these concerns help us to understand citizenship against a global backdrop.

In the contemporary globalised world, citizenship is a complex and contested concept. Ichilov (1998) has developed a framework to conceptualize the components of citizenship and their role in a democratic society and to better understand national and transnational dimensions of citizenship. She makes a distinction between political and social, and national and transnational arenas of citizenship, within which citizens may wish to participate. She argues that, in liberal democratic models, politics is separated from society. She continues; “citizens operate in the political domain, while persons’ self-realization and fulfilment take place in the social/civic sphere” (p. 24).

However, Ichilov also points out that “participatory democracy advocates citizens’ participation in all social-political spheres” (p.24). She draws on Marxism and feminism in saying that the hegemony of capitalist values in the postmodern era still

functions as total ideology and it works against the liberating policies of greater equality and social justice. She argues that, from a Marxist perspective, the postmodern vision of society and political culture “may lead not to sharpened awareness of and increased respect for differences but to uncritical sponge-headedness” (p.21). She also quotes from Turner (1993) to stress “the view that citizenship will have to develop to embrace both the globalisation of social relations and the increasing social differentiation of social systems” (p. 24). Citizenship has therefore implications for the local political sphere as well as for a wide range of social concerns which may be international in scope.

According to Peters, Britton, and Blee (2008), the concept of citizenship has historically been based on the individual-state relationship with an emphasis on the rights and obligations that people have by virtue of having been born in or having migrated to a territory with clear boundaries. They draw on the work of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau and their concept of a social contract in order to explain why citizens subject themselves to the law in exchange for the maintenance of social order and a civil society. Peters et al. (2008) point out that Rousseau’s account of a social contract based on human sovereignty begins with “Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains” (p. 2).

But they argue that man still remains a greater slave than before. They pose questions like; “how did this change come about? And what can make it legitimate (p. 2)?” They propose answers from the Enlightenment philosophers, that “people became citizens by giving their consent to a legal and binding agreement concerning their rights and freedoms” (p.2). Peters et al. (2008) continue that people gave their consent to this social contract for reasons of the common good and bringing about collective security. This transition of civil society towards a single moral community occurs by citizens agreeing to comply with the set of values and ethical norms reached through social agreement. This single moral community is associated with the idea of cosmopolitanism, which is related to the idea of global institutions that produce global citizens (Peters et al., 2008).

Peters et al. (2008) argue that the modern form of cosmopolitanism is characterised by “a notion of human rights and a philosophical focus on human reason” (p. 3) within the perspectives of capitalism, colonialism, and transnational trade. Peters et al (2008) contend that “ it was Kant who defended and popularised the idea that human beings belong to a single moral community sharing the characteristics of freedom, equality and autonomy that grounded the concept and legitimacy of law” (p.3). Thus, Kant’s moral cosmopolitanism reflects the idea of a political cosmopolitanism based on the concept of a universal law which is limited to the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he enters another land (Peters et al., 2008).

Besides moral and political cosmopolitanism, Peters et al. (2008) also discuss economic cosmopolitanism, which originated with the work of Adam Smith. This sees the beginning of a tendency to argue for a shrinking of the political role of the state in the economy. This economic cosmopolitanism was transformed into neoliberalism in the twentieth century by the work of Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman. They argued for a new form of citizenship where the position of equity and justice is questionable (Peters et al, 2008). They also introduced the idea of globalisation which included moral, political and economic (neoliberal) cosmopolitanism on the basis of universalism and individualism. To stress the point Peters et al. (2008) quotes from Pogge (2002):

Three elements are shared by all cosmopolitan positions. First, individualism, the ultimate units of concern are human beings, or persons. .... Second, universality: the status of ultimate unit of concern attaches to every living being equally ..... Third, generality: this special status has global force. (p.4)

When combining ideas of globalisation and citizenship we actually come across complex and contested webs of language, activities, and institutions into which the two highly contested ideas are woven. Tully (2008) describes two contested ways of thinking about global citizenship; one is modern citizenship and the other is diverse citizenship. Tully’s (2008) idea of modern citizenship is linked to ‘civil citizenship’ in a modern state and cosmopolitan citizenship in a global context. It is also both explicitly and implicitly associated with modernisation of the West and the colonisation of the

non-West. These two features of modern citizenship bring the non-West under the West's guardianship through a set of historical, political and economic processes.

On the other hand, the idea of diverse citizenship is associated with the global networking of the multiplicity of citizenship practices in the West and non-West. Tully (2008) describes diverse citizenship in relation to local democratic practices within a specific relationship of governance. Tully states that "citizenship is not a status given by the institutions of the modern constitutional state and international law, but a set of negotiated practices in which one becomes a citizen through participation" (p. 17).

During the period of the centralisation and consolidation of Europe and capitalism, diverse local and regional forms of citizenship and governance were subordinated under the umbrella of the various central institutions (e.g. the World Bank, IMF, UN, and WTO) of the modern nation states. This period also saw modern citizenship rationalised as global as well as being subalternised as local citizenship (Tully, 2008). People were socialised as members of a virtual community which led them to value the goal of establishing perpetual peace over the goal of justice. This is also expressed by Tully (2008) as follows:

The people were socialised by education, urbanisation, military duty, industrialisation, and modern citizenisation to see themselves first and foremost, not as citizens of their local communities, but as members of an abstract and 'disembedded' imaginary community of nations, *demos* and *nomos* of formally free and equal yet materially unequal citizens, with an equally abstract imaginary of popular sovereignty they mythically embodied and exercised through the individual liberties of modern citizenship attached to the central legal and representative institutions. (p.20)

Tully (2008) argues that modern citizenship has been, and is being, globalised as a global citizenship in the name of cosmopolitan rights and through the vehicles of international law and global institutions. Cosmopolitan rights are the rights of the citizens of the imperial powers to exercise the right of civil liberty (private autonomy) and the right to act outside their own territory and to be protected from any interference to do so (ibid). As colonialism is no longer acceptable in its historical form, this

strategy is being employed to globalise modern citizenship through 'free trade' (Neoliberal globalisation) imperialism. The tacit intention is to colonise the non-West through the commercialisation of their societies, with the discipline of wage slavery for those at the bottom ensuring they become dependent on a non-representative elite class at the top (Tully, 2008).

Tully (2008) argues that since 9/11/01, in the name of security and the war against terrorism, the civil and cosmopolitan liberties of individuals and corporate citizens are protected by national and international law. Through this new form of cosmopolitan rights, the continuation of Western imperialism is legitimised. The adverse effects are instability, global economic repression and mounting inequalities between the West and non-West, worse than that of the former colonial period (ibid).

According to Tully (2008); “the globalisation of modern citizenship has not tended to democracy, equality, and perpetual peace, but to informal imperialism, dependency, inequality, and resistance” (p.28). From the perspectives of modern citizenship, the citizens of the West see themselves as superior and believe it their duty to civilise the inferior non-West, while also taking the opportunity to increase their corporate profits with the result that inequality is increased. And, from the perspective of diverse citizenship, this is the relentless despotic abuse of authority against local (non-Western) citizenship and self-reliance. A consequence of this is the production of unequal power relations and repression when anybody refuses to submit. Yet the motivational problem that underlies the heart of cosmopolitanism can be traced back through Dobson's work.

My theoretical understanding will be based on the material dimension of cosmopolitan citizenship as described by Dobson. Dobson (2006) provides a ground for cosmopolitan citizenship by providing an analysis of the motivational problem that lies within the principles of cosmopolitanism. In spite of enormous technological advancement, he argues that for many contemporary political accounts the basic root of poverty lies within the Western notions of progress and moral values that have come from global economic institutions (ibid). Beliefs in a common humanity or charitable action, rather than in political obligation, are identified as the motivational problem at the heart of cosmopolitanism. Dobson proposes that the nature of our concern for 'strangers' (the



distant people we never meet) should be a political concern for doing justice (ibid). He stresses that the source of this political obligation should be “conceiving both the impact of individuals' and communities' social practices on the environment and the unequal nature of that impact” (p. 176).

Dobson (2006) uses the idea of an ecological footprint to clarify the unequal nature of this impact. He argues that the world's ecological footprint links us all in a chain of 'causal responsibility' and enables us to think about the unequal nature of resource consumption and the material impact it has on the biotic and abiotic elements of environment (ibid). It also leads us to think that severe floods in Bangladesh or in Mozambique are not only the effect of local deforestation but also the consequence of global warming or the result of the lifestyle of the affluent societies (ibid). In that case the political response, to the unimaginable sufferings caused by these floods, should be to recognise the causal responsibility for doing justice rather than to express sympathy or to give aid. Dobson states that it can be “understood as a network of effects that prompts reflection on the nature of the impacts they comprise” and for him “[an] ecological footprint can, therefore, be regarded as a space of potential obligation” (2006, p. 177). We need to aware that unequal power relations fall outside the realm of any intellectual action that is guided by common humanity (Dobson, 2006).

Dobson's view (2005) challenges the interdependence view of globalisation because it does not recognise the unequal power relations between North and South. He states that two competing views of globalisation (interdependence and asymmetry) may accompany unexamined notions of global citizenship and these may steer our attention away from the material harm caused by it. He points out that globalisation is “an asymmetrical process in which not only its fruits are divided up unequally, but also in which the very possibility of being global is unbalanced” (Dobson, 2005, p.262). He suggests that in such a globalising world we require a space where things will be negotiated on a valid ground of justice. Dobson therefore, means by a global citizen one whose agency is based on a political obligation for action.

In contrast to Dobson; Peters (2004) in her book *In Search of the Good Life* describes one important aspect of citizenship as “valuing the interdependence of life” (p.111). I

will refer to it as an earthist view of citizenship or earthism. Peters (2004) states that there is a strong tendency in the ideology of neoliberal economics to interpret everything in terms of human experience and values. This radically anthropocentric worldview undermines human's ability to recognise and value the interdependence of creation that is visible all around us (Peters, 2004). She argues that this tendency has been magnified by the Enlightenment project of individualism by eroding the concept of the common social good.

Peters (2004) continues that this Western anthropocentric worldview is also reinforced by Christian theological orientations “that serve to mask our planetary interdependence in ways that ultimately harm all of creation” (pp. 111-112) and posits humans above all other creation. Within this hierarchical order of creation there is an attitude to help the less fortunate. Peters (2004) warns that this type of attitude towards the poor on the basis of this hierarchical order converts what ought to be a matter of justice into one of charity and beneficence. Finally, Peters (2004) concludes that “earthist's desire for justice in the world - justice for all creation - requires a radical overturning of hierarchical structures that maintain order for some at the expense of others” (p.112). It will be interesting to consider the extent to which the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum is framed for this kind of citizenship and whether the participants make sense of citizenship as requiring them to break the hierarchical structures for promoting justice.

One of the major issues of citizenship is to think about cultural diversity within the context of transnationalism. Due to the increased transnational mobility of people, resources, and information, the construction of cultural diversity has become contested. Rizvi (2011) has examined the dominant constructions of cultural diversity within the context of an emergent economic, political and social phenomenon of transnationalism. In this examination, along with his personal narratives, he also considers “state policies relating to cultural diversity, social norms and shifting historical conditions” (p. 180). He argues that experiences of cultural diversity are associated with specific historical and political conditions as well as with personal engagement with complex changing conditions. Due to his mobility, Rizvi's experiences of cultural diversity are wide ranging in nature and shaped by religion, language and race in different contexts. He

claims that transnationalism refers to “cross-border relationships, patterns of economic, political and cultural relations and complex affiliations and social formations” (p.184) through which culture is constructed and that these processes are transforming our sense of identity and belongingness. This transformation is helping to construct a new “sense of possibilities, aspirations, and desires” (p.185) in the mind of young people. Rizvi (2011) has pointed out that people's sense of new opportunities is deeply shaped by the “workings of the geometries of power” (p.185). Through this power the corporate media use the romance of cultural diversity to constitute a sense of rampant consumerism (Rizvi, 2011). This consumerism certainly reflects the neoliberal view of citizenship.

Rizvi (2011) contends that it is now crucial for any educational system to acknowledge the importance of cultural diversity as well as the inevitably contested cultural practices within the context of an interconnected world. Thus to understand the cosmopolitan features of citizenship from a transnational perspective, education policy and practices committed to justice and inclusion needs to critically engage with the politics of difference that take place across transnational borders (Rizvi, 2011). I am interested in exploring how the politics of difference is mediated by education policy, the stated views of teachers and students and by classroom practices in relation to citizenship by using the theme: “experiences of diversity in the context of an emergent transnationalism” ( Rizvi, 2011, p. 181).

### ***Educational Implications***

I now turn to a discussion of Andreotti's (2006) work in which she discusses the cultural dimension of global citizenship in Spivak's account of colonial discourse analysis and its educational implications. I need to mention here that Andreotti's work, on education for global citizenship, while obviously related to a knowledge domain, is not necessarily reflected in the intended or operational curricula of any country (although some may argue that it should be!). However, in the field of global citizenship education, notions of critical and soft approaches to citizenship education are relevant to my study.

In analysing the cultural dimension of global citizenship education, Andreotti (2006) uses Spivak's naturalising concept of Western supremacy. This naturalisation process produces the discourse of "modernisation" in which the negative consequences of colonialism in producing unequal power relations and dependency is forgotten. As a result, notions of development and neoliberal policies permeate third world countries, legitimising another "civilising mission" and producing a new ego ideal of the "global" in the West. This ego ideal creates an elite class comprised of first and third world people who are very keen to reproduce the "ethnocentric view" in the third world. I am interested in the extent to which educational policies should therefore take into account "unlearning" and "learning to learn" to undermine the tendency to supremacy. Finally, Andreotti (2006) explores critical literacy as a strategy to understand the complexity, process, and contexts of citizenship at global and local level. By using Dobson and Spivak's account, Andreotti (2006, pp. 46-48) has developed a framework of soft versus critical citizenship education. The major features of her framework are given below.

Table 1: Soft versus critical citizenship education

	Soft Global Citizenship Education	Critical Global Citizenship Education
Basis for caring	Common humanity/being good/sharing and caring. Responsibility for the other (or to teach the other)	Justice/complicity in harm. Responsibility towards the other (or to learn with the other)- accountability.
Grounds for acting	Humanitarian/moral (based on normative principles for thought and action)	Political/ethical (based on normative principles for relationships)
Understanding of interdependence	We are all equally interconnected, we all want the same thing, we can all	Asymmetrical globalisation, unequal power relations, Northern

	do the same thing	and Southern elites imposing own assumptions as universal.
What needs to change	Structures, institutions and individuals that are a barrier to development	Structures, (belief) systems, institutions, assumptions, cultures, individuals and relationships.
What for	So that everyone achieves development, harmony, tolerance and equality	So that injustices are addressed, more equal grounds for dialogue are created, and people can have more autonomy to define their development
How does change happen	From outside to inside (imposed)	From inside to the outside
Basic principle for change	Universalism (non-negotiable vision of how everyone should live, what everyone should want or should be)	Reflexivity, dialogue, contingency and ethical relation to difference (radical alterity).
Goal of global citizenship education	Empower individuals to act (or become active citizens) according to what has been defined for them as a good life or ideal world	Empower individuals to reflect critically on the legacies and processes of their culture, to imagine different futures and to take responsibility for decisions and actions.

I will use Andreotti's critical approaches to global citizenship education to consider notions of citizenship and their implications when I analyse discourses underpinning the intended curriculum and the stated beliefs of the teachers and students. Critical approaches to global citizenship education are useful because they provide an effective way to examine the complex cultural and material processes of citizenship in both local and global contexts.

Any attempt to explore notions of citizenship requires constructing a theoretical understanding of how agency is shaped by the dominant ideologies that characterise our society and how it is conceptualised in educational terms. The rationale is that the concept of agency is directly linked to active citizen participation/action. The purpose of this theorizing is to explore what kind of agency is being proposed at the intended level of the secondary curriculum for active citizen participation. For this I will draw on material from Andreotti (2005) and Biesta (2010).

Andreotti (2005) argues that in the industrial age, human agency was shaped by the concept that individuals were free to participate in the “modes of production, consumption, and circulation of capital being proposed” (p. 111). But in the post industrial age, human agency was shaped by the discourse of capitalism (Andreotti, 2005) and was subordinated to capital. The purpose of this subordination was to achieve political apathy and to expand individualism. In this sense of agency, individuals are just consumers of 'symbolic and non symbolic goods' (Andreotti, 2005). This is characteristic of '*consumer agency*' and active citizen participation is thus directed to achieving a neoliberal consumer identity. It in fact contributes to self-motivated competition to gain consuming power (Apple, 2002; cited in Andreotti, 2005).

This competition blurs individuals' perceptions so that they think of themselves as actors but in fact they are, at best, choosers (Andreotti, 2005). In this capitalist notion of agency other important concepts, such as democracy, refer to the unrestricted expansion of markets, politics refers to providing regulatory provisions for the service sector/supply side of economies, development is narrowly defined as economic growth, and freedom refers to freedom to consume or freedom to participate in business

(Andreotti, 2005). Now, the question is how this utilitarian notion of agency is encoded in the aims of education to guide active citizen participation for achieving a neoliberal consumer identity by eroding the opportunity for political subjectivity and agency. This can be seen in Biesta's (2010) work.

Biesta (2010) discusses the rationale of citizenship education in terms of qualification, socialisation, and the subjectification function of education. He regards these as three possible aims of education. Biesta argues that in much of the literature on citizenship education, a strong focus is given to providing students with the necessary knowledge and skills about rights and responsibilities and the workings of the political system. The reason for confining the task of citizenship education to a qualification function is to avoid cultivating a particular set of political values and convictions. In many cases citizenship education not only focuses on acquiring knowledge, skills and dispositions, but also clearly defines what students ought to become - good or active citizens. This approach to citizenship education includes the agenda of socialization and aims to cultivate dispositions towards particular identities and subjectivities. Biesta questions whether citizenship education should confine itself to qualification or should also articulate a rationale for socialization and the promotion of a kind of citizenship that considers seriously concerns about political subjectification/ agency.

However, according to Biesta, these considerations raise a concern about the form of qualification that can promote political agency in a particular predefined way beyond socialization. Focusing only on one function clearly undermines the importance of the other two functions even though the three functions are interrelated. He suggests that it should be a composite concept for two reasons. Firstly, developing political knowledge and understanding (qualification) could be important for political ways of acting and being (subjectification). Secondly, focussing only on cultivating a particular citizenship identity (socialization) eliminates the opportunities for inculcating political subjectivity and agency. I have found Biesta's (2010) approach to citizenship education useful because it has enabled me to examine whether attention is being given to a particular function or to the three functions (qualification, socialization, and subjectification) of education in terms of citizenship at the levels of the intended and operational curricula.

### *Understanding Curriculum as a Political Text*

In the above section I discussed different perspectives of citizenship from a range of theorists. We have seen how, in the name of universalism and common humanity, ideas of cosmopolitan citizenship have been and continue to be spread all over the world to the colonised non-West. In this section I will develop the theoretical base of my project and explore how the politics of citizenship knowledge, encoded in the intended curriculum, is used to engineer society in order to support the continuation of neoliberal hegemony. Before that I will examine the curriculum in terms of the intended and the operational curricula and argue that curriculum decisions are politically contested.

Change is an essential feature of society. From childhood to death everybody experiences changes which influence their social, political and cultural life. The role of education in bringing about these changes is enormous. In an ever-changing social environment, conventional norms, values and ways of doing things encounter new challenges and thinking processes. This creates an uncertain/complex situation for teachers and curriculum planners who are trying to make the best decisions they can in response to the demands made by society for new approaches.

The curriculum therefore becomes politically contested because it is “concerned with making decisions about what is the most worthwhile knowledge for children and students to learn, why they should learn it, and how they should learn it” (McGee, 1997, p. 9) in a particular moment of history/change. Questions arise in relation to the status quo; what are the contributing forces that cause change and who controls those forces? Decisions may be taken regarding the curriculum that might maintain the status quo but with a false hope for greater justice. However, for McGee, the curriculum is a field full of debate and argument and “the term curriculum means different things to different people” (p. 9). Whatever is meant by the curriculum, McGee suggests that the decisions that are made about curriculum “should be aimed at an improved world and greater justice for individuals so they might enjoy fulfilling, satisfying lives” (p.10).

McGee (1997) provides a useful framework for understanding the curriculum which includes the policy context, the school context, the classroom context, and the student context. The policy context of a curriculum refers to what is planned by the government



for educating people to aspire to. We can call it the *intended curriculum*. In the intended curriculum a tendency is seen to want to accommodate the interests of all social groups, though the interests of dominant pressure groups can become quite explicit, especially in the developing countries.

The aims and objectives of the intended curriculum provide a framework for the school context of the curriculum. The school context of the curriculum refers to the planned day to day school programmes (routines, class organisation, sports, assembly, and so on) and is developed according to the national context of curriculum. This is also the *intended curriculum*. The school curriculum provides a framework for classroom activities.

The classroom context of curriculum is what actually occurs in terms of teaching-learning in a real classroom situation under the guidance of a particular teacher. We can refer to it as the *operational curriculum*. McGee (1997) contends that the success of the intended curriculum depends on teachers' ability to make wise choices in implementation. An experienced teacher employs emergent approaches in implementation to make learning pleasant for the students. Identifying the distinction between the intended and the operational curricula is important because poor planning can result in objectives not being clearly pursued (McGee, 1997). This distinction also highlights the fact that the *intended curriculum* takes a different form at the operational level.

The student context of curriculum refers to what the students receive in the actual classroom setting or in their practical life. We can call this the *received curriculum*. *The received curriculum is* in fact, an alloy of the *intended* and the *operational curricula*. What students receive in the classroom depends on teachers' attitudes, who the students' are (race, gender, ethnic identity, social and economic status), what their interests are, and their families' attitudes and values about life and education (McGee, 1997). The distinction between the *operational* and the received curriculum has implications for students' creative and critical abilities and for what type of citizen they might become. The focus of my study is to find out the slippages between the intended and the

operational curricula in relation to citizenship. Therefore, this theory of curriculum fits well with the purpose of my study.

Theoretically my research topic is grounded on how the Bangladeshi intended and operational secondary curricula are implanted as a historical and political text (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, 1996). I intend to uncover how the language and structure of the intended secondary curriculum is framed in order to address the issues of diversity and difference. Using Pinar et al.'s (1996) notion of curriculum reconceptualisation, my research topic will look at the shift from a primary and practical interest in the development and implementation of curriculum, to an interest in understanding curriculum as the knowledge considered most worth knowing, and the implications of this for Bangladeshi students as citizens. The aim of this understanding is to become conscious of how notions of citizenship are deliberately inserted in the curriculum document (the general aims and objectives, English language, Social Science, and Business Studies). Also, to be aware of the ways in which the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum is claimed to be inclusively framed for a diverse group of students in order to construct the sense of an empowered citizenry. In real classroom situations it is also important to understand how teachers employ their professional judgements to “make learning come alive for students” (McGee, 1997), and the implications of those judgements for students.

In exploring the notions of citizenship that explicitly and implicitly underpin the purpose of schooling therefore, it is necessary to understand the curriculum as a political text. Pinar et al. (1996) say that the curriculum is not a neutral thing; it is about power and politics - the knowledge that the stake holders consider worth knowing. In the case of Bangladesh, a powerful group of stakeholders are the donors (the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund) and local elites who exercise their power in ways that perpetuate their dominant ideologies. It can be argued that in this way, the intellectual domination and hegemony of Western ways of thinking are used (Pinar et al, 1996) to shape the youth of Bangladesh. This hegemony works through the intended and operational curricula so as to benefit certain sets and orders of knowledge over others which are less powerful. According to Gramsci (1975) as cited in Pinar et al (1996) “hegemony referred to a process of

domination whereby the ruling class is said to exercise political control through its intellectual and moral leadership over allied classes” (p. 250) to prevent the development of civic/class consciousness. This is evident in the Kenyan education system. In 1980s and 1990s there was a shift in Kenyan education from ethics to a new economic emphasis on self-reliance and self-employment and introducing cost sharing in education (structural adjustment) (Wainaina, Arnot, & Chege; 2011).

The theoretical framework I am using is based on poststructuralism. My approach to what knowledge of citizenship is worth knowing and whose knowledge of citizenship counts has a strong relationship to Bredo's (2006) concept of poststructuralism. Poststructuralism challenges the unquestioned assumptions of knowledge claims and gives equal status to diverse perspectives and epistemologies (Bredo, 2006). Recognising the relationship between language and power it can show how different groups or communities are misunderstood, marginalised, or silenced in curriculum documents. According to MacLure (2003), poststructuralism criticizes the rationalist and humanist world view that is the continuing legacy of the colonial Enlightenment. It focuses on the particularity and diversity of human cultures, institutions and mentalities. I intend to examine the curriculum document through a poststructural lens to see how concepts of citizenship are framed for diverse learners.

My analysis will be based on Popkewitz's concept of the curriculum as a tool of social engineering. Popkewitz (1997) asks how it is that the curriculum can shape an understanding of self and how this relates to shifts in power over time. He maintains that when we look at the history of a curriculum, it plays a part in shaping the social order we have. He argues that the curriculum is about the politics of knowledge and curriculum history reflects that politics which is more widely embodied in society. Popkewitz (1997) contends that the curriculum is an agent of the state and a tool of social engineering that constitutes the concept of citizenship. The curriculum prescribes the kind of rules and regulations we live by and what being a citizen means in the world. Likewise, it controls how we construct the sense of an individual and our sense of reason.

Popkewitz (1997) urges us to think about history differently and he problematizes the traditional understanding of history as a linear process. He says the notion of progress as linear should be replaced by a model of a history of breaks. He offers the example of the pyramids of Egypt to show how knowledge and institutions are socially constructed and how Europeans take the pyramids as a sign of progress for Egyptian civilization. Popkewitz (1997) critically discusses the political shift in the role of church and state and asks us to start thinking differently about citizenship. He says that the curriculum and diversity are intertwined and emphasises studying the understanding of a person rather than studying the person. In contrast to the historical tradition, he speaks of a *linguistic turn* towards the understanding of how language constitutes people's realities rather than produces people's realities. This is a huge philosophical shift in understanding the role of language in schooling as it challenges the official knowledge of the world and the child's self.

When I compare Popkewitz's (1997) reading with that of Apple's (1996), I find that both of them are saying that the curriculum is not a neutral document; that the curriculum is about power and knowledge which perpetuate social inequalities. They connect the larger social and historical context of education to what is in the document and what is happening in the field (the operational curriculum). They have also explored how the curriculum shapes understanding of meaning and reasons that produce social inequalities.

Another focus of my research project is on Alexander (2005) and Odora Hoppers's (2010) colonial discourses to see how in the current global context these discourses continue to make citizenship a fragile, highly contingent enterprise. The aim is to try to understand the ways in which colonial discourses set the requirements of citizenship for empire in the secondary curriculum rather than citizenship for collective self-determination. Odora Hoppers (2010) talks about how colonialism and knowledge debates have affected the rich knowledge heritages of non-Western peoples. She says that the colonisers declared the non-Western lands as “devoid of people or ideas” (p. 80) as a strategy to suppress the indigenous people. She talks about the decimation of indigenous people as well as their ways of being, and knowing.

The same principle is now being used to appropriate biodiversity from its original owners through the protocols of the World Trade Organisations (WTO). Odora Hoppers (2010) argues that in the name of enlightenment and civilization the colonisers imposed their ways of knowing on the colonised, considering their ways of knowing to be the best. She contends that we should rethink how knowledge is created and whose knowledge counts because if we do not change the contributing discourses, we will not be able to bring about any change. She attaches importance to raising questions about the marginalization of knowledge production of particular groups so that students can relate that to what is happening in the classroom.

I also intend to use Gee (1990) and MacLure's (2003) linguistic applications to explore the underlying discourses of citizenship. My approach to discourses has been shaped by Gee (1990). He writes that “language as well as literacy, is always and everywhere integrated with and relative to social practices constituting particular discourses” (p. 5). My approach to discourses has also been shaped by MacLure (2003). She argues that discourses enable engagement with binary oppositions, and this is one of the key ways in which meaning and knowledge are produced. With these understandings, I intend my research to challenge the meaning-making process of citizenship through the secondary curriculum.

### ***Understanding Pedagogy for Citizenship***

In this section I will discuss pedagogical aspects of the operational curriculum as I recognise that it is important to identify whether there is a match or mismatch between the intended and the operational curricula in relation to citizenship. Making the link between the intended and the operational curricula is important in providing Bangladeshi teachers with the insight that enables them to acknowledge the significance of creativity, spontaneity and curiosity in their daily practices.

The intended curriculum takes a different form when it is implemented. So, in relation to the operational curriculum my theoretical understanding focuses on Freire's (1998) critical educational practices to explore how teachers create possible conditions in the classroom to cultivate dispositions for critical citizenship. Before starting discussion of Freire's critical educational approaches I would like to acknowledge that there is a

theoretical tension between poststructuralism and critical theory. Poststructuralism is a reaction to the unquestioned foundations of knowing and the humanist world view (Bredo, 2006 & MacLure, 2003). It rejects the notion of an all encompassing system of knowledge (Burr, 1995) and enables us to embrace something that is considered as ultimate. For some political theorists, the poststructural plurality may constitute a protection against all forms of political ideology (Ichilov, 1998). Radical Marxist and Feminist theorists' believe that, despite the poststructural critique, the hegemony of capitalist values still functions as a total citizenship ideology and fails to create any strong resistance to oppression (Ichilov, 1998). Therefore, they reject poststructuralism, considering that it does not provide liberating principles toward greater equality and social justice (Ichilov, 1998).

On the other hand, critical theory takes a critical position by acknowledging a wider range of scholarship (such as neo-Marxists, resistance theorists, feminist standpoints, and so on) critical to the present economic, social and political structures (Bredo, 2006 & Mariage et al, 2004). For instance, criticality does not refer to the dominance of instrumental rationality i.e. something is right or wrong, rather it provides an opportunity to understand the origins of assumptions and implications (Andreotti, 2006 & Bredo, 2006). Critical theory enables us to unveil the ways through which the educational goals and means are set by the macro structure of power and privilege (McLaren, 1995; cited in Mariage et al, 2004). These means and goals influence teachers' decision and action in educational spaces. Poststructuralism rejects/challenges the normative rules and structures while critical theory tends to seek what counts as legitimate to whom in a complex socio-economic, political and historical contexts. However, both seem to have something useful to offer and I want to bring the best aspects of both poststructuralism and critical theory to a social constructionism approach.

If students are required to acquire a complete and imposed conception of citizenship and its consequences for their social, political and economic life, then teachers need to engage the students in interactions so that they become able to determine themselves as “social, historical, thinking, communicating, transformative, and creative persons” (Freire, 1998, p. 45). Freire's pedagogical assumptions articulate the importance of

understanding the dialectical relationship between subjectivity and objectivity for the students because objectivity is an ideological act and an absolute emphasis on objectivity excludes the importance of others. In his pedagogical assumptions Freire also stresses consideration of the cultural identity of the students because it is directly related to assumptions of who they are and how they make sense of themselves. According to Freire, the sense of cultural identity cannot do or be automatically, rather it is experienced through the contributing/compelling forces (historical, political, and economic) that work against or in favour of self-determination. If teaching practices are premised on the compelling force of a technicist approach to education/the operational curriculum, they fail to signify the importance of democratic practices and are incompatible with learning and becoming a subject (Freire, 1998).

Freire (1998) questions the technicist approach to the operational curriculum/education which causes the fragmentation of knowledge and prevents students from making the links between information necessary for reading the world critically. For a more comprehensive and coherent understanding of the world it is necessary that “teaching requires a recognition that education is ideological, teaching always involves ethics, teaching requires a capacity to be critical, teaching requires the recognition of our conditioning, teaching requires humility, and teaching requires critical reflection” (Freire, 1998, p. xiii). These fundamental understandings are essential for students to become critical citizens and a potent teacher always allows students to be subjective in acquiring these. This is because students should be aware of the manipulative power of any citizenship ideology that hides the truth. Any authoritarian mode of teaching suppresses students questioning and enquiring capacity which makes liberty an unattainable destiny (Freire, 1998). Freire contends that teaching should be involved in producing a counter discourse to ideology that can cultivate students' dispositions to critical consciousness for becoming responsible citizens.

The Freirean scholar Giroux (1997) contends that despite relentless work on educational theory and practice, the significance of human subjectivity and agency remains suppressed. He urges us to develop a radical pedagogy which considers the dialectic between consciousness and structure and signifies the imperatives of struggle and emancipation. The central point of his radical pedagogy is to reformulate ideology

to one which acknowledges “the issues of agency, struggle and critique” (Giroux, 1997, p.72). Furthermore, to create an ethical relationship with others, teaching needs to expose the qualities to students which Freire points out in his book, *Pedagogy of Freedom*:

In the course of the critical exercise of my resistance to the manipulative power of ideology, I bring birth of certain qualities that in turn become a store of wisdom, indispensable to my teaching practice. On the one hand, the necessity for this critical resistance creates in me an attitude of permanent openness toward others, toward the world; on the other hand, it generates in me a methodical mistrust that prevents me from becoming absolutely certain of being right. (Freire, 1998 p. 119.).

Similar to Freire and Giroux;, McLaren (1989) also articulates the importance of developing a critical pedagogy by acknowledging that the political intention of contemporary educational policies are heavily inclined to cultivate dispositions to technocratic and corporate citizenship ideologies. The implicit social function of this political intention is to maintain the status quo. McLaren argues that this is characteristic of an ideological shift in education/schooling within the logic of capital accumulation and the marketplace where the social concern of moving students towards critical and empowered citizenry is eliminated. The erosion of critical citizenship from the realm of policy undermines the democratic possibilities of education/schooling.

A similar ideological shift occurred in the Bangladeshi curriculum in 1995 with its strong focus on entrepreneurial savvy for its future citizens. McLaren (1989) states that within this technicist approach to the intended curriculum, teaching becomes synonymous with providing students with the necessary skills and attitudes so that they are able to find a position in the corporate hierarchy. He warns that this technicist approach to teaching fails to transmit to economically disadvantaged students the message that they are going to be subordinated in a larger socio-political relationship due to their social status. This subordination fosters their (the students) inability to exert critical and creative resistance to the concerns of inequalities and injustices.



McLaren (1989), therefore, suggests that all concerned should think critically about our society's complicity in building structures that are the cause of inequality and injustice. For this, he proposes developing a pedagogy which enables teachers to reflect on their own role in reproducing inequality and provides students with the intellectual and moral courage to resist domination. McLaren's (1989) pedagogical concept thus goes beyond the task of transmitting knowledge and skills.

In contrast to McLaren, Arthur and Wright (2001) contend that teaching is not a neutral activity because teachers have much to do with activating the values and dispositions essential for active citizenship. For this teachers need to think about “what human beings are and what they might become” (Arthur & Wright, 2001, p.4). The social aspects of human nature are dynamic and change over time and place. In this case, what a student ought to become, a good/active citizen, is really a contested subject for a teacher and it depends only on how teachers understand citizenship. They suggest that teachers need to recognise that citizenship is a complex enterprise which includes “a range of legal, moral, social, political, and cultural elements” (p.5) and is a device to shape society.

Mariage, Paxton-Buursma, and Bouck (2004), argue that we should change discursive practices in order to achieve educational social justice through the interanimation of multiple voices from different perspectives. Though these voices create dynamic tensions, they can bring about the necessary change in the educational context. They say that we should create new spaces for new possibilities so that educationally just practices can be enacted through the interanimation of multiple discourses across the range of educational settings. They take their position to embrace different aspects of the meaning-making process by interanimating sociocultural and critical theory. Mariage et al. (2004) say that we need to think about critical pedagogy, necessary for critical analysis, to promote liberating discourses for learners. They advocate creating multivocal classroom discourses so that learning disabled (LD) students can have privileged access to the power discourses used in school.

Gert Biesta (2010) in his book *Good Education in the Age of Measurement: Ethics, Politics, Democracy* brings the idea of a *pedagogy of interruption* to focus on the

subjectification function of education. The purpose is to show how understanding subjectivity in a particular modern way (neoliberal perspective) is problematic. He also thinks that the socialisation function works to place students into the existing sociocultural and political order which marginalises the educational purpose of human freedom. Biesta's pedagogy of interruption articulates an educational responsibility “for a particular "worldly" quality of the spaces and places in which "newcomers" come into presence” (p.91). Here Biesta’s thinking actually resonates with Brophy's (2006) view of social constructivist teaching. The focus of social constructivist teaching is to convert the classroom into a social context where the students can come into presence to experience that the world is made up of socially constructed understandings (Brophy, 2006). In such a context they can engage critically to become agentic. Brophy (2006) warns that social constructivist teaching has an effect on the students' social and cognitive learning experiences and at the same time it does have the risk of converting learning into misleading conceptions. Brophy (2006) therefore, suggests contrasting social constructivist teaching with transmission by acknowledging its feasibility and constraints.

However Biesta's (2010) educational responsibility opens up the opportunity of plurality (can be read as sense of otherness) which is the basis of human action and human freedom. For Biesta, freedom is a public and political phenomenon. Biesta states that if the opportunity for plurality is shut down we will gain a representative rather than a unique voice. According to Biesta, “pedagogy of interruption is, therefore, a pedagogy that aims to keep the possibility of interruptions of the "normal" order open” (p.91). The main strength of this pedagogy is that it acknowledges the 'ontological' weakness of education in understanding subjectivity. This pedagogical conception will lead me to problematize how and for what purpose the transmission model is functioning in Bangladeshi classrooms to produce citizenship ideals.

Motivation, personality, behaviour, and attitude have their contemporary meaning in curricula and class room management and provide persuasive explanations for the direction of human action (Macfarlane, 2004). The rapid development towards a knowledge-based economy and society has presented existing education systems with serious challenges, as well as great opportunities (Macfarlane, 2004). The cultural

landscape of education going into the inaugural decade of this new millennium should be one which encourages us to explore knowledge frameworks which foster indigenous worldview. Working in a New Zealand context Macfarlane (2004) suggests developing effective learning and teaching strategies for Maori students, and for other minority cultural groups, requires classroom teachers and resource teachers to learn to think, to explain, and to act according to the dominant metaphors and theories of diverse cultures, and not simply in terms of the metaphors and theories of the majority culture (Glynn, 1998, cited in Macfarlane, 2004).

Sensitivity to the cultural background of Maori students (may be applicable for all indigenous students) is seen as especially important for educators to understand and respond to the learning needs of today's diverse classrooms (Macfarlane, 2004). Researchers emphasise that schools should be models not only for the expression of respect for cultural difference, but also for power sharing (Macfarlane, 2004). Power sharing is a necessary condition for relationship-based pedagogies, where interaction takes place in ways that encourage teachers and students to become committed both to one another and to the learning process (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, cited in Macfarlane, 2004). A complete education must include recognition of the role of culture, and in particular the role of the tangata-whenua, in shaping knowledge bases and pedagogies within educational programmes, while fostering attitudes of mutual respect and appreciation (Hardman et al. 1999, cited in Macfarlane, 2004). It is suggested that there are five key elements to a culturally sound pedagogy:

Adopting a dual emphasis-social and academic, engaging students in studying local wisdom, reo and tikanga, as well as global knowledge, promoting an approach which is participatory and engaging, becoming involved holistically through style, spirit, and, content, and drawing from theory, ancient or contemporary or both, to enrich practice (Macfarlane, 2004, p. 101).

All the pedagogical assumptions that I have discussed above articulate the importance of freedom from oppression and advocate taking an informed decision about teaching. There is a tension here with poststructuralism. I suggest that one possible way to deal with this tension is to take the strengths of what the contributing discourses in the

educational activity can offer. Furthermore, these pedagogical assumptions will enable me to analyse how teachers position themselves in classrooms to transmit knowledge and skills and to activate values and dispositions for active citizenship. I will also utilise these pedagogical conceptions to see how the teachers in a particular school in Bangladesh help the students understand clearly the citizenship ideologies which are being expressed and their consequences in their life. The central purpose of these theoretical tools is to analyse the curriculum enactment processes that take place inside and outside the school context.

The central theoretical position of my research is not to seek for truth but *rather* I want to highlight the problematic areas to bring about change for a better future. For the theoretical grounding of my research, I bring to bear different philosophical concepts in order to make it possible for this research to create changes in our present situation. I hope that together, these theoretical approaches will help me to understand how the intended and the operational forms of the Bangladeshi curriculum are framed so that diverse learners can construct ideas of citizenship and see the implications of those constructions for themselves in a global world.

## Chapter-3: Methodology

### Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the features of qualitative research that support my methodological stance and the rationale of my research design. After that I will describe the research design, participants and settings, data collection tools, data analysis procedures and ethical approaches I used.

According to Bredo (2006) educational research is a politicized activity because, depending on ideological positions, notions of norms and standards in undertaking educational research are inevitably contested. In order to negotiate such complexities, decisions about selecting methodological approaches for educational research need to acknowledge and consider the *epistemically plural* nature of knowledge and knowing (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Kelly, 2006). The methodology of my research involves examining the choices that I have made about how to understand and study the ‘problem’, the data collection tools used, and the data analysis processes. The nature of the research questions guides a researcher in deciding what choices to make about methodological approaches for conducting research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Creswell, 1998).

This research examines conceptions or discourses of citizenship by providing an analysis of the general aims and objectives of the intended curriculum, and also the stated or explicit understandings, beliefs and values of teachers and students. I also critically examine how intended/stated views of citizenship are enacted at the level of the operational curriculum in the classroom. I use qualitative methodological practices in order to gain an understanding of the type of citizen the Bangladeshi secondary education system is producing.

Philosophical perspectives associated with the aim of exploring and delegitimizing any foundationalist accounts of knowledge about citizenship also guided my methodological approaches. According to Neuman (2000), classical theorists

contributed to the study of the social world (such as schools and classrooms) when they argued that "rigorous, systematic observation of the social world, combined with careful, logical thinking, could provide a new and valuable type of knowledge about human relations" (p. 64).

The methodology of my research is therefore situated within qualitative inquiry processes as I intend to embrace the contested understandings of citizenship and explore the slippages between the intended and operational curricula in relation to understanding and enacting citizenship in Bangladeshi secondary schools.

### **Qualitative Research**

The term qualitative research refers to a family of complex and interconnected terms, concepts and assumptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The qualitative inquiry process is a contested field which draws on critical and multiple methods (Marshall & Rossman, 2011 & Punch, 2009). While critical and multiple methods are used in different contexts (viz. the curriculum context, the classroom context, and so on), the underlying desire is to provide new knowledge and understandings. There are various qualitative research approaches for conducting educational research which cannot simply be summarised as a set of standards. Wiersma and Jurs (2009) point out that qualitative research is context specific and is undertaken in order to understand social phenomena, social being used in a broad sense. Qualitative researchers attempt "to make sense of or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, P. 5).

Bogdan and Biklen (2007) argue that "the process of doing qualitative research can be characterized as a dialogue or interplay between researchers and their subjects" (p.8). Qualitative researchers, therefore, make visible the participants' social world, such as classroom interactions, to provide knowledge about their subject matter. They use diverse interpretive and material practices to elucidate and understand the beliefs of others. Qualitative researchers rely on a range of empirical tools to explain the meanings of texts and stated beliefs. Furthermore, there is an ethical responsibility on a researcher to be sensitive to providing an account of the participants' context as it is.

According to many writers qualitative research is an umbrella term which involves multiple research techniques with certain characteristics (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007, Punch, 2009). They describe it as having the following characteristics. Firstly, qualitative research is naturalistic in the sense that the researcher collects data from natural settings. Secondly, qualitative research is descriptive, the data takes on a narrative form and helps provide a comprehensive understanding. Thirdly, qualitative inquiry focuses on process to clarify "how people negotiate meaning" (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007, p. 6). Fourthly, qualitative research is inductive in the sense that it does not use data to test a hypothesis. And lastly, making sense of participants' lives is an important concern of qualitative research.

My research project is grounded in a social context, so for the purposes of my study qualitative research methods are appropriate. They can guide my inquiry in an educational setting. As Bredo (2006) says, education is a politicized activity, because educating young students influences their future social and working lives. Schools and classrooms are politically charged social sites with conflicting and differing social aims and aspirations. Teaching/learning, therefore, takes place in a social setting where the mode of interaction and the type of relationship are a crucial part of the process. This process should involve unpacking the multiplicities and complexities of individual and collective differences. The researcher's mission is to look at what people say and do in practice and to explain and understand peoples' realities from their own perspectives. Understanding peoples' diverse perspectives requires an inquiry process that includes diverse approaches. Denzin & Lincoln (2003) argue that:

Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape the inquiry (p. 13).

Social constructionism is a multidisciplinary approach that can be used as a theoretical orientation for my methodology. It helps to provide an understanding of how knowledge is constructed in a social context. It insists that we should be critical of predetermined ways of understanding the world. Our present knowledge of the world is the product of social processes and the social interactions in which we are constantly

engaged (Burr, 1995). This form of knowledge requires different kinds of actions in different times and contexts. The central view of social constructionism is that “knowledge is historically and culturally specific” (Burr, 1995, p. 8). This notion of knowledge construction is connected to discourses that raise the issue of power relations. Burr (1995) argues that “different discourses construct social phenomena in different ways and entail different possibilities for human action” (p. 15).

### ***Rationale for a Qualitative Approach***

The nature and type of my research questions suggests that a narrative inquiry process would be most suitable for this study. As an approach, qualitative research is appropriate for this study because it creates a clearer understanding of the influence of the discourses that are present in secondary education in Bangladesh. A descriptive examination will best fit my study because, as Creswell (1998) says, in using such a methodology the researcher "builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting" (p.15). There is therefore, an ontological dimension to selecting qualitative research as it helps the researcher to examine and explain different realities by using the respondents' own words (Creswell, 2007).

The epistemological dimension of choosing qualitative inquiry is a concern to make close contact with the participants' reality. In qualitative inquiry, the researcher places importance on getting insights from "what participants are experiencing, how they interpret their experiences and how they themselves structure the social world in which they live" (Psathas, 1973; cited in Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 8). Qualitative research allows the researchers to collect data from natural settings and to understand actions from the participants' perspectives. According to Guba and Lincoln (1981), Lincoln and Guba (1985), and Bakan (1967) as cited in Lincoln and Denzin (2003), qualitative research creates an opportunity to search for answers to ignored and unanswered questions or ones which cannot be answered by any quantitative experimental research.



### ***The researcher's own position in relation to the research topic***

As a researcher, my position is not neutral because I am actively involved in what I am doing. My own world view and my own positionality have had an influence on the choice of what theoretical and methodological options to use. To understand the choices I have made some account of my professional and academic history is necessary. I gained experience of the role of donors in our education system during my work with the Teaching Quality Improvement in Secondary Education Project from 2005 to 2009. With this project the government of Bangladesh is trying to implement a collaborative teaching approach at the secondary level in order to improve the quality of education. The main focus of the project is on training teachers how to effectively implement student centred learning approaches in the classroom. As a project officer I was very enthusiastic about implementing the training programme.

However, there are some problematic aspects to what the government is trying to do. The most challenging of these to my mind is that none of the people that I met during my work on the project, including myself, knew much about the philosophical background of collaborative teaching and learning. Collaborative learning has liberating opportunities to the extent that it empowers the students to take responsibility for their own learning (Biesta, 2010). But it conflicts with concepts of education that promote building relationships (ibid). In the process of learning, to some extent, students are required to be silent for deeper understanding, which is not always possible in collaborative learning.

After the completion of the project I came to New Zealand to study for my Master of Education. Here I took my first course on critical approaches to global citizenship education and this completely changed my understanding of education. I learnt, for example, about how power seeking strategies are disseminated through education in the societies of developing countries. I also took a course that looked at framing the curriculum for diversity. These courses lead me to understand the curriculum in a complex way and I have seen from this how the curriculum can be used to construct a society that maintains the status quo while using the rhetoric of change and development. These two complementary courses laid the groundwork for my theoretical

and methodological thinking. I now believe that collaborative teaching has been implemented in Bangladesh in order to create an ideal of citizenship suitable for an individualistic society. I would not say that my education has come to an end; rather I would say that this is just the beginning of my journey to understand a world more complex than I previously thought. Therefore, it will be from the perspective of these professional and academic experiences (theoretical concepts) and my own world view that I will interpret the stories of the people that I have interviewed. From this perspective, I need to be aware of my position (as insider and/or as outsider) when I am interviewing and observing. I also need to be aware of the power relations during data collection. In order to make observations as rigorous as possible I will clearly describe my positionality and I will also try to be sensitive to the participants' positions as well.

### **Case Study**

I used a single case study approach because it offered a wider scope for collecting data from several sources and for using different data collection methods (e.g. observation, interview, document analysis). Merriam (1988), Yin (1989), and Stake (1994) contend that "a case study is a detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents or one particular event" (cited in Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, P. 59). The case study approach allowed me "to explore a bounded system over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information" (Creswell, 2007, p. 73). It also enabled me to explore how the participants made sense of citizenship and how they saw their own role in citizenship education. I would also note that I do not intend to generalise the findings of this study. The main focus of my case study is to try and gain as full an understanding as possible of the complexities of the relationship between citizenship and education within one context. According to Denzin & Lincoln (2003), "case studies are of value for refining theory and suggesting complexities for further investigation, as well as helping to establish the limits of generalizability" (p. 156). Therefore, through a single case study I will draw attention to what is actually happening in practice (in a school), with how the aims of the intended curriculum relate to citizenship.

## **Data Collection Methods**

Every approach to qualitative inquiry leads a researcher to select a data collection method. For any researcher it is important to choose the data collection tools which best suit the research method. Creswell (2007) contends that "I visualize data collection as a series of interrelated activities aimed at gathering good information to answer emerging research questions"(p. 118). According to Given (2008), in qualitative inquiry triangulation is a multi-method approach to data collection. The fundamental concept of triangulation is that it provides an opportunity to understand the phenomenon under study from different viewpoints (ibid).

For my study, I judged it appropriate to use triangulation as a strategy for several data collection methods. These included observation, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis. First, the multi-method approach to data collection enabled me to get complementary data from different perspectives such as: the policy perspective, the perspectives of teachers and students, and the classroom perspective. It thus helped me to strengthen the findings and enrich the interpretation. The purpose of using multiple modes of data collection is to allow for a multiplicity of opportunities to get clear conceptions about the research topic. Different data collection methods also helped me to check the relationship between what people believe they should do and what they actually do in practice. After collecting the data I stored it so that it could be found easily when needed and could be kept secure and safe from any damage.

### ***Observation***

Observation is a commonly used data collection method in qualitative inquiries. For my study, I used participant observation as a rapport building and data collection tool because it created opportunities to understand what actually happens in real settings. Taylor & Bogdan (1998) and Frechtling et al. (1997) write that "participant observation allows the researchers to unobtrusively enter into and understand context and processes" (cited in Jules, 2009, p. 40). As a data collection method, observation offered me a

range of opportunities to get an understanding about how the curriculum is implemented and what teachers do in actual classroom settings to promote their ideas of citizenship. These opportunities include that:

Researcher can record information as it is revealed, unusual aspects can be noticed during observation, and useful in exploring topics that may be uncomfortable for participants to discuss (Creswell, 2003, p.186)

### ***Individual Semi-structured Interviews***

The semi-structured interview is also a commonly used data collection tool in qualitative research. I employed semi-structured interviews as a data collection tool for my study because it enabled me to conduct a comprehensive and useful conversation with the informants. According to Maykut & Morehouse (1994), as cited in Fastier (2006):

The main purpose of the semi-structured interview is to gain an in-depth understanding of the interviewee's perspectives and experiences, and to do so within a framework in which the interviewee feels at ease to express their own understandings in their own terms (p. 18).

Bogdan and Biklen (2007) argue that "with semi-structured interviews you are confident of getting comparable data across subjects" (p. 104). Each participant has his or her own belief system and perspectives which shape their responses to the interview questions. The reason for getting complementary data is to explore how contested the notion of Bangladeshi citizenship is and how people have conflicting beliefs about their role as citizens.

### ***Focus Group Discussion***

I arranged a focus group discussion with eight teachers and fourteen grade nine students using the verbal image method. Verbal image is a method which enabled me to capture the participants "operative words, ideas and forces" (Richards, 1985, p. 88) about citizenship. In the focus group discussions the participants' task was to change a written statement about citizenship according to their own beliefs. They were to insert new

words or phrases in the statement after giving persuasive reasons to the other participants. This enabled me to capture different operative meanings of citizenship. The purpose was to see how people come to a consensual view of citizenship and of their role as citizens. In reaching consensus the participants debated different issues of citizenship from which I gained a number of insights related to my research topic.

### ***Document Analysis***

From the research topic it is clear that an analysis of the secondary curriculum document is needed. The secondary curriculum document can be considered the primary source of data as defined by Bogdan and Biklen (2007). Document analysis was necessary for my study in order to investigate the issue from the perspective of the government of Bangladesh. The purpose was to explore what the Bangladeshi government means by a Bangladeshi citizen, at both the national and international levels. I utilized this tool because it “opens up new source of understanding” (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, p. 130; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; cited in Jules, 2009, p. 35). I mentioned in the discussion of the theoretical framework that a curriculum is about power and knowledge (Popkewitz's, 1997 & Apple, 1996) and is a tool of social engineering (Popkewitz's, 1997). Therefore, curriculum document analysis opens up the opportunity to explore what/whose citizenship knowledge is considered as most worth knowing and how social engineering processes are encoded in the language of the texts.

I will use discourse analysis as a methodological approach for curriculum document analysis. For this analysis, I used the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum document. Through analysing this document, I looked for the underlying discourses that construct the meaning of citizenship. The intention of my curriculum document analysis was to show the slippages between the intended and operational curricula. At the end of this project I will try to show that educators need to understand the curriculum in a more complex way.

In the following sections I will discuss the relevance of discourse analysis, as a methodological approach, to the conceptual framing of my research topic.

Gee (1990) describes discourses as the integrated combinations of "sayings-doings-thinkings-feelings-valuings" (p. 1) and says that discourses are learnt through social practices. In discourse analysis, it is important to know that it is not simply language which constructs the right meaning, it is also the way it is used in a particular context at a particular time. Linguistic discourse analysis is related to Pinar et al's (1996) notion of curriculum reconceptualisation and will help me to focus on the structure and meaning of the curriculum texts. Curriculum reconceptualisation refers to understanding the curriculum as a political text in terms of what is considered most worth knowing. The aim of curriculum reconceptualisation is to explain how meanings, subjectivity, and power relations are manifested through the organisation of language in the curriculum (MacLure, 2003). According to MacLure (2003), linguistic discourse analysis helps to describe the organisation of language beyond the meaning of the sentences.

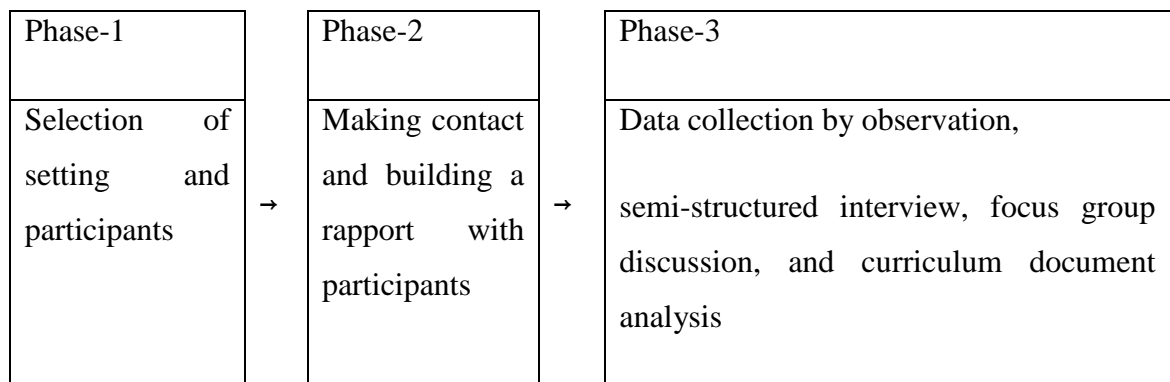
Poststructural and Foucauldian discourse analysis is highly relevant to the conceptual framing of my research topic as a curriculum is about the politics of power and knowledge. These two notions of discourse analysis will help me to focus on the macro level of the intended curriculum. The aim is to explore the ways in which the discourses operate at the level of social formations and institutions to construct ideas of citizenship. This is related to MacLure's (2003) contention that discourses can be regarded as "practices for producing meaning, forming subjects and regulating conduct within particular societies and institutions, at particular historical times" (p. 2). The Foucauldian approach to discourse is interested in the institutions and disciplines which shape the agency of subjects who are subject to the machineries of discourse (MacLure, 2003). The Foucauldian notion of discourse analysis attempts to show how power/knowledge configurations construct meaning, as this is embedded in different social institutions (MacLure, 2003).

Discourse analysis provides a tool for analysing the conceptual understanding of the curriculum as a tool of social engineering. The sociocultural conceptualisation of discourse will help me to see how knowledge of citizenship is socially constructed. Burr (1995) raises the question: "why do some discourses, some ways of representing the world, appear to receive the label of truth or common sense" (p. 15)? This is a concern about power relations as some ways of representing the world oppress some

groups in society. This concern with power reflects the problem of social constructionism in justifying why some people are really oppressed in society while it leaves completely alone the idea of truth and reality (ibid). In that case the disjuncture between reality and peoples understanding of the world and their position in it can be explored in terms of ideology (ibid). However, discourse analysis also appears to be a good methodological tool for my research project as discourse constitutes the ways of doing, being, thinking, and communicating through language and social practices (Mariage et al, 2004). As discourse generates knowledge about the world and the dimensions of power, it shapes the understanding of a person's self and of the world.

### **Data collection Processes**

The data collection process was conducted in three phases over 7 days. In phase-1, I selected the setting (school) and the participants. Next I tried to build a rapport with the participants and invited them to be participants in my study. In the third phase I collected data through interviews, observations, focus group discussions and curriculum document analysis. The following diagram shows the different stages of the data collection processes. I have borrowed this idea from Price (2008).



The comprehensive data collection process is described as follows:

#### ***Phase-1: Participants and Setting***

As a teacher I had some knowledge about the student population in the schools of a large urban centre in Bangladesh. I selected one school as my sole research setting. The school I selected is one of the best (i.e. one of the richest) secondary co-educational

schools in the area, according to the government and based on the Secondary School Certificate exam results. The tuition fees for this school are high compared to the other public schools and colleges. The reason for selecting a school that does well in terms of public exam results was to understand what that sort of school means by a Bangladeshi citizen and what type of citizen the school is trying to produce for Bangladesh's future. I could have chosen a poor school in terms of SSC exam results but I did not do that for two reasons. First, the scope of my thesis is concerned with the slippages between the intended and operational curricula in terms of what is considered to be the most worthwhile knowledge of citizenship to learn. In that case I could have chosen any school. But secondly, my intention was to see how a school having a strong emphasis on doing well in exams values accommodating critical citizenship notions in its curriculum, especially the operational curriculum. In the future I can extend the scope of this thesis to comparing peoples' understandings of citizenship across different contexts such as urban, rural, and ethnic communities.

The five participants for the semi-structured interview were selected according to the following guidelines so as to gain a variety of perspectives:

- A principal in a secondary institution who has had that position for more than five years.
- A teacher who has had experience in teaching Bangla literature in grade nine
- A teacher who has had experience in teaching English language in grade nine
- A teacher who has had experience in teaching Social Science in grade nine
- A teacher who has had experience in teaching Religious Education (Islam) in grade nine

For the participant observations I observed the above mentioned four subject teachers while they were teaching their subjects in grade nine. I observed them in order to see the gap between their hopes and the reality, in terms of citizenship. Along with the four, in the semi-structured interviews I included other subject teachers, who teach grade nine, as respondents of a focus group discussion. Only 8 teachers participated in the focus group discussion. For the focus group discussion with the students I decided to select 25 students as participants from the classes in which I had conducted observations. Out of 25, 14 students took part in the focus group discussion. I selected



students from grade nine as the focus group respondents because at this stage in their education students come across many controversial issues.

### ***Phase-2: Building a rapport with the participants***

To confirm arrangements I contacted the principal of the chosen school by telephone from New Zealand. I introduced myself, described the aims and objectives of my research project, and gained his consent. To start building a rapport with the participants and to familiarise myself with the school, I went to the college prior to the appointments. I met with the principal and invited him to take part in the semi-structured interview. Next I met the vice principal and we made a 7 day plan for the observations, interviews and focus group discussions. The vice principal recommended four subject teachers, Sikder, Sajjad , Ripon and Hannan, who I invited to take part in my research project. In discussion with them, six students (a mix of extroverted and introverted) were selected from each of their classes for the focus group discussion.

The reason for choosing extroverted and introverted students was to produce a meaningful debate in the focus group discussion. The extroverts usually express spontaneously what they believe but the introverts hide themselves, especially in classrooms. I tried to create an environment in the focus group discussion that would encourage the introverts to share something that might be unique or contested.

Along with the above mentioned four subject teachers, the vice principal also recommended seven other subject teachers of grade nine for the focus group discussion. All participants were supplied with a detailed summary of my research proposal and given a guarantee that their information would remain confidential and they would remain anonymous. Finally, participants were given a letter of information and a consent form (see Appendix A to H).

### ***Phase-3: Data Collection***

In phase-3 data collection was conducted through observations, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and an analysis of the secondary curriculum document.

Before the observations, I wrote down my own understanding of citizenship as well as the role of a teacher in promoting citizenship. Observations provided a chance to compare what teachers say they do with what they actually do. As an outsider I wanted to explore how well the transmission model equips Bangladeshis to negotiate the complexities and conflicting ideas of citizenship. I also focused on trying to understand the nature of the teacher-student relationship in the classroom and how it might influence the formation of future citizens. I recorded class discussions in my personal diary and took an audio record of the whole class discussion, with permission from the respondents. Immediately after the observation I wrote the observation fieldnotes.

One interview was carried out with each participant. A schedule was made to fit each interviewee's circumstances and interviews were conducted in a conventional manner, starting with personal information. Permission was sought to record interviews and to make contact if clarification was needed. I used a pool of questions beginning with non-challenging questions to warm up the interviewees, followed by the substantive questions. This process was piloted with one of my colleagues before data collection. Ethically my role was restricted to making the questions as clear as possible and then listening rather than speaking. I tried not to influence the participants in any way. Each interview ended with appropriate thanks. The semi-structured interview questions have been attached in Appendix- I.

I arranged two focus group discussions, one with the teachers and one with the students, using the verbal image method. The focus group discussion is different from the focus group interview. In the focus group discussion, I provided three statements to the participants. The statements were based on citizenship, on teaching-learning, and on the assessment system. The participants were to change the statements according to their beliefs, with or without consensus. As the researcher my role was just to record the changes. The respondents debated what to delete or insert in the statements, defending their views. To get an in-depth understanding about citizenship and the teacher-student relationship from the focus group discussion I just allowed the participants to continue the debate. Afterwards I wrote up the details of the debate in my personal journal. Permission was gained to record the discussion.

I collected data from the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum document to investigate the tension between and within perspectives regarding citizenship. I analysed the secondary curriculum document, inductively to explore the discourses of citizenship that were being articulated. The purpose was to examine the type of citizen the government wants to produce through secondary education. For this, the general aims and objectives of the intended curriculum, and the curriculum of the three subjects, viz. English Language, Social Science, and Business Studies, were analysed.

### **Data Analysis**

Analyzing qualitative data inductively is a complex task for any researcher. However, data analysis was done by "collecting data before doing the analysis" (p. 160) as suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (2007). First of all I translated all the data (interviews, curriculum document analysis, and focus group discussions) from Bangla to English, trying to retain the meaning as accurately as possible. Then I read the field notes and translated the material several times without any break in order to become familiar with the data, to split the data into chunks, and to explore it for meaning and insights. During reading, the possible code categories, ideas and themes were marked or written down by pencil on the right and left margins of the field notes. To convert the data into manageable units, I created different files according to the emerging categories in my computer and then arranged (cut & pasted) the data into the possible categories on different files. This process enabled me to reproduce the data when necessary. This helped me in cross checking and finding similarities and dissimilarities among the data. To ensure trustworthiness, I contacted the participants by telephone to confirm whether the contents reflected their meaning and beliefs. This crucial part of the data analysis was done by following Bogdan and Biklen's (2007) approach where they mentioned that:

You search through your data for regularities and patterns as well as for topics your data cover, and then you write down words and phrases to represent these topics and patterns. These words and phrases are coding categories. (p. 173)

After confirming the coding categories, the data was grouped according to codes. After grouping the data, I started searching for possible themes or concepts. Document analysis also followed a similar process. This analysis was limited to how notions of citizenship are reflected in the curriculum document. I have presented my research findings using conventional modes of presentation such as inductive data analysis and deductive presentation. According to Bogdan and Biklen (2007):

In this style.... the data are discovered inductively, but presented deductively, so the author must make a real effort to show that he or she did not collect data to prove a point of view already held (p. 210).

This process of presentation involves arranging the main findings with examples from the data. The deductive form of presentation helped me to reduce the bias in my analysis.

### **Rigour and Trustworthiness**

As a qualitative researcher, it is my responsibility to be rigorous and to ensure trustworthiness at every stage of the research process. Without intellectual rigour in the research process, reliability and credibility is not possible. In the data collection process I tried to achieve this by developing and extending the relationships with the participants. During data collection, I immersed myself deeply in the field. To make the data analysis process credible, I employed different strategies which included intensive reading of the transcripts, storing the data safely, comprehensive coding and categorising of themes, checking and rechecking the transcripts, and contacting the participants to confirm the accuracy of data. Robinson and Lai (2006) recommend that "rigour can be attained in qualitative research through the pursuit of claims based on description, interpretation and theories of action" (cited in Price, 2008, p.60). In presenting the findings I attempted to make inferences from the data in such a way that the participants' voices were accurately represented.

In fact, rigour makes a qualitative study trustworthy. According to Harrison, MacGibbon, and Morton (2001), the trustworthiness of qualitative research relies on the researcher being able "to meet the criteria of validity, credibility, and believability" (p. 324). There are several procedures to make a study credible. I used the following

strategies in my study to ensure credibility, as suggested by Ely et al. (1991); Lincoln & Guba (1985); Merriam (1988); Erlandson et al. (1993); Glesne & Peshkin, (1992); Miles & Huberman (1994) cited in Creswell (2007):

(1) Prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field, including building trust with participants, learning the culture, and checking for misinformation that stems from distortions introduced by the researcher. (2) Clarifying researcher bias from the outset of the study is important so that the reader understands the researcher's position and any biases or assumptions that may affect the inquiry. (3) When checking, the researcher solicits the participants' views of the credibility of the findings and interpretations. (4) Rich, thick descriptions allow readers to make decisions regarding transferability (pp. 207-209).

### **Ethical Considerations**

According to Bogdan and Biklen (2007), "like the words sex and snake, ethics is emotionally charged and surrounded with evocative and hidden meanings" (p.48). The suggestive meaning of ethics may be a major concern in conducting research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). For this reason, any researcher needs to pay genuine attention to the ethical issues and look to minimize exposure to risks. In conducting my study, careful attention was given to the following ethical issues.

Permission was gained from the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee (ERHEC) of the University of Canterbury for conducting this study. Anonymity, transparency, and cultural sensitivity were maintained carefully. In presenting the findings I used pseudonyms for the participants to protect their anonymity. To make the findings transparent I cross checked the interview transcripts and field notes with the audio records. For establishing a clear understanding of the intended curriculum texts and the participants' stated views I read all the relevant documents several times. I kept the literal meaning unchanged in translating the intended curriculum documents, observations, and semi-structured interviews from Bangla to English. When I found any ambiguity in what the participants said I talked with them several times over the telephone to make the meaning clear. I did not pose any questions during interviews

and focus group discussions that went against the participants' cultural norms and values.

Since the research was based in Bangladesh, permission for conducting the research was also sought from the Director General (DG), Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education (DSHE). Informed consent was gained from the principal and from the participants before data collection, and I also sent a letter to the participants describing the nature and purpose of the study. Prior to the observations, interviews and focus group discussions, permission was obtained to record (audio) the conversations. Interviews and observation dates, times and locations were arranged according to the choices of the participants.

Schools and participants were given assurances of complete confidentiality. In the letter of information I gave assurances of complete confidentiality to the school and the participants, clearly stating the procedures for maintaining confidentiality. I also stated that the research report may be published in an international journal and I will send them a copy of the research report if they wish to see it. I also talked with them about these things during the rapport building phase. The participants were also informed that they had the right to withdraw themselves and their data from the study at any time. None chose to do so.

## **Chapter-4: Findings: The Intended Curriculum**

### **Introduction**

The findings from my study show that, both at the intended and the operational levels, the curriculum can best be understood as a contested political text (Pinar, 1996), and largely reflecting a Western neoliberal understanding of citizenship. In this chapter I draw on material from a range of curriculum documents at the level of the intended curriculum. I use evidence from the curriculum documents of three subjects (English Language, Social Science, and Business Studies), the basic principles of curriculum review, the general aims and objectives of the intended curriculum (NCTB, 1996), and the stated understandings, beliefs and values of teachers and students. I use these to explore the tensions between neoliberal discourses of citizenship and 'critical' approaches to citizenship (Andreotti, 2006) and their implications. I will answer the following research questions through the competing views of citizenship that have emerged from my analysis. What are the notions of citizenship in the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum? What are the perceptions of teachers and students about citizenship? How do teachers and students make sense of citizenship in terms of the curriculum? The competing discourses of citizenship I discuss are: Economic Development/Growth, Personal Fulfilment, Values and Personal Attributes, and Transfer of Knowledge.

Firstly I will explore how ideas of citizenship are conceptualised within the intended curriculum by looking at the curricula of three subjects (English Language, Social Science, and Business Studies), the general aims and objectives of the curriculum document (NCTB, 1996) and the stated views of the teachers and students. By exploring competing understandings of citizenship I will show how there are a number of tensions between the various groups and documents in how they understand citizenship. There are tensions between the general aims and objectives of the curriculum document (NCTB, 1996) and the stated views of the teachers and students about citizenship. There are tensions between the understandings of citizenship held by teachers and those held by students and finally there are tensions between how different

people conceptualise citizenship. I will also explore the views of teachers' about their role in citizenship education. Lastly, I will discuss the implications of competing understandings, and the tensions these causes, for conceptualising citizenship in chapter-six.

### **Competing Views of Citizenship**

Tensions are evident between the various views of citizenship within the intended curriculum. These views of citizenship include: Economic development/growth, personal fulfilment, values and personal attributes, and transfer of knowledge. First I will analyse the document and then the teachers and students stated beliefs to explore the understandings of citizenship from each group's point of view. I want to mention here that views about the curriculum might always be contested because everyone has differing understandings of what is considered most worth knowing. This is not unusual because curriculum documents have to accommodate everybody's interests.

### **Economic Development/Growth**

The conception of citizenship associated with the Economic Development/Growth discourse emphasises achieving global economic competitiveness and that individuals should accept responsibility for their own employability. The significance of this theme is that it has a dual emphasis in understanding citizenship. First, at the intended level of the secondary curriculum documents, there is an aim to prepare young Bangladeshi students to be competitive in the global marketplace. Second, it also indicates that dispositions need to be cultivated toward values of nationalism. So, citizenship is understood here across the binary of global economic forces and local nation centric assumptions. It is now important to explore how the data shows the tension between global versus local attachments in terms of citizenship.

There were major micro and macro curricular concerns about the previous secondary curriculum of Bangladesh, on the basis of which it was revised. An understanding of these is needed in order to explore the politics and intentions of the reform initiatives in relation to citizenship. Under the theme 'Economic Development/Growth' I will show how there are conflicting understandings of citizenship between the curriculum



document and the stated beliefs of teachers. The discourses of citizenship evident within the curricula of English Language and Business Studies, the general aims and objectives of the curriculum document and the views of teachers are: Responsiveness to an Open Market Economy and Developing Entrepreneurship skills to generate Self-employment.

### ***Responsiveness to an Open Market Economy***

In 1995 the secondary curriculum in Bangladesh underwent a profound change, influenced by the idea of the free market economy. Failure to generate employment was identified as a macro curricular concern and the content of different subjects was found inadequate for the needs of the global market. In this reform initiative the primacy of practical knowledge over theoretical knowledge became the dominant belief. But the main thrusts in curriculum reform in 1995 were directed at both micro and macro curricular problems. To resolve the micro curricular issues, the main focus was on restructuring the syllabi of different subjects to make education responsive to the open economy. The following quotes, drawn from the curriculum and secondary syllabus documents (National Curriculum and Text Book Board, 1996), demonstrate how government policies responded to the discourse of an 'open market economy' by privileging the notion of competition.

There is now an open market economy in our country. The basic principle of this economy is that to survive in the race we need qualifications/skills and this competition is spreading within and across borders. So we need to redesign our curriculum so it is equivalent to international standards so that students can obtain the necessary competitive skills. (NCTB, 1996, p. 5)

In the basic principles of the curriculum review it is also stated that it is important for Bangladesh to maintain its unique cultural and religious identities and social values:

Through a revised curriculum students will be enabled to acquire new knowledge and skills and at the same time it is also stated that students will be inspired by our own religious, moral, cultural and social values. (NCTB, 1996, p. 5)

On the one hand 'new knowledge and skills' were related to an open market economy, but on the other hand, the government also wanted to value its own cultural identity. Arguably, these intentions sit uncomfortably together.

In the aims and objectives of Education the need to cultivate competitive human resources for socio-economic development is stated:

Education needs to be pragmatic so that we can produce skilled, innovative, and productive human resources for the socio-economic advancement of the country. (NCTB, 1996, p.11)

Communicative competence in using English is identified as an important work-oriented skill for economic development in the English language curriculum (NCTB, 1996):

English needs to be recognised as an essential work-oriented skill that is needed if the employment, developmental and educational needs of the country are to be met successfully. Increased communicational competence in English, therefore, constitutes a vital skill for learners at this stage, whether they leave school to take up a vocation or continue their studies up to Higher Secondary level. English should, therefore, be taught as something to be used, rather than as something to be talked about. (NCTB, 1996, p. 136)

The above quotations all reveal a tension within policy perspectives. The Government wants to equip citizens to be nationally and internationally competitive from the neoliberal perspective. Yet at the same time there was a conscious effort to give importance to maintaining our own religious, moral, cultural and social values. So there is a tension for the government between these different ways of understanding what it means to be a citizen. On the one hand there is the neoliberal understanding, and on the other hand, there is the critical approach to citizenship (Andreotti, 2006) which values knowing one's own cultural identity. These two ideas of citizenship are mutually exclusive and do not sit together comfortably. Another interesting point is that there was a very mechanistic aspiration in learning communicative English skills in order to

get a job rather than taking it as a medium which helps students to become capable of negotiating their place in the world.

### ***Developing Entrepreneurship Skills to generate Self-employment***

There was an explicit intention to see the secondary curriculum as a vehicle to generate self-employment for economic prosperity. It was claimed that theoretical and bookish knowledge was not helping students to become self-employed. New attitudes and skills for self-employment needed to be developed in students through business education and through training on technical and vocational education. So, failing to generate self-employment was recognised as a macro curricular problem in Bangladesh. To address this issue 'Business Studies' was included in secondary education to develop in students the initiative necessary to set them up in self employment. In the curriculum reform of 1995, the centrality of practical knowledge for producing entrepreneurs to generate self employment was considered obvious. This can be seen in the background information of the curriculum reform report (NCTB, 1996).

The present Curriculum is failing to fulfil the learning needs of the students and as a consequence the numbers of educated unemployed people are increasing day by day. This situation is created because the information and theory based curriculum and bookish knowledge is failing to generate self-employment. For generating self-employment we need to transmit trainability, the necessary skills and attitudes to the students. The present curriculum and education system is not conveying these qualities to the learners. (NCTB, 1996, p.5)

The importance of vocational education for self-employment is stated in the characteristics of the curriculum document.

Through the revised curriculum students will be enabled to engage themselves in self-employment by acquiring the necessary skills in vocational education. (NCTB, 1996, p.7)

Producing entrepreneurs to develop the economy is seen as the main task of the 'Business Studies' curriculum.

It is necessary to be a good entrepreneur to advance in business. Business studies provides a mechanism for creating entrepreneurs.....Therefore considering the importance of 'Business studies' in the context of our current social conditions, it has been identified as an important and distinctive subject like Science and Arts in the secondary level. Business is the practical work of an economy. This work can't be accomplished only through some theoretical knowledge. But theoretical knowledge makes practical business work easy and sure. (NCTB, 1995, p. 495)

From the above quotations it is clear that the government included 'Business Studies' as a discipline at secondary level in order to give students the necessary attitudes and skills so that they can become entrepreneurs and will believe that being self-employed is a viable way to earn a living. The focus of this policy initiative is on values of citizenship such as individualism, prosperity, and freedom in a neoliberal context that promotes private and personal goals.

So, from all of the above quotations it is clear that there is a dual understanding of citizenship in the curriculum. One is to prepare globally competitive citizens for the international market and the other is to set them back into their own history and identity. This is not surprising. However, these contradictory and competing understandings about global citizenship do not sit comfortably with each other. It actually reframes the idea of the citizen of a local community as being also the citizen of an imaginary global community, having an abstract imagination of personal sovereignty and prosperity (Tully, 2008). This tension is also evident even more profoundly in the 'Social Science' curriculum which I will discuss later. From the context of critical curriculum studies it is clear that the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum document (NCTB, 1995) is a political text. This is shown by its assumption that knowledge of citizenship for economic competitiveness is considered worth knowing.

In relation to the policy perspectives I now want to explore the competing understandings of citizenship that are mentioned by teachers. I tried to unpack the beliefs of participants about citizenship by asking them three different questions: What

do you think are the aims of education? What do you think citizenship is? What type of citizen/individual do you want to see cultivated for Bangladesh and why? In replying to these questions teachers came out with many conflicting ideas, similar to the policy perspectives.

In some cases teachers also believe that we need to take advantage of the opportunities that come from globalisation as well as needing to be conscious of our identity and culture. Sikder, a teacher, conceptualises citizenship in relation to globalisation as well as to his own cultural heritage and identity as follows:

As a teacher I want to see that all the students of Bangladesh can become global citizens through their secondary education. Because of globalisation we are living in the global village. So we cannot isolate ourselves. The distance has been decreased, this is why we must go for the achievement that will make us competitive, and that will make us worthy. Because of the global village, we must change, modify or just make our curriculum as global as possible. (Sikder, teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

You can see the encroachment or intrusion of so many things because of globalisation. But we have our own intellect, concerns and considered judgements about whether to accept these things. The things which are not good for our own culture, our cultural heritage, our tradition, and of course our environment, our existence, we must not accept those. We should just keep aloof or just reject those things, but we need to accept the new ideas or the new things which are helpful for us and which respect our own cultural identity, existence and nationalism. (Sikder, teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

From the above quotations it is clear that Sikder holds conflicting understandings of citizenship. Sikder would like to prepare our students for the competitive global market and at the same time does not want to be dominated by foreign values, ethics, morals and behaviours. He wants what is important to us and wants us to be able to define ourselves in our own terms. He also wants to see that students become aware of environmental issues. I think these are contested notions of citizenship. He wants citizens capable of participating in economic activities on a global scale (Tully, 2008;

Peters et al, 2008; Dobson, 2005 & 2006, Ichilov, 1998) as well as citizens who will remain true to Bangladeshi culture and identity. I think this encapsulates well the tension within neoliberal globalisation.

Several participants are also concerned about the implications of globalisation for our environment and want to produce citizens that care about our society and the environment. Sajjad, a teacher, and Reza, a principal, explain their conception of citizenship as creating awareness of the environment, awareness of wider society and awareness of the state and of the earth. The following quotes show their beliefs about citizenship:

If you look at our society you will see that due to unplanned industrialisation we are polluting the air, water and everything. So, we need coordination between education and what is happening in practice for producing a citizen who will be caring to the environment and other creatures. (Sajjad, teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

Through Bangladeshi secondary education I dream of producing patriotic citizens who will not only think about themselves, but also think about others, about the country, about the Earth and who will be responsible and act as a conscience of society. (Reza, Principal, face to face interview, 22.01.2011)

Reza and Sajjad have here conceptualised citizenship as responsible human behaviour and consciousness about nature. This mirrors a perspective of citizenship called 'earthism' (Peters, 2004). 'Earthism' refers to the idea of the interdependence of all of life (Peters, 2004). They conceptualise a citizen as someone who will care and think about the impact of globalisation on the environment (Dobson, 2005 & 2006). So, Reza and Sajjad's understanding of citizenship conflicts with Sikder's understanding of global citizenship. These conflicting understandings of how they think Bangladesh fits in the global order sit quite uncomfortably together.

### **Personal Fulfilment**

Personal Fulfilment is similar to the concept of self-actualisation, of bringing out an individual's potential. Here the idea of citizenship focuses on what a person should be

and on making citizens active in adopting what is set as good or ideal (Andreotti, 2006). The key idea of citizenship that emerged from the semi-structured interviews is that of empowering individuals.

### *Empowering individuals*

Empowering individuals comes out as part of the concept of citizenship from the teachers' beliefs about the purpose of education. Reza, a principal, and Sikder, a teacher, explain their views of citizenship in relation to individual empowerment from two perspectives; self-development and universal philanthropy /solidarity. The following quotes will support this claim.

What I feel is that in fact every individual has enormous hidden talent, ability, and power and I think the utmost development of these inner qualities is possible by education. Whatever potential a person has, the purpose of education should be to maximise the overall improvement of every individual's inner qualities. For example, if Einstein had not got an education he would not have become a scientist. His scientific ability flourished because he got an education. (Reza, Principal, face to face interview, 22.01.2011)

I think a lot of human attitudes can be limiting and education can liberate mankind. The main purpose of education should be to free people from all kinds of restrictions. Here by mankind I actually mean a universal brotherhood or universal philanthropy. We have some limitations on thinking about the wellbeing of all the people of the world or all of society because of family teaching. Sometimes we see in our family that our parents and relatives are self-centred. From this self-centredness we fail to become open /generous to the others. Education can build a man kind to others by overcoming their limitations. So, mankind means universal betterment for all the people of the world. (Sikder, teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

Here Reza's perception about the purpose of education reflects the vision of empowering the citizenry, that the good to be pursued is self-maximisation. Sikder's notion of citizenship is related to universalism/pluralism. His idea of going from human

being to mankind relates to freeing people from the self-centredness that originates in the family, though I am not sure about his distinction between human being and mankind. However, Sikder is aware of the origin of the assumptions, but the basis of his obligation (political or moral) (Dobson, 2006 & Andreotti, 2006) is not clear. In one way this is the opposite to the neoliberal value of individualism. Sikder's understanding of citizenship therefore conflicts with that of Reza in terms of personal achievement.

### **Values and Personal Attributes**

The understanding of citizenship associated with Values and Personal attributes is rhetorical. This is because, in this idea of citizenship, maintaining one's own culture, identity and heritage is identified with the neoliberal perspective. It is significant as it becomes clear from the data analysis that there is an emphasis on cultivating dispositions toward a homogeneous Islamic identity. At the same time there is an effort to address cultural diversity through social and moral values. But, we might ask, what factors are considered significant in understanding cultural diversity in terms of citizenship? I will discuss this more fully in Chapter six.

The notions of citizenship that emerged under the theme 'values and personal attributes' are: Citizenship as shaping Students' identity and values based on an Islamic ideal, Citizenship as shaping students moral and social values and developing a well rounded person, Citizenship as character development and the well being of society and the nation, and Citizenship as contributing to one's own social context. I will provide evidence from the general aims and objectives of the curriculum document (NCTB, 1996) as well as from the teachers' stated beliefs.

#### ***Citizenship as shaping Students' identity and values based on an Islamic ideal***

In the aims and objectives of the curriculum document (NCTB, 1996) it is said that students' identity and values need to be constructed according to Islamic ideals. Here shaping students' identity and values based on Islamic ideals is seen to be part of education for citizenship. The following quote reflect this understanding:

Absolute faith and belief in Almighty Allah needs to be inculcated in students' minds so that he/she can think and act according to this faith. Spiritual, social,



and moral values need to be inculcated in students' minds according to a full faith and belief in Almighty Allah. (NCTB, 1995, p.11)

Bangladesh is a Muslim majority country. The above quote shows that there is an intention to create a homogeneous citizen identity based on Islamic ideals. This can affect the sense of belonging and shared responsibility (Rizvi, 2010) to the country in the minds students with other religious backgrounds. From a critical curriculum studies perspective it can be said that here the beliefs of the dominant class are assumed to be legitimate (Pinar et al, 1996) for shaping the identity and values of all students.

Sajjad, in his role as a teacher, conceptualises citizenship as forming students' identity and values according Islamic ideals. He says:

I would like to see our students growing up with Islamic ideals/principles because there is no single Islamic rule that goes against the wellbeing of a society. That's why I say we need to develop individuals with a good character according to what Islam says. In that way we will get a good man and an ideal citizen who will contribute to the welfare of society. (Sajjad, teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

Sajjad's understanding of citizenship has an underlying assumption that students should grow up according to Islamic principles. He wants to produce a homogeneous Islamic identity which marginalises “the cultural identities of non-Muslims” (Rizvi, 2010). His definition of a good man or an ideal citizen relates to being dedicated to the wellbeing of society. This seems that it may or may not include the idea of citizenship in relation to social justice. However, his views can be seen to sit uncomfortably together; on one hand he wants to impose Islamic ideals as legitimate for all and at the same time he wants to involve every citizen in working for social well being.

***Citizenship as shaping students moral and social values and developing a well-rounded person***

From the analysis of the curriculum documents, and from talking with the teachers, ‘moral and social values’ comes out as a discourse of citizenship and the teachers understand citizenship as involving the development of well-rounded individuals. The

following quote from the general aims and objectives of the secondary curriculum document (NCTB, 1996) reflects these ideas of citizenship.

The aim of education is to develop moral qualities by cultivating religious, mental, cultural and social values in students' mind, i.e., to produce honest, patriotic, responsible, and dutiful ideal human beings. (NCTB, 1996, p.11)

From the policy perspective it is assumed that a purpose of education should be to produce a well-rounded person by developing moral qualities on the basis of our religious, cultural, and social values (Dobson, 2006 & Andreotti, 2006). Cultivating values according to our own culture is a contested view of citizenship and can be seen to sit uncomfortably with the neoliberal values (individualism, prosperity, and freedom) (Peters, 2004) of citizenship which are also part of the political and economic philosophy underpinning our curriculum document, as mentioned above.

The following three teachers, Hannan, Ripon, and Sikder, conceptualise citizenship as cultivating social and moral values to produce a well-rounded person and a good citizen. The following quotes will explain their ideas.

Education needs to cultivate values similar/according to our (Bangladeshi) own culture, traditions, and religious beliefs. By values here I refer to honesty, capability, and to grow up as a good man. (Hannan, teacher, face to face interview, 16.01.2011)

I think school is a place where students learn about morality and social values and this enables them to develop good human characteristics in themselves (Ripon, teacher, face to face interview, 16.01.2011)

Through secondary schooling different moral and social obligations and qualities can be cultivated in students. Here, by different qualities I mean to help others, to love people, to do one's duty for social peace and harmony, to become a responsible family member and finally to become a good citizen. (Sikder, teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

Here Sikder defines a good citizen as loving people, working for social peace and being a responsible family member. Sikder's idea of a good citizen can fit with ideas of political responsibility (Dobson, 2006 & Andreotti, 2006). Hannan's idea of cultivating values according to our own culture is a contested view of citizenship and sits in tension with the neoliberal values (individualism, prosperity, and freedom) (Peters, 2004) of citizenship which are integrated into the political and economic philosophy of our curriculum document.

***Citizenship as character development and the well being of society and the nation***

Reza, a principal, and Sajjad and Ripon, two teachers, have perceptions about the purposes of schooling that reflect notions of citizenship as character development, as awareness of one's own duties and responsibilities and as working for the wellbeing of the society. The following quotes will provide insights into these ideas about citizenship:

I think secondary education is very crucial, very important for the overall improvement of the nation whether that is economic development, or it may be character improvement or improvement of the national character as a whole. (Reza, face to face interview, 22.01.2011)

The purpose of education is to develop one's self and character and to work for the welfare of society and the nation. (Sajjad, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

The main purpose of education should be to build up an enlightened human for future generations. Here by enlightened human I mean a person who is aware of his duties and responsibilities to the nation and who can involve himself successfully to work in favour of his social interests. (Ripon, face to face interview, 16.01.2011)

From the above quotes it is clear that these teachers want to develop students' character and motivate them to help others. These contested views of citizenship can promote humane and compassionate actions, based on moral obligation (Andreotti, 2006 & Dobson, 2006).

### *Citizenship as enabling students to function well in their own social context*

Sajjad and Hannan have views about the purpose of education including a notion of citizenship that is related to enabling students to function properly in their own social context. The following quotes will explain this claim:

Now there is an unhealthy competition in our society between the parents and students on how to get good grades in exams rather than emphasizing how they will be able to function properly in their own society after completing their education. Crime and corruption are the most serious problems in our society. The educational needs of our society should be reflected in the aims of schooling. So, the aims of schooling should be to produce skilled and honest citizens so that they can acquire the knowledge for a better future as well as enabling them to contribute to the economic development of the country and to participate in constructing a peaceful society and nation. (Sajjad, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

The purpose of education should be to produce a well educated person. Here by well educated I mean a person's education should be acceptable to and consistent with his or her own society. If the purpose of education is different from the perspectives of my own society then I will fail to be compatible with my own fellow countrymen. (Hannan, face to face interview, 16.01.2011)

Both Sajjad and Hannan were here addressing some basic problems of citizenship in Bangladesh, but not the origin of those problems. They believe that the aims of schooling should be set according to the educational needs of our society so that we can produce honest citizens and well educated people. Both these ideas are challenged by critical approaches to citizenship education because they run the risk of reproducing unequal power relations (Andreotti, 2006).

### **Transfer of Knowledge**

The idea of Transfer of Knowledge as part of a conception of citizenship is to provide the young Bangladeshi students with the necessary knowledge, skills and dispositions which are considered as essential for citizenship. From the data it emerged that the

transfer of knowledge and skills is based on two competing concepts of citizenship: one is national feelings and another is economic development. The question might be what kind of 'socialization' and 'subjectification' (Biesta, 2010) could be activated through the two competing views of citizenship. I will discuss this dilemma more fully in Chapter six. Realizing personal goals is seen as the motivation for gaining the necessary knowledge and skills for citizenship. The other important aspect of citizenship here is related to duties and responsibilities.

In this section I will draw on material in the 'Social Science' curriculum and on the stated views of teachers and students about citizenship.

Providing knowledge and skills about rights and duties and the workings of the social, political, and economic system is considered to be part of the rationale for citizenship education in the 'Social Science' curriculum (NCTB, 1996). This can be seen in the following aims and objectives as stated in the 'Social Science Curriculum':

To encourage some knowledge of the present social system of Bangladesh. To play a supporting role in creating a new society based on the ideas acquired about the different problems of society. To regenerate national feeling, heritage, ideals, and patriotism. To know about the relationship between man and the environment. To know about the culture and the heritage. To know about the rights and duties of a citizen. To have a general idea about constitutional processes and National and International Politics. To gain sufficient knowledge for the economic development of personal and state life. To be inspired to have useful knowledge and skills in order to increase the standard of living through self employment. To get first ideas about the techniques of economic development of the country. To have some idea about the population problem of Bangladesh. (NCTB, 1995, p.292)

Looking at these aims and objectives we get a clear view of one conception of citizenship in Bangladesh. Here the task of educating for citizenship is confined to providing students with knowledge and skills about rights and duties and the workings of the social, political and economic system. The knowledge and skills are considered important for constructing the citizenship identity of students. It also puts emphasis on

giving students attitudes and skills suitable for generating self-employment. If we look critically at the aims and objectives of the 'Social Science' curriculum there is no clear statement of what is meant by a good Bangladeshi citizen (Biesta, 2010). From the perspective of critical curriculum studies the knowledge of a particular set of political values for citizenship identity is considered worth knowing (Pinar et al, 1996).

From Sikder and from the focus group discussion with the teachers, we get conceptions of citizenship which see as important the relationship of individuals to rights and obligations (Peters et.al, 2008). The following quotes provide some characteristics of this citizenship discourse:

Citizenship education in Bangladesh is based on the core values of patriotism, duty to society, freedom of choice, skilfulness and honesty and doing no harm to others. (Teachers, n= 8, focus group discussion, 20.01 2011)

To me citizenship means the duties, responsibilities, and rights of a citizen. Rights mean the basic human rights such as education, food, clothing, and treatment. Responsibilities means he needs to vote and pay taxes. He needs to help the law enforcing agencies to prevent conflict and violence. He can participate in the government programmes which are helpful for society. I mean for instance, it may be the eradication of illiteracy, it may be poverty alleviation. He can motivate the people. (Sikder,Teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

Ripon and Hannan, also describe citizenship as involving the relationship between the state and the individual based on moral responsibility, a volunteering civic consciousness and notions of collective well being (Ichilov, 1998 & Peters et al, 2008)). The following quotes demonstrate these ideas of citizenship.

The first thing I think about citizenship is to love your country and fellow countryman. A citizen must be aware of his duties and responsibilities. The most important thing of citizenship is to think about the implications of any decision or activity and the ability to make decisions according to the situation. Moreover, a good citizen will never participate in any activity that goes against the welfare of the state. (Ripon, Teacher, face to face interview, 16.01.2011)

Citizenship means self control, to work with your own intellect, and to carry out the duties and responsibilities of the country. A good citizen will never use his privileged position to exercise power. (Hannan, Teacher, face to face interview, 16.01.2011)

The participants' views of citizenship pertaining to the state/individual relationship are based on ideas of reciprocal social contracts and the importance of rights, duties and responsibilities. Ripon defined a good citizen as a person who will not involve himself in anti-state activities. Hannan defines a good citizen as a person who will not use their privileged position to exercise power. So these teachers' ideas about citizenship reflect a desire to confine the task of educating for citizenship to inculcating values such as performing charitable activities like poverty alleviation, doing work for the wellbeing of society, helping the unfortunate, patriotism and so on.

Now I will present the understanding of some students about citizenship that I got from a focus group discussion with them. The students' idea of citizenship is complex as they want to learn the necessary skills for gaining a livelihood, as well as wanting to be a citizen who is patriotic, self-reliant, and intellectually free and cares about society. This can be seen in the following statement.

Through secondary and vocational education we want to do well in exams to acquire the necessary qualifications for gaining a livelihood. At the same time it is most important to obtain citizenship qualities such as: patriotism, self-dependency, intellectual sovereignty, respect for others and caring for the environment. (Students, n=14, focus group discussion, 19.01.2011)

The focus group discussion reveals that students consider citizenship about acquiring the knowledge for gaining a livelihood as well as it being important for them to become a citizen who is an autonomous thinker. The students' ideas of citizenship are contested because during the focus group discussion they debated on what intellectual sovereignty actually means to them:

They said intellectual sovereignty enables a student to think logically. They also said if a person thinks logically he cannot confine himself to a particular view

that may make him impoverished. They suggested that an intellectual person analyses any assumption logically in relation to religion, politics, the economy, socialism, morality, and the law which leads them to respect other ways of thinking (Personal diary, 19.01.2011).

### **Citizenship in the role of the teachers**

In this section I will present how the teachers understand their role in relation to citizenship. In the focus group discussion eight teachers came to a consensus on a statement where emphasis is given to creating safe classrooms so that students are given the freedom to explore knowledge and to make sense of who they are by themselves. This conception of teaching reflects the neoliberal perspective of collaborative teaching in order to nurture the idea of private autonomy (Biesta, 2010 & Tully, 2008). This can be seen in the following quote.

Ensuring a friendly and secure environment in the classroom is needed to enable students to participate in knowledge construction and sense-making processes and to gain more autonomy for defining their own learning style. (Teachers, n= 8, focus group discussion, 20.01 2011)

Reza defines the role of a teacher as being to mentor in relation to citizenship and emphasizes the mixing of transmission and social constructivist teaching (Brophy, 2006). This can be seen in the following quote:

Teacher/student relationships need to be changed in the classroom and the teacher should act as a mentor. After giving a brief outline of the topic to be learned the teacher can give them a task for presentation and divide them into groups to work on it. After that he can just supervise the students' work. Through this type of practical work many doubts or confusions about the topic will arise in the students' minds and they can try to solve these together. (Reza, Principal, face to face interview, 22.01.2011)

Ripon and Hannan, conceptualise their role in relation to citizenship as being to create a friendly environment in the classroom so that students feel free to ask questions:



As a teacher I need to transmit moral values, patriotism and need to make them aware of their duties and responsibilities. In this case the teacher-student relationship is very important. It should be friendly. If students are afraid of a teacher, they will not feel free to express their hidden talents and will not ask any questions that come into their mind. (Ripon, Teacher, face to face interview, 16.01.2011)

In teaching, personally I believe in Rabindranath Tagore's theory and that is, education needs to be imparted with pleasure. There should be a good environment in the class room so that students/learners get opportunities to ask questions. Students will learn from me as well as I will also learn from them. If any parent personally wants to know about their children's future goal, as teachers we can give our opinion according to a student's merit and intentions. (Hannan, Teacher, face to face interview, 16.01.2011)

Reza understands the teacher's role in relation to citizenship as being a mentor so that students are enabled to engage together with the learning process. On the other hand, Sikder, Reza, and Hannan would like to build a safe environment in the classroom so students feel comfortable raising questions. Interestingly, none of the teachers understanding of their role in terms of citizenship talks about critical engagement in the sense-making process.

At the level of the intended curriculum there is a deliberate effort to educate students to be competitive in the global market as well as maintaining their own cultural identity and heritage. Teachers' explicit views relate to: earth citizenship, personal development and the state-individual relationship being based on some moral obligations. Teachers ideas of educating for citizenship are, perhaps understandably, full of often competing understandings and mostly focussed on inculcating patriotic ideals, developing character traits such as, honesty, and promoting values concerned with the wellbeing of society. There is no clear indication to think of citizenship as a way to create political agency which helps to address the issues related to unequal power relations and injustice. In this sense, the intended curriculum document and teachers perceptions reflect similar tensions.

In the next chapter I will show how the contradictory tensions in views of citizenship are played out at the level of the operational curriculum in the classroom.

## **Chapter-5: Findings: The Operational Curriculum**

### **Introduction**

The project's findings show that at the level of the operational curriculum the knowledge considered most worth knowing largely reflects neoliberal notions of citizenship, with the dominant aim being to do well in exams. In this chapter I will draw on the data from participant observations, and the teachers and students stated beliefs to show that critical approaches to understanding citizenship such as; becoming a subject, developing ethical relationships with difference, understanding the world as socially constructed, growing a critical consciousness, creating creative resistance toward domination, valuing one's own culture, and most importantly learning how to think (Freire, 1998; Andreotti, 2006; Biesta, 2010; Giroux, 1997; & McLaren, 1989) are absent in the operational curriculum. Reflect

My analysis shows that the curriculum enacted in a secondary school largely reflects a top down transfer of knowledge that mirrors a teacher led transmission model. The categories of teaching practices in relation to citizenship that I will discuss are; teachers as the producers of knowledge, students as the recipients of transmitted knowledge, a lack of critical engagement, an emphasis on exam passing, and teaching as managerial accountability for good exam results. I will use the themes to understand the different aspects of the transmission model from the perspective of the operational curriculum. I will also present different controversial aspects of private coaching that are enacted in parallel with classroom teaching in the Bangladeshi secondary education system. In conclusion I will present the type of citizen that the operational curriculum is producing in the secondary school classrooms in my case study

### **Top down transfer of knowledge**

There is a clear intention in the stated views of the teachers, presented in chapter-four, that teaching requires a friendly environment so that students feel safe asking questions. But we might ask, what type of questions should students ask that extends their view to one of critical engagement? The intended curriculum aims to produce competitive

citizens. Central to understanding this, from the perspective of the operational curriculum, is the role of teachers as producers of knowledge, and the role of students as recipients of transmitted knowledge. It appears that there is little emphasis on cultivating dispositions towards critical approaches to citizenship in the classroom and in private coaching. The purpose of transferring knowledge from teachers in practice seems largely related to passing exams. I would suggest that, when we have teacher's teaching what they know and what they believe to be important, there is a risk that we undermine the students' own knowledge and voices and limiting their opportunity to become critically active citizens.

### *Teachers as the Producers of Knowledge*

In the case study it was apparent that the teachers saw their role as knowers being to transfer the content of the intended curriculum straightforwardly to the students. This was frequently seen during observations. Teachers would enter the class, write some questions or a learning topic on the black board and then start to lecture without discussing what they had written with the students.

In my observation of Hannan's class, Rabeya, a student, asked the question; "Sir, why did the big bang happen?" In response to this question Hannan gave a religious explanation about the big bang to the students. I noted Hannan's explanation in my observation field notes.

I believe in a supreme power that controls the universe and according to his command the big bang happened. Those of you who read the Quran might see there that when Almighty Allah said **qum**, which means happen, then it happened. He created the planets, stars, galaxies and everything. He has made the balance of temperature, the air, and he has created water on earth so that animals can survive. Then Hannan asked a question; according to existing conditions, is it possible to survive on Mars? So the whole plan of Allah is behind the creation of this universe. (Researcher field notes, Hannan's class, Social Science, 15.01.2011)

Hannan did not allow the students to explore alternative scientific reasons for the big bang. After that he moved on to another topic and started lecturing in the same fashion.

In my observation of Sikder's class I found that after a student-student interaction he expressed his disappointment to the students concerning the way some of them did not participate, but without fully identifying the reasons why this might be the case:

It is really very shocking that a few of you did not interact with your partners. You were just sitting dumb and behaving just like shy people. You must share your ideas. If you don't share you cannot learn something new. You cannot become an innovative man. (Researcher field notes, Sikder's class, English Language, 15.01.2011)

He was talking about innovation but I could not understand how, without addressing the students' issues and concerns, innovation could be produced in the classroom. There might have been a problem with their reading or speaking skills but Sikder appeared totally unaware of this issue. It is ironic that Sikder is talking about 'innovation' but his pedagogical practices are not teaching them to become innovative. This is a state of being disconnected from the students who are coming into the classroom to construct knowledge socially (Biesta, 2010). This disjunction can ultimately limit student's opportunities to become critically active citizens and develop self-determination.

Ripon was teaching *Banga Bani*, a poem written by Abdul Hakim. At the beginning of the session he gave a short biography of Abdul Hakim on the basis of his own learning:

Abdul Hakim was born in a village called Sudharampur of Sandip district in 1620 AD. He was the main Bangli poet of the seventeenth century. His most famous work is **Nurnama**. In this poem he expressed deep love and affection for his motherland and his mother language. Due to this characteristic he became a legendary idol to the poets and writers of the next generation and they remembered him with deep respect. We find a very good human personality in his literature and this is his other special characteristic. He died in 1690 AD. (Researcher field notes, Ripon's class, Bangla Literature, 16.01.2011)

After giving this biography Ripon started discussion of the poem and did not allow any opportunity for the students to express what more they knew about Abdul Hakim that was not given in the text book. After providing the initial knowledge base he could have engaged the students as a learning community (Brophy, 2006) to share their experiences about Abdul Hakim. This is important for the students because it would have allowed them to understand that the world is made up of socially constructed knowledge with which they can critically engage (Brophy, 2006) to become an agentic citizen or a responsible social subject (Freire, 1998).

After arriving in the class, Sajjad wrote five questions on the black board without welcoming the students. Once he had finished writing them he started to lecture on the first two questions. The questions were; what is the meaning of the word 'risalat' and what do you mean by risalat? He was just answering the questions orally according to his own knowledge:

Risalat means a message, a speech, a letter or to perform the duty of good work. Risalat is one of the basic concepts in Islam and a Muslim must believe in risalat. So, according to Islamic explanation we can understand risalat as the means by which Allah sends messages to human beings through prophets so that his objective of creating human beings is achieved or to follow the way of life of a prophet is risalat. (Researcher field notes, Sajjad's class, Religious Education (Islam), 16.01.2011)

The above discussion shows the teachers modelling themselves as the only knowing authorities in the classroom. They expressed little interest in the students' individual and collective multiplicities and diversities, presented their own stereotyped images in transmitting the content of the text books to the students, which may be soon be forgotten (Brophy, 2006). So, as a whole, this was one-way teaching instead of reciprocal. It cannot help the students to learn how to think and it cannot cultivate self-reliance. I think there is a tension between the role of the teacher and the rights of students in the classroom. Since teaching-learning occurs in a social context, the students deserve to have their rights to develop their social, emotional, and cognitive experiences respected (Brophy, 2006) so that they can become democratic citizens.

### *Students as the recipients of transmitted knowledge*

From the participant observations, I have seen that the interaction model that is adopted puts the students in a position of being the recipients of the thinking processes of others. Their role is just to respond according to the teachers' wishes and to take the beliefs and values that are expressed in the text books as the definitive expressions of knowledge.

During a discussion on the Earth, Hannan asked the students what the position of the Earth in the solar system is. The students replied “third” and then he asked what the volume of the Earth is. The students replied “510,100,422 square kilometres”. To this Farid responded, this is not the volume, this is the surface area. If it was the volume then the units would be cubic kilometres. (Researcher field notes, Hannan's class, Social Science, 15.01.2011)

Hannan forced the students to accept the answer as correct because it was given in the text book. He stopped any discussion of why the unit of area is square kilometres. So the students' curiosity was not being nurtured and he shut down an opportunity to cultivate student subjectivity (Biesta, 2010) and promote a liberating discourse of citizenship (Mariage et al., 2004). In my observation field notes I wrote:

Hannan justified his position by asking questions like, how do you say the volume of Bangladesh? Do you say cubic kilometres? Then he moved to discuss another point without giving any chance for discussion of Farid's question. I found some students were not satisfied with Hannan's reply. (Researcher field notes, Hannan's class, Social Science, 15.01.2011)

In a Bangla literature class, Ripon was teaching about a poem. He explained the whole poem stanza by stanza without giving the students any opportunity to engage in exploring the inner meanings of the poem themselves. Throughout the lesson the students were hearing the explanation as passive learners from Ripon which prevented the students from assuming a position as creative and social subjects (Freire, 1998):

Here we get a description of a typical class of people, who are superstitious, parochial, do not like to go beyond their own borders and whose knowledge is limited. They treat Bangla as the Hindu's language. The origin of the Bangla

language is Sanskrit (an ancient language of the Indian subcontinent) and all Hindu myths are written in Sanskrit. So they think that Bangla is the Hindu's language and they dislike it. Abdul Hakim has expressed his confusion as they are the original people of Bangla, who were born here but ignore the Bangla Language. Those who were born here but dislike Bangla should leave this land. (Researcher field notes, Ripon's class, Bangla Literature, 16.01.2011)

After finishing the explanation Ripon asked Sifat to explain the meaning of the fourth stanza and Sifat said:

Here the poet has expressed his dislike of those who treat Bangla as the Hindu's language and who were born in Bangla but ignore the Bangla language.'(Researcher field notes, Ripon's class, Bangla Literature, 16.01.2011).

Here Sifat just echoes the voice of Ripon as in the above quote. So, here students' role was just to repeat what the teacher said. The teachers always appeared to want to hear the right answer from the students and the students constantly tried to guess what the teacher wanted them to say. This approach can fail to cultivate qualities such as openness to others and a questioning attitude to issues about what's right or wrong, which are indispensable for creating resistance to the manipulative power of any citizenship ideology (Freire, 1998). It reflects the fact that students are seen as the passive recipients of transmitted knowledge. As was seen in Sajjad's class:

Sajjad said, now I will discuss the fourth question which was "No necessity for any prophet to come after Hazrat Muhammad (s)" and explain the significance of this phrase. He said Hazrat (s) is the prophet of all people and the prophet for all time. Could anybody give a quotation from the Quran? A student named Riaj gave a quotation like "Allah says today I completed Islam as your way of life". Sajjad rejected Riaj's answer and said "you did not understand the question. I told you that Hazrat (s) is the prophet of all people and the prophet for all time. So sit down". (Researcher field notes, Sajjad's class, Religious Education (Islam), 16.01.2011)



From this it can be seen that students are required to memorise rather than participate in any intellectual operation that goes beyond the repeating of the teacher's beliefs.

### ***Lack of Critical Engagement***

From my observations I have seen that the operational mode of teaching used in classrooms dislikes any active and critical judgements from the student. The teachers liked to have their statements valued more than any independent judgement from the students.

In Hannan's class Farid raised a substantial/critical judgement regarding the living conditions on earth. Hannan rejected his idea and did not allow any further discussion:

Farid raised a very critical question like sir, the type of life for which we are saying that temperature, air, and soil conditions are standard on Earth but there might be different types of life which may exist in different temperatures or in different conditions in other solar systems or on other planets. It may even be true on earth; different life may exist here in different conditions. So conditions are relative for the existence of life. Hannan replied, if you say that there might be animals which do not require any water, air, and food to exist then it sounds like fiction. We are animals and we should compare conditions with what is suitable for us. We cannot write a super story like there might be animals which can survive in +100 or - 100 degrees Celsius temperature. Farid argued "sir, standards should be fixed according to the type of life". (Researcher field notes, Hannan's class, Social Science, 15.01.2011)

Here curiosity and critical engagement were undermined by the teacher. Farid's main argument was that there might be different standard conditions where different types of animal may exist. I was surprised Hannan did not recognise his thinking. I think there are a lot of unknown things that we need to explore and Farid was thinking in that way. Again Hannan said:

We are animals and we should think about standards according to our own living conditions. What you are saying can be written, but it is science fiction and we will not get such types of standards and animals that you (Farid) are

saying. Then Rabeya said “sir, if we think it we can discover it”. Hannan replied “this is not true, you can develop a theory but you will not get suitable conditions for life according to your ideas”. (Researcher field notes, Hannan's class, Social Science, 15.01.2011)

At this point Hannan stopped everybody. He failed to nurture the students' imaginations, their critical thinking ability, curiosity and their hunger to explore new ideas.

In his Bangla literature class, Ripon wrote five questions on the black board for the students to answer. All the questions were closed and required no critical engagement, just the use of memory. During my observation of Ripon's class I noted the questions in my observation field notes.

What is the source of the poem **Banga Bani**? Who is the writer of **Nurnama**?  
**In** what period did the poet Abdul Hakim live? In what century was Abdul Hakim born? What is the main theme of **Banga Bani**? (Researcher field notes, Ripon's class, Bangla Literature, 16.01.2011)

During the lesson Ripon also asked Ratul another closed question, to explain the meaning of the fifth stanza. Ratul said “the poet has told people to leave Bangla who dislike learning the mother language.” Rather, he might have asked Ratul or anybody else a question like, what is the significance of the mother language in your life? This would have helped to encourage a critical engagement with the poem. But this is yet to be valued by the teachers.

Throughout the whole lesson Sajjad did not ask any critical questions to check the students' critical thinking ability. In a few cases he just asked questions like, could anybody give me a quotation from the Holy Quran, rather than asking could anybody explain the significance of this or that quotation?:

Let us discuss the question according to the second reason for sending the prophet. He asked, is the learning of Hazrat(s) incomplete or inapplicable? And he gave the answer, the learning of Hazrat (s) is complete and nothing needs to be added or subtracted. Sajjad asked, could anybody give a quotation from the

Quran? (Researcher field notes, Sajjad's class, Religious Education (Islam), 16.01.2011)

The above quotations show that the transmission model that is operating in classrooms is not allowing the students to critically engage in sense-making and in constructing knowledge. The teacher's inability to allow and encourage critical discussion is problematic because critical citizenship building requires knowledge and understanding of explicit political ways of doing and being (Biesta, 2010). Dispositions to political subjectivity and agency need to be cultivated for activating a critical, active, and committed citizenry (Freire, 1998; Giroux, 1997; McLaren, 1989; & Andreotti, 2006). I saw little evidence of these abilities being developed in the students during teaching and learning and little sign of critical engagement. The students wanted to engage in some critical reflection and appeared to be enthusiastic about making critical judgements. However, the teachers not only did not encourage them, but actively suppressed their attempts when they emerged.

In the focus group discussion, students expressed their opinions about the process of curriculum implementation in classrooms. Students wanted to see their teachers creating a context where they are able to participate in debate so that they are able to come across the views of others and extend their learning and show it in practice. The students wanted to take their learning beyond the text book to increase their knowledge, but on many occasions the teachers do not go beyond the text book and just want to finish the syllabus. After the focus group discussion I wrote the students' thoughts in my personal diary:

In this group discussion we are participating in a debate on different aspects of the teaching-learning processes, we are coming across many different ideas and learning many things. If this type of debate could happen in the classroom, our learning would be on solid ground. (Farid, Focus group discussion, 19.01.2011)

Teachers do not want to go beyond the text books but there are many things to learn from outside text books. The teachers' goal is just to finish the syllabus which is failing to meet our thirst for learning. (Samanta, Focus group discussion, 19.01.2011)

### *Emphasis on Exam Passing*

The central focus of teaching practice is on memorization so that students can acquire the skills to do well in exams and compete with other schools. The teacher's duty is to transfer the content of the curriculum to the students in such a way that they can answer the questions correctly in the exam hall.

Hannan was giving instructions to the students on how to answer a question in the exam and I found that the students were attentive during that time. After completing my observation I wrote:

Hannan told the students what to do if they get a question in the exam hall like, why is the earth an ideal planet for the existence of life? He advised the students that to answer this question they should discuss things like: due to standard temperature, standard soil conditions, standard atmospheric conditions and water, life had been created on earth, developed gradually and is still surviving and they can also say that because of these conditions Earth is a different planet from the others in our solar system and is an ideal planet. (Researcher field notes, Hannan's class, Social Science, 15.01.2011)

Ripon gave an elaborate explanation to the students on what type of creative questions they may get in the exam and how they have to answer them. The whole aim of his teaching was to prepare the students for the public exam. In my observation field notes I wrote:

Ripon showed the students an example of a creative question on the poem that he had taught and what they might get in the exam. It was like: read the passage and answer the following questions. He read out the passage which was as follows: Mr. Pavel's children are students of an English medium school. He prefers foreign songs and music to Bangla songs. He speaks in English. He also pronounces Bangla words with a distorted dialect. When others fail to communicate with him in English then he tells them "you are still a Bangal". After seeing this situation his mother told him "I never feel happy talking to

you” (Participant observation field notes, Ripon's class, Bangla Literature, 16.01.2011)

After providing the passage he wrote the following questions:

What is the source of the poem Banga Bani? What do you mean by the Hindu's language? “Still you remain a Bangal” Explain the poet's view of Mr. Pavel's mentality that is expressed in this sentence. “I never feel happy talking to you.” Explain how it is similar to poet's main theme? (Researcher field notes, Ripon's class, Bangla Literature, 16.01.2011)

Then Ripon started discussion on how to answer each question with the students:

After reading the passage Ripon said that the students will get the answer to the first question directly from their book and it is from the cognitive domain. To answer the second question the students need to understand the poem clearly. The third question will be from the application domain. The students will have to apply or compare the knowledge that they have gained from the poem to a practical or new situation. The fourth question will be from the higher order. To answer this question first they have to decide whether the speech is similar to the poet's main theme. Then they have to compare their knowledge with the speech and finally they will have to take a position or will have to give their own opinion. (Researcher field notes, Ripon's class, Bangla Literature, 16.01.2011)

There was a conscious effort to prepare the students for the national exams in each session that I observed. The teachers were giving instructions very carefully as creative questioning was introduced into Bangladeshi secondary education just two years ago. But the approaches to answering creative questions are not fundamental to the teaching practices and can undermine the students' curiosities (Freire, 1998). So, as a whole, memorization is the most important feature of teaching and learning.

### ***Teaching as Managerial Accountability for good Exam Results***

Now I want to explore a different perspective in relation to the operational curriculum that puts teachers under managerial accountability. Teachers appear to think that their teaching practice is now governed by this managerial accountability. The explicit and implicit purpose of this accountability is to do well in exams by memorization, to compete with other schools and students in terms of getting GPA5. There is increasing pressure for parents to see student's gaining GPA5 as a matter of prestige and social esteem. This reflects a materialistic view which sees their children as sources of income. I suggest there is a conflict between professional autonomy and the materialistic gains from education which is putting all the parties in a complex confrontational position. Neither party is concerned about the importance of liberty (Freire, 1998) which is a virtue of citizenship. The following quotes from Reza, Sikder, Sajjad, and Ripon provide some support for the above claim:

We are compelled to teach to the text books prescribed by the government. So, not only we, every secondary school puts emphasis on teaching the whole syllabus, on memorization and on how students can do better in public exams. (Reza, Principal, face to face interview, 22.01.2011)

If we have something in mind to do for speaking and listening skills, we are not able to. Because there is also an expectation from the parents and the college authority that student have to get A+ in the public exams. Then sometimes we are scared if we can't ensure a number of A+ students or if I can't increase the number of A+ students in my subject, I may be taken to task or I may be given some notice to explain. I think the first concern is that there is social esteem. They will be able to tell their colleagues and other neighbours that my son has got an A+. It is prestigious news for them. It is the first one. Just because of the materialistic culture they are just trying to make their sons and daughters machines to earn money. (Sikder, Teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

Parents want to see their children getting high marks in the exams. So, we teachers feel the pressure of that expectation and try to give our students something readymade so that larger numbers of students do well in the exams.

As a teacher, this is our failure. (Sajjad, Teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

There is competition among the students and guardians to get good marks or GPA 5 in the exams. So, the purpose of curriculum implementation is focused on achieving good exam results. (Ripon, Teacher, face to face interview, 16.01.2011)

### ***A Parallel Market/Operational Curriculum within the context of Public Schooling***

In the Bangladeshi education system a market has emerged for the production of knowledge that is rewarded with qualifications only. This market can be considered a parallel system to the classroom teaching that is operating at the level of the operational curriculum. This parallel system involves after school private coaching, in which most teachers are involved. Students are compelled to go to fill in the gaps in what they were supposed to learn in the classroom. The basic principle of this market is just to buy readymade something for doing well in the exams. The system is shaping the teacher/student relationship as one of provider and consumer and this is having a huge impact on the type of citizen that the Bangladeshi education system is producing. Those who do not have enough money to spend are just disappearing from the race. So, the real tragedy is, the education system is explicitly and implicitly contributing to produce class differences in Bangladesh. The Honourable Education Minister has expressed his deep concern regarding the dangers of private tuition in the National Education Policy-2010 document which has been approved in the National Parliament. The Honourable Minister has noted:

Classroom teaching-learning needs to be completely successful. We have to liberate students from the unexpected danger of note-book-let and private tuition (National Education Policy, 2010, p. VI).

Now I will present the teachers and students perspectives in the following sections.

Reza explains that teachers and parents need to provide a good example in practice that students can follow. If we fail to do so the students will be motivated to exploit others for their personal gain as they see this from their teachers:

We, parents, teachers who teach them, are not providing a good example that they can follow. For example, teachers compel the students to go for private tuition. So, what do they learn from it? Will they learn from the text book? They will be motivated by what their teachers do and will compel others for their own self interest. Therefore, what I am doing in practice is more important than what I am saying. (Reza, Principal, face to face interview, 22.01.2011)

Sajjad describes teachers as failing to maintain their professional ethics:

But the problem is that we the teachers fail to maintain in practice what we say. Many of our teachers compel the students to go for private tuition. (Sajjad, Teacher, face to face interview, 19.01.2011)

In the focus group discussion the students explained different aspects of private teaching. From their discussion it was revealed that teachers consider private coaching a way to make money. Many students do not pay attention in the classroom and disturb others because they like to be attentive in private tuition. In most private coaching teachers give short suggestions for doing well in exams and it is very rare that teachers discuss every topic from the text book. After the focus group discussion I noted in my personal diary.

Teachers think that if we discuss clearly everything in the classroom students will not go to us for private tuition. In that case our economic development will be stopped. And this is huge. (Romana, focus group discussion, Personal diary, 19.01.2011)

Many students do not try to understand in the classroom. They say that they will understand it in private coaching. For this reason they talk with others in the classroom and just pass time. (Riazul, focus group discussion, Personal diary, 19.01.2011)

In most private tuition teachers give short suggestions and teach only the probable questions that students might get in the exam hall. A few teachers discuss more than that. (Samanta, Focus group discussion, Personal diary, 19.01.2011)



The transmission model appears to be contributing to putting knowledge out of context which is helping to develop superficial thinking ability. The only valued knowledge and learning that occurs in the classroom and in private tuition is largely what is transmitted by the teacher. In both cases students' diversity and differences are not addressed. This interaction model cannot develop commitment, accountability, or self-esteem in the students. This may not even produce a citizen who can be competitive from the neoliberal perspective. So, I would suggest that, in the case study, schooling is producing intellectually and emotionally dependent citizens whose capacities for critical thinking and engagement are not being fostered.

## **Chapter-6: The Intended Curriculum – Discussion and Implications**

In this chapter I will discuss the implications of findings from the research project. First, I discuss the competing and conflicting views of citizenship that are dominant at the intended level of the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum. Next I suggest dispositions that would be helpful for students to develop in negotiating the conflicting and competing views of citizenship they experience.

### **Competing and conflicting views of citizenship dominant at the intended level of the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum**

#### ***Economic Development/Growth***

Within the context of the open market economy, broadly, the underlying tension identified from the analysis of the intended secondary curriculum and the stated beliefs of the teachers is between two contested/competing concepts of citizenship; one is globalism and the other is localism (Ichilov, 1998). Under the guise of an economic development discourse, citizenship is understood as the development of global economic competitiveness, developing the necessary entrepreneurial attitudes and skills for self-employment. These understandings project the vision of neoliberal “individualism and universalism” (Peters et al., 2008 & Peters, 2004) which tends to maximise private interest at the expense of equity and justice. The problem with the idea of universalism can be traced through Bhabha (1990, p. 208) as he argues “the universalism that paradoxically permits diversity masks ethnocentric norms” (cited in Rizvi, 2011). It also “ignores the workings of power and privilege” (Rizvi, 2011). At the same time, there is a rhetorical understanding of citizenship as valuing Bangladeshi culture and identity under an economic development discourse.

From a post colonial perspective, the hegemony of capitalist values functions as a dominant citizenship ideology (Ichilov, 1998) in the intended curriculum as well as in the teachers' views. This can work against the liberating principles of greater equality and social justice. What is problematic about an emphasis on achieving global

economic competitiveness is that a capitalist citizenship ideology may not enable students to reflect and develop the tools to negotiate the prevailing differences in Bangladeshi society (Andreotti, 2006; Ichilov, 1998), and cause them to uncritically submit to the hegemonic system. This citizenship ideology is strongly associated with an understanding of cosmopolitanism where human rights and human reasoning (Peters et al., 2008) are defined within the perspectives of capitalism, colonialism, and transnational trade. Within the dominance of capitalism and colonialism, the assumptions around citizenship and human reasoning bind us to the concept of “a single moral community” (Peters et al., 2008). The basic characteristics of this single moral community are; freedom, equality, and autonomy based on the concept of a universal law. In the name of freedom, equality, and personal autonomy this universal law creates the grounds which make it permissible for the citizens of imperial powers to participate in business outside their homeland and also protects them from any interference (Tully, 2008).

The emphasis on developing entrepreneurial attitudes and skills, and inculcating a sense of responsibility to achieve self-employment, indicates that the intended secondary curriculum was framed to construct corporate citizenship ideals in the minds of our students so that they learn to appreciate the free exercise of “civil liberties (private autonomy)” (Tully, 2008). This form of citizenship can also create an egocentric aspiration for personal gain in the minds of young students. Through these cosmopolitan forms of citizenship, students may be led to think of themselves as equal citizens of a global community without understanding the implicit colonial intentions at the heart of cosmopolitanism. As Tully (2008) notes:

The people were socialised by education, urbanisation, military duty, industrialisation, and modern citizenisation to see themselves first and foremost, not as citizens of their local communities, but as members of an abstract and ‘disembedded’ imaginary community of nation, *demos* and *nomos* of formally free and equal yet materially unequal citizens, with an equally abstract imaginary of popular sovereignty they mythically embodied and exercised through the individual liberties of modern citizenship attached to the central legal and representative institutions. (p.20)

The issue of cosmopolitan citizenship was neither critically examined by the curriculum policy makers nor by the respondent teachers, and is the basis of obligation for individuals' actions. The notion of a citizen of an imaginary global community may run the risk of creating a mythical/false belief in a common humanity rather than a sense of a political obligation (Dobson, 2006) to bring about greater justice for the oppressed. The source of the assumption of common humanity is the Western notion of progress where unequal power relations fall outside the realm of any intellectual action that is guided by common humanity (Dobson, 2006).

If we consider education as a medium for change, the notions of corporate/cosmopolitan citizenship articulated in the intended Bangladeshi secondary curriculum under the camouflage of economic development, are an attempt to impose change. The basic principle of this change is 'universalism' rather than establishing 'ethical relations' concerning the politics of differences and diversities (Andreotti, 2006). The basic principle of change based on the discourse of 'universalism' (we can read it as 'modernisation'/'civilisation') helps us to forget the 'epistemic violence' – the production of unequal power relations and maintaining dependency (Andreotti, 2006) – of colonialism. So what kind of agency can be created by this imported notion of change that seems to be fostered through the ideas of citizenship?

Within the belief system of corporate/cosmopolitan citizenship the type of subjectivity that can be created is based on the assumption of self-motivated competition to gain power to consume (Apple, 2002; cited in Andreotti, 2005). The notion of agency articulated in the intended curriculum, therefore, is shaped by the discourse of capitalism where individuals' actions are targeted to adapt to the prevailing hegemonic system, maintaining the status quo and conformity to individualism (Andreotti, 2005). The implicit intention of this agency can magnify political apathy (Andreotti, 2005) leading students to become 'subservient' to a capitalist vision of citizenship.

On the other hand, in the intended secondary curriculum and in the stated beliefs of teachers, citizenship is also seen as needing to respect Bangladeshi religious, moral, cultural, and social values and Bangladeshi identity. It is thus conceptualised as being important for maintaining social order according to Bangladeshi tradition. In this view,

citizenship is seen as important for maintaining cultural distinctiveness and is expressed in opposition to the encroaching forces of globalisation. So how can the tensions between emphasising competition and material gain and maintaining a cultural heritage be reconciled? When we give importance to valuing cultural heritage against global encroaching forces, we need to consider the risk of cultural differences being exploited. The big challenge of the continuing exploitation of cultural differences remains unnoticed in this view of local citizenship.

Also, in understanding citizenship, few of the teachers expressed any concern about the environmental degradation caused by globalisation. This view of citizenship is related to earthism (Peters, 2004) and is in opposition to neoliberal individualism. From the perspective of earthism, we have the idea of the interdependence of life where the unequal nature of the impact caused by environmental disasters is acknowledged and respect for the world around us is considered (Dobson, 2006 & Peters, 2004). From this view of citizenship young Bangladeshi students could challenge “the hierarchical structures that maintain order for some at the expense of others” (Peters, 2004, p. 112). The earthist notion of citizenship sees poverty as an issue of justice rather than an issue of charity or benevolence. But data indicating responsible human behaviour and consciousness about the environment shows that contested views of citizenship are understood to be ‘common sense’ according to the teachers' perceptions.

What are the implications of neoliberal understandings of citizenship dominating our social, educational, political and economic life? I want to discuss the implications in relation to the basic principle of neoliberalism which is personal gain at the expense of equity and justice. First, I suggest that this is a ruling class strategy for maintaining class divisions by which a local elite class is created with no sense of a greater social good. It can run the risk of commercialising our society and the relationship between the individual and the community. The principles of democratic government could come under threat and the government may fail to balance the interests of economic utility and social justice for its citizens. This can create social unrest which may run the risk of undermining democracy and economic development. The dominant neoliberal citizenship ideologies can result in alienated and apathetic citizens, and limit

opportunities for solidarity amongst citizens. The dangers and possible consequences of neoliberal notions of citizenship are stated by Freire (1998):

It's a question of jumping on the train in the middle of the journey without discussing the conditions, the cultures, or the forms of production of the countries that are being swept along. And there is no talk about the distance that separates the "rights" of the strong and their power to enjoy them from the fragility of the weak in their attempts to exercise their rights. Meanwhile, responsibilities and duties are levelled-equal for all. If globalisation means the abolition of the frontiers and the opening without restriction to free enterprise, those who cannot compete simply disappear. (p. 114)

Next I will look at summarising the knowledge, skills and dispositions of the different citizenship dimensions that are considered essential for the students to gain in order to negotiate the competing and conflicting views of citizenship.

### ***Personal Fulfilment***

From the point of view of the teachers, the purpose of education includes a notion of citizenship as empowering individuals by bringing out an individual's potential in two ways; self-development and universal philanthropy. The vision of empowering the citizenry reflects the idea that the good to be pursued is self-maximisation. This vision of citizenship leads students to become active according to what has been set as good for their life. Ultimately, it limits the opportunity for the students to be reflective on the 'assumptions', 'processes', and 'legacies' (Andreotti, 2006) of Bangladeshi culture which teach us to appreciate the division between the West and non-West, on issues such as race and gender (Willinsky, 1998). On the other hand, the perspective of citizenship based on universal philanthropy seeks to promote generosity to others on the basis of morality. It sounds good compared to self-maximisation but the major limitation of this idea of citizenship is that it does not acknowledge poverty or the rights of the less fortunate as issues of justice. Therefore, both perspectives of citizenship help to maintain the status quo in our society.

### *Values and Personal Attributes*

Both at the policy and perception level citizenship is considered as shaping students' identities and values based on Islamic ideals. The major limitation of this notion of citizenship is that it is anti-secular and does not reflect the demographic diversity of Bangladesh. It is thus divorced from the challenge of making citizens of equal status and of respecting the status of minorities. This conception of citizenship reflects the vision of producing a homogenous citizen identity based on Islamic culture, but at the cost of marginalising the cultural identity of non-Muslims (Rizvi, 2011). It can have negative implications for peoples' identities, social relations, and for their sense of belongingness. Here, the representation of Islamic/Muslim culture as a dominant conception of citizenship teaches the students “to differentiate peoples' identity” (Rizvi, 2011, p. 181) in terms of religion. From the perspective of critical curriculum studies the religious belief of the dominant class is considered as official (Pinar, et al. 1996) in shaping students' values and identity. Here, cultural diversity is thus addressed exclusively through the discourse of religion rather than “race, ethnicity or language” (Rizvi, 2011, p.181). Most probably the historical and political context of Bangladesh forced the curriculum and policy makers to count religion as a “dominant differentiating factor in representing cultural diversity” (Rizvi, 2011, p.183). I surmise that perhaps they were unaware that it could cause social exclusion or they were compelled to execute the political desires of the then government. In the context of transnationalism it is necessary to examine critically how different Bangladeshi people experience cultural diversity in shaping their sense of self and others.

As a teacher, I would suggest that, with some exceptions, policy perspectives can differ according to our cultural practices and experiences. People of other religions (Hindu, Christian, Buddhist, indigenous people) can exercise their religious and cultural practices without any hindrance, except the atheists. However, this is not all that needs to be satisfied. If social justice and social inclusion are matters of concern for any citizenship ideal there is still much more to do. However, this notion of citizenship causes us to deviate from our dream, which we had during our war of liberation and still have; to establish a secular and democratic state in every aspect of our life.

In contrast to the above conception of citizenship, at the level of policy and the teachers' perceptions, citizenship is conceived as shaping students moral and social values and developing a well-rounded person. I think this is also an illusory effort to construct citizenship through the tacit terms of social and moral values. The questions arise then, what factors are considered as significant for constructing moral and social values? Do they include race, ethnicity, gender and language, or only religion? Why does constructing citizens matter? These are not easy questions to answer, but need to be understood in relation to Bangladesh's constitutional ideals.

To understand the politics of culture and diversity in relation to citizenship, it is necessary to understand the historical influence of religion in the political landscape of Bangladesh and its legacy that continues to exist in tension with the constitutional ideals. These ideals recognise Islam as the State religion as well as reflecting very strong commitments towards inclusion regardless of race, culture, gender and religion. This tension also exists in the intended secondary curriculum where it says that students' identity will be shaped by Islamic ideals and at the same time it recognises religious belief, culture and traditions as significant factors in constructing moral and social values. The fact is that all these expressions of citizenship are culturally biased and the discursive scope of this citizenship conception has limitations in maintaining social inclusion.

In addition to that, at the policy level, cultural diversity is considered as 'pluralistic harmony' and the construction of a secular citizenship ideal through moral and social values just creates an illusion of consensus (Rizvi, 2011). Through this ideological consensus people fail to recognise the workings of unequal power relations and lived experiences of difference. There is also an intention to produce good citizens on the basis of moral values. This is also problematic because it guides actions and thoughts according to normative moral principles (Andreotti, 2006) which fail to acknowledge social inclusion and harmony as concerns of social justice. Another problem is that it also fails to challenge the 'structural norms' (Rizvi, 2011, p. 183) through which difference and harmony coexist easily. This has serious implications for minorities and poor peoples' feelings of inclusion, identity, thoughts and actions.



One important thing I need to mention here is that the dominant construction/representation of diversity in relation to citizenship has been heavily influenced by the historical and political context of Bangladesh. But in the 21st century people experience cultural diversity within the economic, political and social phenomenon of transnationalism (Rizvi, 2011) which is very crucial to understanding the cosmopolitan features of citizenship. Bangladesh is part of these transnational currents. Therefore, we need to reconcile the issues that can affect our sense of identity and belongingness within a transnational context.

A few teachers understand citizenship as including aspects of character development and the well being of society and the nation. The scope of this citizenship notion is exclusively related to Bangladesh's national political sphere and to some extent also related to the behavioural dimension of citizenship (Ichilov, 1998). It reflects the importance of individuals' obligation being motivated by their duties and responsibilities for the collective well-being of society and the nation. Individuals' obligations are therefore closely associated with patriotism and nationalism. Apparently this is important for maintaining the democratic order of society.

But, in the context of globalisation, maintaining the importance of nationalism and patriotism within this citizenship notion includes adopting participatory approaches. Participatory approaches create a sense of '*civic consciousness*' and the motivational orientation of participation is based on voluntarism (Ichilov, 1998). In Ichilov's (1998) terms:

Civic consciousness is irreplaceable for collective problem solving in a democratic society, which rests on voluntarism, motivated by a sense of moral responsibility for the collective well-being (p.15).

This can be problematic because any motivation/obligation originating from a moral basis (Dobson, 2006) can fail to trace the workings of power and privilege within the democratic political institutions. The implication is that with this notion of citizenship Bangladeshi citizens can not be able to challenge the increasing trend towards social differentiation caused by globalisation and this in turn could destabilise democracy and cause disharmony.

Sajjad and Hannan conceived citizenship as enabling students to function well in their own social contexts. Like many developing countries, in the Bangladeshi intended secondary curriculum Western life-skills and educational ends are illustrated and fixed to produce citizens as narrow specialists for functioning in Western urban situations. In this respect the teacher's perception of citizenship is contested. In expressing their views about the aims of education they gave crime and corruption as major problems in Bangladeshi society though they did not reflect on the origin of these problems. To counter this problem they argued that an aim of education is to produce honest citizens. Any critical reflection on the origin of these problems (Andreotti, 2006) they had identified was not apparent. An honest citizen may not be able to reflect critically on how Eurocentric views of citizenship undermine our efforts to achieve economic and political self-reliance.

If a conception of citizenship is to help students look differently/critically at our own views and objectives so as to change the social aspirations and economic structures (Andreotti, 2006) that lead a person to commit crime and become corrupt, then conceiving citizenship in terms only of honesty is going to be problematic. Certainly we need honest citizens, but it is not true that only by having honest citizens can crime and corruption be removed from our society. Rather, citizenship should be conceived as fostering students' agency so that they can engage critically with their own social context to bring about change. Conceiving of citizenship as functioning well in one's own social context through honesty has its limitations and claims for economic development and social peace are only feasible against economic degradation and social chaos.

Now I want to discuss some implications of this notion of citizenship. First I want to make a distinction between critical engagement and proper functioning in a social context. To engage critically within a social context means trying to understand the complexities, relationships, structures, institutions, and assumptions of that context as historically and politically constructed. On the other hand, proper functioning in a social context means adapting to the prevailing structural norms and values, which are fixed by others (local elites and their Western partners). So, an implication of proper functioning in one's own social context is that it allows the smooth functioning of

Western supremacy and maintains the status quo. Secondly, it leads our students to become mentally colonised. Finally, it limits our opportunity to achieve economic and political self-reliance. The ultimate effect is making democracy indispensable for the elites and making social justice an illusion for the poor.

### *Transfer of knowledge*

At the intended level of the Social Science curriculum, and from the teachers perceptions, the dimensions of citizenship that are considered indispensable for Bangladeshi students are confined to providing them with knowledge, skills, a sense of duty and responsibility and knowing how the social, political and economic system works. Mainly, the emphasis is on two competing concepts of citizenship i.e. to regenerate students' sense of heritage, ideals, and patriotism as well as giving them the necessary attitudes and skills that equip them to take their place in the economy either as self-employed businessmen or as employees of others. The tension between different citizenship dimensions can be examined through the "qualification, socialisation and subjectification" (Biesta, 2010, p.24) functions of education.

First, this articulation of citizenship clearly indicates that the intention, in terms of 'qualification', is to influence/teach the students to accept the importance of Bangladeshi national identity as well as taking neoliberal citizenship values (one's responsibility of self-employability) as a way of life. In this conception, the importance of enabling the students' to reflect critically on the economic and political processes and practices (Biesta, 2010) that widen the gap between the West and non-West and the rich and poor within our own society is ignored. The agenda of citizenship is, therefore, strongly focused on 'socialisation' into neoliberal identities and subjectivities (Biesta, 2010) that shut down the possibilities for political subjectivity and agency.

Another implicit but distinctive feature of citizenship that needs discussion is what is actually meant by a good Bangladeshi citizen in the intended 'Social Science' curriculum. If creating political agency is the central concern of a citizenship dimension (Biesta, 2010), the forms of 'qualification' articulated in the 'Social Science' curriculum shape agency in a way that can motivate students in the competition to gain power (Andreotti, 2005). In this respect, a good citizen is he who will insert himself in the

prevailing economic and political order (Biesta, 2010) without any hesitation. Competition is not always a negative thing but if its discursive scope fails to liberate the students from such an order, it is problematic. No such attempt is evident at the intended level of the curriculum other than some ornamental importance attached to respecting Bangladeshi culture and heritage. An implicit but profound integration of neoliberal citizenship is thus evident in the intended 'Social Science' curriculum.

At the level of the teachers' perceptions, ideas about citizenship also reflect a desire to confine the task of educating for citizenship to inculcating values such as performing charitable activities like joining in the poverty alleviation campaigns, doing work for the wellbeing of society, helping the unfortunate, and patriotism. This expression of citizenship is exclusively assumed to socialize the students into accepted moral values. But if the intention of the socialization function of citizenship is to develop critical consciousness so that students can take poverty and the conditions of the less fortunate as a concern of political obligation, the marked disposition to moral obligation and community involvement may only help to sustain; "deep-seated political, economic, racial, and gender inequalities" (Feinberg, 1975; cited in Giroux, 2001, p. 73).

On the other hand, the students consider citizenship to be about acquiring the knowledge for gaining a livelihood as well as it being important for them to become a citizen who is an autonomous thinker. For them, an intellectual person analyses assumptions logically in relation to religion, politics, the economy, socialism, morality, and the law. This leads them to respect others' ways of thinking. The students' articulation of citizenship in terms of qualification has the clear cut intention of needing to acquire the necessary knowledge for employment. This articulation of citizenship in relation to qualification rests merely on the concept of training for a particular job (Biesta, 2010) which is exclusively connected to the rationale of economic development and growth. Apart from this, there is also a desire to become an intellectual and democratic citizen who is able to reflect rationally on the assumptions related to religion, the economy and politics. This approach to citizenship includes the rationale and agenda of political subjectification. But the essence of political subjectification that I have heard from the students has remained silent at the intended level of the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum document.

From the perspective of critical curriculum studies, it is important to consider which knowledge of a particular set of political values for citizenship identity (local and global) is considered as most worth knowing (Pinar et al, 1996). In the case study, it is neoliberal ideology that appears dominant throughout the intended curriculum and shapes the consciousness and aspirations of students so that they think of themselves as citizens of a single moral community. MacLure (2003) suggests that this humanist view of citizenship legitimises the continuation of the informal colonial legacy.

From post colonial perspectives, the language of the intended curriculum texts suggests that the interests of the poor, minority religious groups, and indigenous peoples are silenced. The language used in the intended curriculum document constitutes the realities of the dominant Bangladeshi middle class and upper middle class (Popkewitz, 1997) and these realities are made indispensable for all people of Bangladesh. This is an intrinsic policy intervention to maintain class differences and the status quo. The intended secondary curriculum can therefore be seen as a powerful tool of social engineering (Popkewitz, 1997) that constitutes citizenship and inscribes rules and regulations to live by for all people. These rules and regulations fail to acknowledge the issues/politics of power and knowledge (Popkewitz, 1997 & Apple, 1996) that are widely embodied in our society and also help to maintain external and internal domination in terms of politics, economy, religion and culture. This is an epistemological problem at the intended level of policy as it fails give equal status to diverse perspectives (Bredo, 2006) of citizenship.

The complex knowledge politics at work influences the students' understanding of meanings and reasons regarding citizenship and can perpetuate/produce social inequalities. The colonial discourses of entrepreneurship, competitiveness, and self-employment appear to set the requirements of citizenship for empire in the intended secondary curriculum, rather than citizenship for collective self-determination. In the context of transnationalism/globalisation these discourses continue to make citizenship a fragile and highly contingent enterprise (Alexander, 2005, and Odora Hoppers, 2010). The integrated language of the intended curriculum relative to our social practices, constitute discourses (Gee, 1990 & MacLure, 2003) of citizenship as personal gain,

individualism and nationalism. The meaning and knowledge of citizenship is, therefore, constituted within a binary of global and local forces.

I will discuss Rizvi's (2011) notion of transnationalism more fully in my concluding remarks. However, through colonial discourses of citizenship, Western ways of knowing and being are assumed to be the best and continue to affect our own ways of knowing and being. We need to rethink how knowledge of citizenship is created and whose knowledge counts as legitimate. To bring change, we have to critically question and reframe the contributing discourses that are being used to colonise us.

### *Citizenship and the role of teachers*

The teachers understand their role in relation to citizenship as being responsible for creating safe classrooms so that students are given the freedom to explore knowledge by themselves and to ask questions. If we consider that teaching is not a neutral activity (Arthur & Wright, 2001), then teachers have an important role in socially constructing the values and dispositions of citizenship that shape a student's agency and subjectivity. Teachers' understandings of citizenship, in relation to social, political, economic, and historical contexts, then, are crucial in activating values and dispositions. However, most of the teachers in my study expressed their understanding of citizenship as the acquisition of knowledge, skills, rights, duties and dispositions to moral obligation and collective well-being. With this understanding, I think teachers will find it challenging to engage students critically with the complex concepts of citizenship that shape ideology and identity in a transnational context.

In the next chapter I will explore the implications of the roles teachers play within the operational level of the classroom.

## **Chapter-7: The Operational Curriculum: Discussion and Implications**

In this chapter I will discuss the implications of my case study findings concerning the operational curriculum. First, I discuss the knowledge, skills, and dispositions the students gain from rote learning to negotiate the competing and conflicting views of citizenship, which erode their ability to cultivate political subjectivity and agency. Next I outline dispositions that are cultivated in private coaching and suggest that they limit students' abilities to become independent agents. Both the operational curricula-rote learning and private coaching eliminate the social concerns which motivate a desire to cultivate a critical and committed citizenry. Finally, I conclude by discussing some implications of the research findings.

### **Elimination of the social concern for cultivating a disposition to develop a critical and committed citizenry at the operational level of the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum**

#### ***Teachers as the Producers of Knowledge***

At the operational level, it can be seen in the case study that the teachers appear to be the only knowing authority in classrooms and generally present themselves as the transmitters of content without considering the multiplicities and diversities of the students. Within the dominant rationality of neoliberal citizenship, and weak conformity to nation centric citizenship values, the discursive scope of this teaching practice fails to acknowledge educational responsibility for creating a positive educational environment. Students are ill-equipped to engage critically (Biesta, 2010 & Brophy, 2006), so that they can negotiate the complexities of their realities as citizens. The ontological weakness of this teaching practice is that it understands human subjectivity with regard to citizenship as inserting the students into the normative capitalist structures and assumptions/values, rather than considering human subjectivity as the basis of human action and freedom - as a public and political phenomenon (Biesta, 2010).

In the neoliberal perspective, the idea of freedom, coming originally from Milton Friedman, is that people should be free from any constraints and controls that limit their

ability to act as capitalists in the pursuit of private/personal gain (Peters, 2004). This notion of freedom, being able to do whatever you want to do, is closely associated with neoliberal notions of individualism. On the basis of Hannah Arendt's philosophy, Biesta instead proposes a conception of freedom as a public and political phenomenon, one which is compatible with the notion of subjectivity and guides human action to do something new that has never been done before. This notion of freedom may enable students to critically engage with and critique the normative order. When teaching practices fail to acknowledge freedom as a public and political phenomenon, the opportunity for plurality and otherness that can collectively interrupt the normal/hegemonic order (Biesta, 2010) for self-determination is shut down.

The subjectivity that can be cultivated through this teaching practice makes sure not to unveil the students '*distinct uniqueness*' (Biesta, 2010, p. 90). According to Biesta *uniqueness* is a distinct human quality as it is related to the concern of identity, to begin with something uniquely new. The freedom to begin with something new depends on how others conceive the importance of this beginning (ibid). When the teachers control the ways in which students might respond to the beginning of a hegemonic order, this deprives them of their opportunity to begin without interruption (ibid). It in fact dispossesses the students of their possibilities to act and of their freedom. The ultimate outcome of this teaching approach in relation to citizenship thus goes in a different direction to what was intended.

### ***Students as the Recipients of Transmitted Knowledge***

During my observations of Bangla Literature and Religious Education classes I observed that the students were merely passive recipients of the thinking process of the teachers. From the perspective of religion, passively accepting whatever stories are told and not questioning anything because it is a matter of faith and we just have to believe it is probably a good thing. So the teaching is perfectly in accord with the requirements of the religious and secular elites who use religion to justify their privileged positions rather than using it to challenge the concerns of equity. In response to the teacher's questions the students constantly tried to guess what the teacher wanted them to say. This calls into question what sort of citizenship is possible for students through a



learning process where no interactions take place or the students are expected to say what their teacher wants them to say. When the students submit themselves to the thinking processes of others, without any examination, it constitutes them as representatives/citizens of an encompassing order (Biesta, 2010).

To create the possibility for the social construction of knowledge and identity in the classroom activity setting Mariage et al (2004) propose that all concerned (school, parents, community, students) need to be brought together. They call this association the interanimation of diverse perspectives. The interanimation of diverse perspectives creates a dynamic tension, changes the contributing discourses, and challenges the decisions about what counts as legitimate knowledge of citizenship. It enables students to challenge the cultural norms for creating new liberating knowledge (ibid) of citizenship. It also signals a necessary shift at the level of the operational curriculum. If interanimations of multiple voices from diverse backgrounds do not occur in the classroom, there is a failure to create productive tension and to promote liberating discourses (Mariage et al., 2004) such as self-determination, political subjectivity and agency for the students.

In this discussion the question of cultural identity, which is an inextricable part of citizenship, cannot be ignored. Again, when no interactions happen in a classroom activity, students fail to understand themselves as social subjects as well as losing their capacity to think of themselves as objects (Freire, 1998). Freire criticizes the technicist approach to education which claims absolute objectivity is an ideological act and denies the dialectical relationship between subjectivity and objectivity. When the students in a classroom setting are able to see themselves as social subjects, as well as objects, they in fact learn to discover them and others (ibid) in terms that enable them to exist together. The dialectical understanding of oneself includes the sense of otherness which is neither "I" nor "you" rather it is a composite sense (ibid).

However, this notion of otherness is strongly connected to the students' assumptions of who they are in the classroom as well as in a broader social context. It is also related to the question of how the students see themselves as Bangladeshi citizens. The historical, political, social and cultural experiences of Bangladeshi students are therefore

constructed in classrooms without analysing the contributing forces that work against or for achieving self-determination (Freire, 1998). This can limit the scope for students to value democratic practices and they also may fail to learn how to become responsible social subjects. It can also shut down the opportunity for the students to remain curious in relation to who they are in the rapidly changing socio-economic context of Bangladesh, as well in a global context. If citizenship is about the activation of values and dispositions and can be explored in one's conduct (Arthur & Wright, 2001), no such activation and conduct has been identified in the classrooms in my case study. So the student's motivation to see everything as normal remains unchanged. In the context of the classroom they can not be able to see themselves agentially and fail to see that the world is made up of socially constructed understandings which they can engage critically with to bring about change.

### ***Lack of Critical Engagement***

Is there any space for critical engagement in teaching practice to explore how certain forms of ideology serve the purpose of domination? From my observations I can see that the operational mode of teaching that was enacted in the case study did not create an environment where the students can confidently produce active and critical judgements. The teachers valued their voices more than any independent judgements from the students. The teachers' unwillingness to cultivate in students a disposition to critical thinking ability runs the risk of suppressing the importance of human subjectivity and agency (Giroux, 1997).

An apolitical approach to teaching de-emphasizes the essence of student empowerment in the sense of becoming a critical citizen and may contribute to reinforcing the neoliberal/corporate citizenship ideology that currently dominates our society. It does not help the students to engage critically with our society's complicity in causing inequalities and injustice (McLaren, 1989). Any authoritarian mode of teaching denies students the capacity to develop critical questioning skills, curiosity, and an enquiring nature (Freire, 1998). Through this type of teaching students just learn to accept any fragile citizenship ideology without critical questioning. Authoritarian teaching also fails to provide students with a critical consciousness which can be used to exercise

resistance against any oppressive citizenship ideology. Understanding whether the teachers in my study teach this way intentionally, or whether they are unaware of the manipulative power of ideology, was beyond the scope of my investigation. However, it is important to think about what is at stake when we look at the dominance of the transmission model in the case study.

### ***Emphasis on Exam Passing and Managerial Accountability***

A destructive feature of teaching-learning that I observed is that the dominant teaching practice being used focuses on memorization so that students can acquire the skills to do well in exams and compete with the students of other schools. This reflects the strong focus in the operational curriculum on the qualification function of education. It helps to produce a pre-defined citizenship identity that can prevent the cultivation of opportunities that promote political subjectivity and agency (Biesta, 2010). It is seen as the teachers' duty to transfer the content of the curriculum to the students in such a way that they can answer the questions correctly in the exam hall. According to the teacher's stated views, the aim to get students passing exams is putting them under managerial pressure and undermining their professional autonomy. This pressure appears to be exerted by the school authorities and parents with a very narrow materialistic economic aspiration. The educational impact/limitations of these motivational problems at the heart of the operational curriculum need to be examined.

It is worth considering the extent to which memorization for exam passing may hamper students' intellectual, analytical, and critical thinking ability and their ability to apply what they know in differing contexts. To some extent rote learning is necessary, but the students' yearned for something more to enable them to understand the world. The findings indicate that teacher directed rote learning runs the risk of compromising students capacity to think, and faces difficulties when they are required to apply their knowledge in real life situations.

If we consider that liberty is a virtue of citizenship, I would say the students are limited in their ability to acquire it. Liberty can be achieved by cultivating relentless questioning and an enquiring, searching nature (Freire, 1998). A profound implication of rote learning is that students lose these capacities. The marked disposition that is

evident here is to cultivate competitiveness for exam passing only. Knowledge, skills and dispositions for other more important qualities of citizenship for life, such as wisdom, the exercise of critical consciousness, curiosity, openness to otherness/difference and conformity to not to being right or wrong (Freire, 1998) cannot be cultivated through a teaching approach that places greater importance on memorization and exam passing. The creation of subjectivities which have a distinct national identity or value competitiveness for the global market can be achieved through the approaches Freire advocates. It is very difficult to create a meaningful understanding in the students' minds regarding the tensions in understanding citizenship between the neoliberal perspective and the local (Bangladeshi)/ post colonial perspective through a top down transmission model of teaching.

Yet, at the operational level, a more complex and ambiguous tension, neither globalism nor localism, is identified. Maybe it is a tension that relates more to valuing the consumption of power and wealth when the differences between rich and poor are now more exposed to view due to globalisation. The operational mode of transmission leads towards an impasse, which fails to equip students to critically interrogate the extent to which an individualistic valuation of consumption can threaten democracy and social inclusion. In this case, maintaining the status quo may be better than going in the wrong direction.

However, the ambiguity may be an opportunity for us. If we want to mediate these tensions we have to focus on what is at stake in the Bangladeshi teacher education system. We need to think that this could be about more than neoliberalism i.e. traditional transmission approaches we inherited in the historical Indian sub continent and also the colonising influences of the British education system. We cannot lay down all of these at the feet of neoliberalism. The situation appears more complex than we usually think and requires critical attention. This could direct us toward further research beyond the scope of this study. We need to question, how well the teacher education system equips teachers with opportunities to analyse critically the ideological assumptions and interests that construct the principles of the system. It is really important to see how teachers conceive the politics of knowledge construction (is it for self-reliance or domination?) and how they conceive the conflicting views of

citizenship (is citizenship constituted as political obligation or is it working for colonisation?). I suggest this is a major policy implication of the tensions in understanding citizenship which needs political attention.

### *A Parallel Market/Operational Curriculum within the context of Public Schooling*

From the stated views of the Honourable Education Minister, the teachers, and the students it can be seen that at the level of the operational curriculum in the Bangladeshi secondary education system, a parallel system of classroom teaching has been established within the context of public schooling. This can be considered a market and is related to the after school private coaching in which most teachers are involved and where students are compelled to go to buy the necessary knowledge and skills for doing well in exams, which they were supposed to acquire in the classroom.

From the perspective of the teachers, mostly they are not doing it to develop students' critical thinking ability, but rather for personal economic solvency and gain. The professional ethics of the teachers should be a major concern for any policy intervention to change this culture. From the perspective of the students, the reality is twofold. First, in some cases the students are compelled to go to private coaching and in some cases this is an ultimate consequence of our education system which has high teacher-student ratios, poor salaries for teachers, and a lack of resources. Secondly, the minority upper middle class and upper-class parents spend huge amounts of money for private coaching so as to maintain the status quo. And middle class parents' redirect their family budgets for after school coaching in the hope that after completing their education their children will get a prestigious job. The majority, lower middle class and the poor, have no capacity to buy knowledge from private coaching and are simply disappearing from the race. I would say this is an instance of epistemic violence (Andreotti, 2006) because, within the dominant public schooling system, education has become a commodity and as such is actively widening class differences and reproducing unequal power relations.

So, from all perspectives (teachers, students and parents), the central intention of after school coaching is guided by an economic imperative which demands exam success. The desire to construct ethical citizenship values is silent here. It reflects the fact that

outside school the students' citizenship values are heavily shaped by neoliberal aspirations i.e. competition to gain economic power. So what type of competitive citizenship skills are they acquiring from the private coaching?

In private coaching the teachers prepare answers to possible questions that the students might get in the exam hall. The students' role is just to memorise and practise it in writing. I would suggest this is a form of 'intellectual death' that runs the risk of destroying students' self-confidence and thinking ability. They will find it difficult to see themselves as free agents, instead understanding themselves more as puppet citizens. It will be challenging to offer any resistance to those policies, assumptions, interventions, and structures that are used to exploit their knowledge, labour, and the resources to colonise them. Through this system the gifted may become doctors or engineers, the mediocre may find positions in the corporate hierarchy (or as teachers?), and others may find positions elsewhere, but none of them will be able to see the poverty and conditions of the less fortunate as a concern of justice. They will not be able to understand the importance of economic and political self-reliance for national solidarity, existence, democracy, and as a whole for establishing a less ugly society.

The type of teaching practice that I observed is at least partly the consequence of high student class sizes, teachers' narrow understanding of what education is for, and a teacher education system that is not dedicated to establishing educational and social justice. In my discussion, the limitations apparent at the level of the operational curriculum have implications for the teacher training system of Bangladesh. Whatever the case might be, if the aforesaid teaching practices remain, it is unlikely that the Bangladeshi citizenry can become competitive in the global marketplace as well as remain faithful to Bangladeshi culture and identity.

## Conclusion

In my concluding remarks I provide a brief summary of this research. This study offered an opportunity to engage with the Bangladeshi intended and operational secondary curricula to explore what contested views of citizenship are considered most worth knowing for students and how teachers equip the students to negotiate these contested views. The intention of this research was to explore the slippages between the intended and operational curricula in relation to understanding and enacting citizenship in Bangladeshi schools. The research questions for this study were:

- (1) What are the notions of citizenship in the Bangladeshi Secondary curriculum document?
- (2) How is the curriculum enacted in secondary schools and what is the role of teachers in implementation?
- (3) What are the perceptions of teachers and students concerning citizenship?
- (4) How do teachers and students make sense of citizenship in terms of the curriculum?

I acknowledge that my own world view and my own position have influenced the choice of what theoretical and methodological options to use, and in line with current approaches to qualitative research, I am explicit in noting that the analysis of data will inevitably be influenced by my own professional and academic experiences (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). As I mentioned, this study addresses the interface between the intended and operational curricula and is located in a number of fields such as education, citizenship, and economic development. It was, therefore, difficult to choose particular methodological norms. However, I think that qualitative research methodologies fitted best with my intention to understand the intended curriculum - stated understandings of citizenship and also enacted understandings of citizenship in the operational curriculum. For understanding the intended curriculum, particularly as represented in curriculum documents, I used discourse analysis.

To interpret the data I constructed a theoretical basis for my study. I introduced citizenship as a complex and contested concept from a post colonial perspective through the works of Ichilov (1998), Peters et al (2008), Tully (2008), and Dobson (2005 & 2006). To discuss the educational implications of citizenship I found Andreotti (2006) and Biesta (2010) to be relevant with their critical approaches and

emphasis on political subjectivity and agency. I also drew on Rizvi's (2011) notion of transnationalism as a social, political, and economic phenomenon to understand the present cosmopolitan features of citizenship in terms of cultural diversity. I drew on Pinar's (2006) notion of the curriculum as a political text to show that Western neoliberal understandings of citizenship are those considered most worth knowing. Finally I looked at pedagogy through the works of Freire (1998), Giroux (1997), McLaren (1989), Arthur and Wright (2001), Mariage et al. (2004), Biesta (2010), Brophy (2006), and Macfarlane (2004) to conceptualise the importance of the social construction of knowledge in producing critical citizens.

At the intended level of the Bangladeshi secondary curriculum, importance has been given to cultivating dispositions which respect Bangladeshi culture, identity and religious belief. At the same time, within the dominant ideology of a free market economy, the explicit intention has been to direct students' subjectivity towards a neoliberal consumer identity in response to the market's call for individualistic notions of entrepreneurial savviness in order to generate responsibility for self-employability. From a normative position, this interpretation of the world does not consider the workings of power and privilege, and the interests of the poor, minority religious groups and indigenous peoples are ignored. In constituting citizenship ideals, however, the issue of diversity is addressed with a relatively fragile understanding of multiculturalism across the binary of global and nation-centric assumptions. Through the notion of multiculturalism at the intended curriculum level it is suggested that the purpose of education is to provide students with new knowledge and skills so that they can contribute to the socio-economic prosperity of Bangladesh. This is certainly a strategy which maintains inter-group relations (middle class and the elite class) while not providing ethnic groups and the poor with any resources or opportunities to define their own ways of knowing and being.

However, at the operational level the intended curriculum takes on a totally different form. The centrality of the transmission model inside and outside of school cultivates neo-liberal individualistic notions of citizenship which value notions of student achievement in terms of memorization and doing well in exams. It is unlikely that the forms of agency and subjectivity that are cultivated through these teaching practices



will enable Bangladeshi students to either contribute to global economic competitiveness or build national solidarity and critical consciousness. Instead, they are likely to encourage individualistic notions which value consumption and wealth for a privileged few and contribute to increasing social inequalities.

It appears that the lower middle class and the poor, including all ethnic groups, are just disappearing from the 'race' every day. I think this is a new form of capitalism, constituting more fragile citizenship ideals, which can be seen in almost all developing countries. Not only exotic forces, but also the brittle, internal political institutions and practices and the historical processes which build nations, may also be responsible for this relentless despotic abuse of authority which prevents the realisation of economic and political self-reliance. If citizenship is not a status that can be awarded by the state or by the schools and universities then what kind of citizen can we expect through participation in these cultural processes/practices where issues of inclusion and social justice are completely absent?

There are implications in these representations of citizenship at the level of the intended and operational curricula for our social, political, and economic life. Under the disguise of economic development/growth the capitalist citizenship ideology has the potential to commercialise our society and the relationships between the individual and the community. This is, in fact, a threat to democracy and economic development. The tendency to construct a homogeneous citizenship identity based on Islamic ideals, through an uncritical approach to multiculturalism, triggers social exclusion. This tendency to homogenization helps students to conceptualize their national identity through the differentiating principle of religion.

In a differentiated society, collective citizenry action for economic and political self-reliance is not possible. The approach to the qualification function of education in relation to transferring knowledge, skills and dispositions, is focused on 'socialisation' into neoliberal identities and subjectivities and may magnify the political apathy of young Bangladeshi students. Students can acquire beliefs that they are equal citizens of a global community, yet materially they are unequal. By implication, this citizenry may further colonise and commercialise our society. This is a fundamental betrayal of

Bangladesh's war of liberation and, from the birth of this nation until now, we have not found any education policy that makes the enactment of principles of inclusion and social justice in practice compulsory.

The colonial intentions of cosmopolitan citizenship, and its implication for our society, need to be considered from a policy perspective. The complex and ambiguous tensions and slippages within and between the intended and operational secondary curricula create complex conflicts and tensions. These tensions provide us with a new space to rethink the diverse cultural practices that constitute a citizen. Transnationalism has now become a matter of concern for education policy in terms of addressing issues of cultural diversity as a global, political, social, and economic phenomenon. I would suggest we need to rethink the local versus the global and what this means in a transnational context.

Nowadays, we are rapidly moving from a unitary cultural space to an emerging space of multidimensional cultural diversity and exchange (Rizvi, 2011). In such times it is crucial for education policy to accommodate the complexities of identity and belongingness and examine them critically. A complete educational programme should acknowledge the role of culture in general and the role of tangata-whenua (indigenous people) in particular for shaping knowledge bases and pedagogies (Macfarlane, 2004). The recognition of indigenous people in educational programme may help to foster attitudes of mutual respect and appreciation (ibid). Education policy in Bangladesh for schooling, as well as teacher education, needs to reconsider multiculturalism in a transnational context by acknowledging peoples' new sense of identity and belongingness within the global movement of people, capital, and ideologies (Rizvi, 2011).

In such a transnational context, cultural diversity has become an inevitable condition for any education policy and needs to have a place for principles of inclusion and social justice for schooling and for teacher education. I hope the inclusion of principles of inclusion and social justice at the policy level (both for schooling and teacher education) will cultivate dispositions towards political subjectivities and agency in

students and enable them to participate in new representations and cultural practices as more socially responsible citizens.

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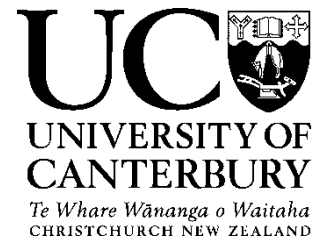
## Appendices

### *Appendix A: A letter of Information to the Principal/Head Teacher*

Telephone: 0064 3341 1500 Extn 52032,

Mob: 008801552407628

Email: [msa108@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:msa108@uclive.ac.nz), [safayet2002@yahoo.com](mailto:safayet2002@yahoo.com)



### **Project: Notions of Citizenship in Bangladesh Secondary Curriculum: The interface between Policy, Perception, and Practice.**

**Dear Sir/Madam**

I am Md. Safayet Alam (Assistant Professor, Physics, Officer on Special Duty, Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education, Bangladesh). I am currently studying for my Masters of Education, at the College of Education, University of Canterbury, New Zealand. As part of my study, I am undertaking a project to explore the notions of citizenship in Bangladesh secondary curriculum. My supervisors for this research are Dr Baljit Kaur, Senior Lecturer and Dr David Small, Senior Lecturer, College of Education, University of Canterbury.

I would like to invite your school to participate in this study. This will entail the following:

- I will spend 7-10 days in your school.
- I will observe classroom interactions in grade nine.
- I will interview you and 4 different subject teachers of grade nine individually at a mutually convenient time to find out their views on citizenship. I will arrange focus group discussion with all the teachers who teach different subjects in grade nine. I will also arrange focus group discussion with 3 groups of students of grade nine from 3 disciplines (science, arts and commerce). The individual interview with you and with the teachers will take approximately 30 minutes. Both focus group discussions (with the teachers and students) will take approximately 60 minutes.
- Approximately one-two weeks after the initial interview, I may contact the participants to clarify if any discrepancy is identified.

While I observe the classes, I will take written notes. The interviews will be audio recorded, and I will give all the participants a copy of the written transcript of the interview, so they will be able to edit anything as needed.

I am interested in working with your school because it is a leading co-education school in Dhaka city. Participation in this study is voluntary. If you agree that your school will participate, then any of the participants will have the right to withdraw from the study at

any time without penalty. If they do withdraw, I will do my best to remove any information relating to them, provided this is practically achievable.

I will take care to ensure the confidentiality of all data gathered for this study. The results of this research may be reported nationally and internationally at conferences and in a professional journal. I will ensure the anonymity of all participants and school involved in the study and in all reports and publications of the findings. You will receive a report on the study and all other participants will also receive a report on the study if they wish to.

All data gathered during this study will be securely stored in a password protected computer and/or locked storage for five years following the study. It will then be destroyed.

If you have any queries about the research process, you can contact me (details are given above). If you have a query about the study, you may contact the chair of the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private bag 4800, Christchurch, Email: [human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz). Alternatively, you may contact Mr. Md. Nazrul Islam, Joint Secretary & Project Director, TQI-SEP (Phone: 9562228, Email: [nazrul@tqi-sep.org](mailto:nazrul@tqi-sep.org)).

If you agree for your school to participate in this study, please complete the attached consent form and return it to me in the addressed envelope provided

With Kind Regards

*Md. Safayet Alam*

*Appendix B: A letter of Information to the participating teachers*

Telephone: 0064 3341 1500 Extn 52032,  
Mob: 008801552407628  
Email: [msa108@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:msa108@uclive.ac.nz), [safayet2002@yahoo.com](mailto:safayet2002@yahoo.com)



**Project: Notions of Citizenship in Bangladesh Secondary Curriculum: The interface between Policy, Perception, and Practice.**

**Dear Participant**

I am Md. Safayet Alam (Assistant Professor, Physics, Officer on Special Duty, Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education, Bangladesh). I am currently studying for my Masters of Education, at the College of Education, University of Canterbury, New Zealand. As part of my study, I am undertaking a project to explore the notions of citizenship in Bangladesh secondary curriculum. My supervisors for this research are Dr Baljit Kaur, Senior Lecturer and Dr David Small, Senior Lecturer, College of Education, University of Canterbury.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study. This will entail the following:

- I will observe classroom interactions in grade nine during your teaching.
- I will interview you individually at a mutually convenient time to find out your views on citizenship. The interview will take approximately 30 minutes. I will also request you to participate in a focus group discussion which will take approximately 60 minutes.
- Approximately one-two weeks after the initial interview, I may contact you to clarify if any discrepancy is identified.

While I observe you teaching, I will take written notes. The interviews will be audio recorded, and I will give you a copy of the written transcript of the interview, so you will be able to edit anything as needed.

I am interested in working with you because you are a teacher of a leading co-education school in Dhaka city. I hope that the national and international teaching communities will be benefited from your experiences. Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do participate, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. If you withdraw, I will do my best to remove any information relating to you, provided this is practically achievable.

I will take care to ensure the confidentiality of all data gathered for this study. The results of this research may be reported nationally and internationally at conferences and in a professional journal. I will ensure your anonymity and that of your school in all

reports and publications of the findings. You will receive a report on the study if you wish to.

All data gathered during this study will be securely stored in a password protected computer and/or locked storage for five years following the study. It will then be destroyed.

If you have any queries about the research process, you can contact me (details are given above). If you have a query about the study, you may contact the chair of the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private bag 4800, Christchurch, Email: [human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz). Alternatively, you may contact Mr. Md. Nazrul Islam, Joint Secretary & Project Director, TQI-SEP (Phone: 9562228, Email: [nazrul@tqi-sep.org](mailto:nazrul@tqi-sep.org)).

If you agree to participate in this study, please complete the attached consent form and return it to me in the addressed envelope provided. I am looking forward to working with you and thank you in advance for your contributions.

With Kind Regards

*Md. Safayet Alam*

*Appendix C : A letter of Information to the Parents/Guardians*

Telephone: 0064 3341 1500 Extn 52032,

Mob: 008801552407628

Email: [msa108@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:msa108@uclive.ac.nz), [safayet2002@yahoo.com](mailto:safayet2002@yahoo.com)



**Project: Notions of Citizenship in Bangladesh Secondary Curriculum: The interface between Policy, Perception, and Practice,**

**Dear Parents/Guardians,**

I am Md. Safayet Alam (Assistant Professor, Physics, Officer on Special Duty, Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education, Bangladesh). I am currently studying for my Masters of Education, at the College of Education, University of Canterbury, New Zealand. As part of my study, I am undertaking a project to explore the notions of citizenship in Bangladesh secondary curriculum. My supervisors for this research are Dr Baljit Kaur, Senior Lecturer and Dr David Small, Senior Lecturer, College of Education, University of Canterbury.

I would like to get your permission for your child to participate in this study. This will include the following:

- I will observe them during classroom interactions.
- I will conduct a focus group discussion with your child to find out their ideas of citizenship. This will take approximately 60 minutes.
- Approximately one-two weeks after the initial interview, I may contact with your child to clarify if any discrepancy is identified.

The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. After I have transcribed the interviews, I will send it to your child so they can edit it as needed.

I am interested in working with your child because they are in grade nine at a leading co-education school in Dhaka city and future citizen of Bangladesh, and will be able to give their ideas about citizenship. I hope that the national and international student communities will be benefited from their experiences.

Please note that participation of your child in this study is voluntary. If you agree about your child's participation, you will have the right to withdraw him/her from the study at any time without penalty. If you withdraw, I will do my best to remove any information relating to your child, provided this is practically achievable.

I will take particular care to ensure the confidentiality of all data gathered for this study. I will also take care to ensure your child's anonymity in publications of the findings. All the data will be securely stored in a password protected computer and/or locked storage for five years following the study. It will then be destroyed.

The results of this research may be reported nationally and internationally at conferences and in a professional journal. You will receive a report on the study if you wish to.

If you have any questions about the study at any stage, please contact me (details are given above). If you have any queries about the study, you may contact the chair of the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private bag 4800, Christchurch, (Email: [human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)). Alternatively, you may contact Mr. Md. Nazrul Islam, Joint Secretary & Project Director, TQI-SEP (Phone: 9562228, Email: [nazrul@tqi-sep.org](mailto:nazrul@tqi-sep.org)).

If you agree for your child to participate in this study, please complete the attached consent form and return it to me in the addressed envelope provided.

I am looking forward to working with your child and thank you in advance for your contributions.

With kind regards

*Md. Safayet Alam*

*Appendix D: A letter of Information to the participating students*

Telephone: 0064 3341 1500 Extn 52032,  
Mob: 008801552407628  
Email: [msa108@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:msa108@uclive.ac.nz), [safayet2002@yahoo.com](mailto:safayet2002@yahoo.com)



**Project: Notions of Citizenship in Bangladesh Secondary Curriculum: The interface between Policy, Perception, and Practice.**

**Dear Participant**

I am Md. Safayet Alam (Assistant Professor, Physics, Officer on Special Duty, Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education, Bangladesh). I am currently studying for my Masters of Education, at the College of Education, University of Canterbury, New Zealand. As part of my study, I am undertaking a project to explore the notions of citizenship in Bangladesh secondary curriculum. My supervisors for this research are Dr Baljit Kaur, Senior Lecturer and Dr David Small, Senior Lecturer, College of Education, University of Canterbury.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study. This will entail the following:

- I will observe you during classroom interactions.
- I will talk with you collectively (focus group discussion) at a mutually suitable time to find out your views on citizenship. The discussion will take approximately 60 minutes.
- Approximately one-two weeks after the initial discussion, I may contact with you to clarify if any discrepancy is identified.

While I will observe you learning, I will take written notes. The interviews will be audio recorded, and I will give you a copy of the written transcript of the interview, so you will be able to edit anything as needed.

I am interested in working with you because you are the student of grade nine of a leading co-education school in Dhaka city and future citizen of Bangladesh and have the skill and capacity to share your views of citizenship. I hope that the national and international student communities will be benefited from your experiences. Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do participate, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. If you withdraw, I will do my best to remove any information relating to you, provided this is practically achievable.

I will take care to ensure the confidentiality of all data gathered for this study. The results of this research may be reported nationally and internationally at conferences and in a professional journal. I will ensure your anonymity and that of your school in all reports and publications of the findings. You will receive a report on the study if you wish to.

All data gathered during this study will be securely stored in a password protected computer and/or locked storage for five years following the study. It will then be destroyed.

If you have any queries about the research process, you can contact me (details are given above). If you have a query about the study, you may contact the chair of the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private bag 4800, Christchurch, Email: [human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz). Alternatively, you may contact Mr. Md. Nazrul Islam, Joint Secretary & Project Director, TQI-SEP (Phone: 9562228, Email: [nazrul@tqi-sep.org](mailto:nazrul@tqi-sep.org)).

If you agree to participate in this study, please complete the attached consent form and return it to me in the addressed envelope provided. I am looking forward to working with you and thank you in advance for your contributions.

With Kind Regards

*Md. Safayet Alam*



*Appendix E : Consent Form for Principal/Head Teacher*

Telephone: 0064 3341 1500 Extn 52032,  
Mob: 008801552407628

Email: [msa108@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:msa108@uclive.ac.nz),  
[safayet2002@yahoo.com](mailto:safayet2002@yahoo.com)



**Project: Notions of Citizenship in Bangladesh Secondary Curriculum: The interface between Policy, Perception, and Practice.**

Md. Safayet Alam has given me a full explanation of his project. From his explanation I understand what will be required of me and teachers and students at my school if I agree that we may take part.

I understand that my participation in this study and that of any teachers and students at my school is voluntary and that any of us may withdraw at any stage without penalty.

I understand that any information or opinions provided by the participants along with the name of this institution will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify any of the participants or my school.

I understand that all data collected for this study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and will be destroyed after five years.

I understand that I will receive a report on the findings of this study, and that participating teachers and students will also receive a copy of this report. I have provided my email details below for this.

I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Md. Safayet Alam. If I have any queries, I can contact the chair of the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury or Mr. Md. Nazrul Islam (details on the information letter).

By signing below, I agree that I, the teachers and students from my school may be approached by Md. Safayet Alam in regard to participating in this research project.

I agree to be interviewed. Interview will be audio recorded: Yes  No

Name :

Signature & Date:

Cell/ Phone Number:

Email/ Postal Address:

Please return this completed consent form to Md. Safayet Alam on the addressed envelope provided by ----- (date).

*Appendix F : Consent Form for Teachers*

Telephone: 0064 3341 1500 Extn 52032,

Mob: 008801552407628

Email: [msa108@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:msa108@uclive.ac.nz), [safayet2002@yahoo.com](mailto:safayet2002@yahoo.com)



**Project: Notions of Citizenship in Bangladesh Secondary Curriculum: The interface between Policy, Perception, and Practice.**

Md. Safayet Alam has given me a full explanation of his project. From his explanation I understand what will be required of me if I agree to take part.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any stage without penalty.

I understand that any information or opinions I will provide along with the name of this institution will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify me or my school.

I understand that all data collected for this study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and will be destroyed after five years.

I understand that I will receive a report on the findings of this study if I wish to. I have provided my email details below for this.

I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Md. Safayet Alam. If I have any queries, I can contact the chair of the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury or Mr. Md. Nazrul Islam (details on the information letter).

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

I agree to be interviewed. Interview will be audio recorded: Yes  No

Name :

Signature & Date:

Cell/ Phone Number:

Email/ Postal Address:

Please return this completed consent form to Md. Safayet Alam on the addressed envelope provided by ----- (date).

*Appendix G : Consent Form for Parents/Guardians*

Telephone: 0064 3341 1500 Extn 52032,

Mob: 008801552407628

Email: [msa108@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:msa108@uclive.ac.nz), [safayet2002@yahoo.com](mailto:safayet2002@yahoo.com)



**Project: Notions of Citizenship in Bangladesh Secondary Curriculum: The interface between Policy, Perception, and Practice.**

Md. Safayet Alam has given me a full explanation of his project. From his explanation, I have understood the information given to me regarding the research project and the expected roles of my child.

I understand that my child's participation in this study is voluntary and that my child may withdraw at any stage without penalty.

I understand that any information or opinions provided by my child along with the name of his institution will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify me, my child or his/her school.

I understand that all data collected for this study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and will be destroyed after five years.

I understand that I will receive a report on the findings of this study if I wish to. I have provided my email/postal details below for this.

I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Md. Safayet Alam. If I have any queries, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (Email: [human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)) or Mr. Md. Nazrul Islam, Joint Secretary & Project Director, TQI-SEP (Phone: 9562228, Email: [nazrul@tqi-sep.org](mailto:nazrul@tqi-sep.org)).

By signing below, I agree to my child's participation in this research project.

I agree that my child will be interviewed. Data will be audio recorded: Yes  No

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date and Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Cell/ Phone Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Email/ Postal address: \_\_\_\_\_

Please return this completed consent form to Md. Safayet Alam in the envelope provided by \_\_\_\_\_ (Date).

*Appendix H: Consent Form for Students*

Telephone: 0064 3341 1500 Extn 52032,

Mob: 008801552407628

Email: [msa108@uclive.ac.nz](mailto:msa108@uclive.ac.nz), [safayet2002@yahoo.com](mailto:safayet2002@yahoo.com)



**Project: Notions of Citizenship in Bangladesh Secondary Curriculum: The interface between Policy, Perception, and Practice.**

Md. Safayet Alam has given me a full explanation of his project. From his explanation I understand what will be required of me if I agree to take part.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any stage without penalty.

I understand that any information or opinions, I will provide along with the name of my school will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify me or my school.

I understand that all data collected for this study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and will be destroyed after five years.

I understand that I will receive a report on the findings of this study if I wish to. I have provided my contact details below for this.

I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Md. Safayet Alam. If I have any queries, I can contact the chair of the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury or Mr. Md. Nazrul Islam (details on the information letter).

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

I agree to be interviewed. Interview will be audio recorded: Yes  No

Name :

Signature & Date:

Cell/ Phone Number:

Email/ Postal Address:

Please return this completed consent form to Md. Safayet Alam on the addressed envelope provided by ----- (date).



### *Appendix I: Semi-structured Interview Questions*

1. How long have you been in teaching profession?
2. Why do you choose teaching as a profession?
3. How are you enjoying your profession?
4. What do you think are the aims/purposes of education/schooling?
5. Do purposes of schooling include citizenship? If so what does that mean?
6. What do you think citizenship is?
7. How do you are trying to promote your own ideas of citizenship?
8. How do you see your role in curriculum implementation in terms of citizenship?
9. What type of citizen/individual do you want to see cultivated for Bangladesh and why?