Citizenship Education in Bahrain:
An investigation of the perceptions and understandings of policymakers, teachers and pupils

by

Mrs Lubna Selaibeekh

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Politics
Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences

Supervisors:
Professor Rachel Brooks
Professor Mark Olssen
Professor John Holford

©Lubna Selaibeekh ..... 2017
Declaration

This thesis and the work to which it refers are the results of my own efforts. Any ideas, data, images or text resulting from the work of others (whether published or unpublished) are fully identified as such within the work and attributed to their originator in the text, bibliography or in footnotes. This thesis has not been submitted in whole or in part for any other academic degree or professional qualification. I agree that the University has the right to submit my work to the plagiarism detection service Turn it in UK for originality checks. Whether or not drafts have been so-assessed, the University reserves the right to require an electronic version of the final document (as submitted) for assessment as above.

Signature: Lubna Selaibeekh __________________________

Date: 29/12/2016 __________________________
Abstract

As part of the political reforms initiated by His Majesty King Hamad of Bahrain, a new subject for citizenship education was introduced in schools in 2004. A collaboration between the Ministry of Education in Bahrain and the British Council provided the foundation for the curriculum policy that was subsequently developed by Bahraini specialists, based heavily on Western interpretations of citizenship.

Although, citizenship education has been widely researched in a Western context, much less has been written about the applicability of these approaches in non-Western and post-colonial contexts. The thesis provides important insights into the normative underpinnings of citizenship in a Middle Eastern state and the approach used to inculcating citizenship in its citizens. As a result, this is principally a study of perceptions of citizenship held by the different stakeholders involved in developing the curriculum policy document, the student textbook, and the teachers assigned to teach the subject. The thesis aims to establish if principles of citizenship education adopted in Bahraini curriculum are compatible with liberal conceptions of citizenship that are encouraged by international organisations such as UNESCO or they stem, instead, from the local context (that aims to preserve the status quo through strengthening other conceptions of citizenship). To achieve this aim, the thesis employs a qualitative methodology, based on in-depth interviews, to understand what citizenship is in the Bahraini context, and how this relates to Western principles of citizenship education. As a mainly study of perceptions, the use of such methodology is best suited in order to explore the conceptions of citizenship held by the different stakeholders.

Based on these data, the thesis argues that a Western approach of citizenship education cannot be applied in a non-Western and post-colonial context without serious tensions that will be evident in both policy and practice. The thesis shows that the socio-political context of Bahrain influences the perceptions of citizenship held by different groups in Bahraini society and that of the state.
Acknowledgements

I would like to express my utmost gratitude and appreciation to the two main persons that have kindly taken this journey with me and supported me throughout its duration, my two wonderful and amazing supervisors, Professor Rachel Brooks and Professor John Holford for it would not have been possible to get to this stage without them. I would also like to thank Professor Mark Olsson for his support throughout my registration and Mrs Nita Walker for her personal support and assistance.

Above all, I would like to thank my husband Faisal Al-Shaikh for his support and my parents and sister for their continuous encouragement.

I would like to thank Dr Majed Al-Noaimi for his kindness and encouragement throughout as well as my colleagues at the Curricula Directorate.

Last, but by no means least, I thank all the research participants and volunteers for without them this would have not been possible.
# Table of Contents

**Chapter 1: Introduction** .................................................................................. 1  
  1.1 Overview ...................................................................................................... 1  
  1.2 Justification of the Study ........................................................................... 4  
  1.3 Importance of the Study ............................................................................ 5  
  1.4 The Study Focus and Findings .................................................................. 7  
  1.5 The Study Question .................................................................................. 8  
  1.6 Background ............................................................................................... 8  
  1.7 Methodology and Data Collection ............................................................... 11  
  1.8 Personal Account ...................................................................................... 12  
  1.9 Organisation of the Study ........................................................................ 14  
  1.10 Conclusion ............................................................................................... 14  

**Chapter 2: Context and Background** ................................................................. 17  
  2.1 Introduction ............................................................................................... 17  
  2.2 Citizenship in Bahrain ............................................................................... 18  
  2.3 Broad Contextual Factors ........................................................................ 20  
   2.3.1 Geographical Position ......................................................................... 20  
   2.3.2 Historical Tradition ........................................................................... 23  
   2.3.3 Socio-political Structure ................................................................... 32  
   2.3.4 Economic System .............................................................................. 36  
   2.3.5 Global Trends .................................................................................... 38  
  2.4 Detailed Structural Factors ....................................................................... 42  
   2.4.1 Organisation of, Responsibilities for, Education ................................ 42  
   2.4.2 Educational Values and Aims ............................................................... 45  
   2.4.3 Funding and Regularity Arrangements .............................................. 46  
  2.5 Events of February 2011 .......................................................................... 46  
  2.6 Conclusion ............................................................................................... 48  

**Chapter 3: Continuum of Citizenship** .............................................................. 50  
  3.1 Introduction ............................................................................................... 50  
  3.2 Liberal Theory of Citizenship ................................................................... 53  
  3.3 Communitarian Theory of Citizenship ....................................................... 59  
  3.4 Citizenship Education ............................................................................... 66  
  3.5 Postcolonial Approaches to Citizenship and Identity .................................. 71  
  3.6 Conclusion ............................................................................................... 72
### Chapter 4: Methodology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Introduction</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Research Objectives</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Data Methodology</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Triangulation</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Document Analysis</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6 Interviews</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7 Sampling</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7.1 Access to Schools</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8 Methods of Data Analysis</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9 Pilot Study</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10 Interview Schedules</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11 Reliability, Validity and Representativeness</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12 Ethical Issues</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Research Design</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14 Conclusion</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter 5: Policy Tensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Introduction</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Citizenship Conference 2002</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Citizenship Education Curriculum Document (CECD)</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Formal Textbook</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 Policymakers’ Perceptions</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6 Teachers’ Perceptions</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7 Discussion and Conclusion</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter 6: Conceptions of citizenship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Introduction</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Terminology Tensions</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Rationale for citizenship education</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1 Political Reforms</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2 Loyal vs. Participative Citizen</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.3 Lack of Coverage in Other Subjects</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.4 Global Trend and Curricula Development</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 Conceptions of Citizenship</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.1 Informed Participative Citizen</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.2 Citizenship as Belonging and Loyalty</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4.3 Citizenship Patriotism</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 Teachers’ Conception of a Citizen</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.6 Students’ Conceptions of a Citizen ............................................................ 156
  6.6.1 Citizen as a Legal Status ................................................................. 156
  6.6.2 Rights and Responsibilities ............................................................. 156
  6.6.3 Patriotism, Loyalty and Belonging ................................................... 157
  6.6.4 By Ancestry and Birth Place ............................................................ 158
  6.6.5 Citizen as Participant ....................................................................... 158
  6.7 Discussion and Conclusion ................................................................... 159
Chapter 7: Challenges of Implementation ..................................................... 165
  7.1 Introduction ......................................................................................... 165
  7.2 Challenges Identified by Teachers ....................................................... 165
  7.3 Content-based Curriculum ................................................................... 168
  7.4 Teaching Methods and Resources ....................................................... 172
  7.5 Controversial Issues ........................................................................... 174
  7.6 Challenges in School .......................................................................... 179
  7.7 Discussion and Conclusion ................................................................... 181
Chapter 8: Conclusion .................................................................................. 186
  8.1 Introduction ......................................................................................... 186
  8.2 Conceptions of Citizenship .................................................................. 187
    8.2.1 Explanation for Subject and Terminology Confusion ....................... 189
    8.2.2 Patriots Rather than Active and Participative Citizens. ................... 190
  8.3 Diversity in Citizenship Education ...................................................... 192
    8.3.1 Diversity in Policy ........................................................................ 193
    8.3.2 Diversity in Practice ..................................................................... 194
    8.3.3 Multiculturalism and Integration .................................................. 195
  8.4 Challenges of Implementation ............................................................. 196
    8.4.1 Teaching Challenges ...................................................................... 196
  8.5 Limitations of the Study ...................................................................... 198
    8.5.1 Sample Size and Methodology ...................................................... 198
    8.5.2 Lack of Prior Research Studies ...................................................... 199
    8.5.3 Cultural and Religious Bias ........................................................... 199
  8.6 Future research ................................................................................... 200
References .................................................................................................. 201
Appendices 1-2-3 ...................................................................................... 213
List of Figures

Figure 2.1 ....................................................................................... 20
Figure 2.2 ....................................................................................... 44
Table 4.1 ....................................................................................... 85
Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis explores conceptual and social tensions in citizenship education in Bahrain in policy documents and in practice to understand the challenges associated with the application of Western liberal conceptions of citizenship in a communitarian post-colonial society. Moreover, the socio-political context of Bahrain is a major factor in the formation of citizenship meanings and as a result influence what form of citizenship education approach is adopted, whether minimal or maximal interpretation of citizenship. Due to challenges in schools, it focuses on diversity issues in particular.

1.1 Overview

In line with the political reforms led by His Majesty King Hamad Al Khalifa, King of Bahrain, discussions regarding the introduction of citizenship education in Bahrain surfaced in the national conference organised by the Ministry of Education (MoE) and the British Council in Bahrain in April 2002. A new Citizenship Education curriculum policy (CECP) was formulated in Bahrain in 2004 for a number of reasons. One was to develop an awareness of citizenship values amongst youth including the knowledge, skills and attitudes related to freedom, democracy and human rights as enlisted in the Kingdom’s laws and in international treaties signed by the government in the form of human rights conventions and recommendations. Moreover, to complement His Majesty’s reform project, King Hamad gave instructions that were printed in the national newspapers to teach the political system to all secondary school pupils to enable them to participate effectively in the political, economic and social life as citizens, as well as it being stated explicitly in Article 7(b) of the constitution about teaching “national” education in all school years.

The new policy initiative occurred after a period of increased sectarian clashes that began in late 1994 in Shia villages outside the Bahraini capital, which resulted in tensions between the “indigenous” population, naturalised citizens and foreign residents. As a result, many demands came from within the Bahraini civil society and government officials to counter these tensions through education as one measure of reconciliation. Moreover, Bahrain as a member of international organisations such as the UNESCO has responsibility to teach Human Rights education in schools in line with
the 1974 Recommendation by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture Organisation, that provided a normative framework for promoting values and principles of human rights in and through education. The recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (referred to as the 1974 Recommendation). The recommendation offered guiding principles and a basis of exchanges of experiences and lessons learned among member states and provides for action in various sectors of education. It underlines the need for understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life. It underlines the responsibility of member states for providing human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the need for national policy and planning, and the development for particular aspects of learning, training and action. It is highly significant in that it stresses the importance of the fundamental principles of quality education for all, notably the principle of equality of educational opportunity, access to education, and solidarity. The Recommendation contains provisions for revision of textbooks and other educational material as well as for struggle against illiteracy (UNESCO 1974, UNESCO 2013).

In line with Article VIII of UNESCO’s Constitution and Article 17 of the Rules of Procedure concerning recommendations to member states and international conventions covered by the terms of Article IV, paragraph 4, of the Constitution, UNESCO conducted five consultations on the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation covering up to the period 2009-2012 (UNESCO 2013). The consolidated report on the fifth consultation affirmed that Bahrain submitted a national report, amongst the 55 member states that did. Specific emphasis was placed on the development of national policies, strategies, programmes and practices that advanced the integration of human rights components to both formal and non-formal education in specific reference to the implementation of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (WPHRE), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 2004, to advance the implementation of human rights education programmes in all sectors. Building on the achievements of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004), the World Programme seeks to promote a common understanding of the basic principles and methodologies of human rights education,
provide a concrete framework for action, and strengthen partnerships and cooperation from the international to the grass roots level.

The idea of introducing a new citizenship education was announced in a conference in 2002 in partnership with the British Council in Bahrain which was based on three main components: knowledge of civic concepts, systems, and processes of civic life, including education for human rights and democracy; skills of civic participation; and students’ general disposition, including a sense of belonging to the state and shared values and ethics.

In this study, I argue that tensions within policy and practice are caused by a lack of clarity with respect to conceptions of citizenship amongst policymakers and teachers. As a result there is a gap in policy and practice that increases the challenges that face this new subject and complicate the situation rather than resolve it. I explain this in relation to the nature of Bahraini society which can be described as communitarian whereas the new policy taken from Western policy references was written for Western liberal democratically established societies.

In relation to liberal and communitarian theories of citizenship, while liberals emphasise tolerance and individual freedom, communitarians emphasise a shared identity, heritage and culture as a prerequisite of membership and acceptance. The emphasis on a national Bahraini identity is problematic because not all pupils in Bahraini schools whether indigenous Bahraini, naturalised Bahraini, or foreign residents, belong to those categories that shape the Bahraini identity as clearly stated in the Bahraini constitution, which defines a Bahraini as one with an Arab ethnicity and an Islamic religion. Also, teaching Western liberal concepts such as human rights in a communitarian male-dominated society such as Bahrain is likely to contradict the Islamic value system as well as Arab culture which is often conservative in nature. For example, although Bahrain ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it has reservations on some of its articles such as article 18\(^1\) based on religious grounds. The Bahraini government

\(^1\) Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance (http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a18)
puts its support for human rights in the context of the limits of Islamic teaching, claiming a cultural specificity that deviates from the international consensus on some issues such as marriage and inheritance.

1.2 Justification for the Study

As a member of the citizenship education curriculum policy team in Bahrain, between January and December 2004, I witnessed how the policy was developed. Some of the issues involved in the policy’s development were problematic, in my opinion, and entitled the following:

- There was no clear vision amongst the committee members about the aims of this new subject or the meaning of this new terminology used to describe it. (This will be discussed further in the third chapter).
- I felt the aims listed would be difficult to attain because the committee members were provided with American and British curriculum framework policies as primary references, and most of their attainment targets and standards that were written for a specific purpose and to a particular society’s needs, were translated into the Bahraini policy framework. The only exception was the addition of a fourth strand in an attempt of adaptation, the policy and label it ‘Diversity in Bahraini Society’, despite the complete silence of any form of diversity in school. The Bahraini citizenship education curriculum document (CECD) was mostly translated from American curriculum standards with omission of a few concepts that clash with Islamic and cultural traditions.
- A general review of the citizenship education student textbook shows that most of the new concepts added in the policy were not reflected into the student textbook and instead were listed in a rote-learning manner without much opportunities for active learning or participation.
- A desire to examine policymakers’ intentions in achieving the aims of the subject as taken from Western policies such as ‘the development of informed active participatory citizens’ and whether they translate that aim into further documents such as the formal textbook and teacher training.
- As a member of the policy-writing team, it was imperative to include human rights, children’s rights and women rights in the policy document in accordance
with global trends that are promoted by international organisations such as the United Nations and the UNESCO. Therefore, a further investigation of the rationale for introducing this subject and whether its main reason was to accommodate for international pressure rather than a local need for such concepts, is needed.

- Citizenship definition and citizenship education approaches are influenced by contextual factors that affect their meanings. Each country is influenced by its particular contextual factors that affect the definition of citizenship. Even if we assume that Bahraini and Americans have the same aim for teaching citizenship education, the two societies differ tremendously in their beliefs, values and historical development and challenges. Unlike Mathematics for example, citizenship education cannot be transferred from one country to another and still be meaningful locally. Moreover, the education system and management differs in the West from Bahrain. Therefore, the next chapter will give a detail background of the particularity of Bahrain through the contextual and detailed factors that were identified by Kerr (1999).

1.3 Importance of the Study

Although the fieldwork of this study was conducted prior to February 2011’s unrest, the challenges it raises are more serious and relevant than ever. The importance of this study lies in the fact that it is the first of its kind to be conducted in Bahrain to understand the challenges of cultural and religious diversity of the Bahraini society through its analysis of citizenship education policies and practices and investigating the understanding and conceptions of citizenship held by different stakeholders (policymakers, teachers and pupils).

Through this study, the different views of the officials responsible for developing the curriculum policy and textbook for citizenship education for secondary schools will be investigated. Also, teachers’ and pupils’ perceptions will be explored in order to examine the citizenship education curriculum with regards to particularly relevant strands of the curriculum policy, as explained below.
The importance of this study can be summarised in the following points:

- This is the only study in Bahrain to address sensitive political concepts in a charged environment, where the mention of concepts such as citizenship, belonging and loyalty became a taboo that most people avoid talking about.

- The study is focused on a highly sensitive topic in society, where the state and civil society alike including the political opposition, avoid topics of social sectarianism. The reality is there are tremendous sectarian tensions in Bahraini society and disintegration of the social fabric. There is a huge difference in citizenship conceptions amongst different groups. Individual rights and responsibilities are almost inexistent in opposition to belonging to groups that deal with the state instead of the usual relationship of the individual to the study. This study unravels some of these aspects and acknowledges the challenges that are usually dismissed by unrealistic media coverage that deny or minimise their effects and a curriculum that is foreign to the reality of students’ experience. The evidence that this problem has worsened is how the conception of citizenship and its practice has become more apparently distinguished based on groups and their stance to the political system and to the other groups in society.

- The study examines the need for a citizenship education curriculum in Bahrain from the perception of policymakers, teachers and students alike and explore the similarities and differences amongst them, bearing in mind that the ministry of education was under scrutiny after the 2002 citizenship education conference for bringing British experts in a national topic such as citizenship.

- The study also reveals the gap between policy and practice which helped in answering whether the aim of introducing the new citizenship education is based on responding to international organisation demands or a genuine belief that Bahraini society needs to establish and teach citizenship education to overcome national challenges. The study findings will help in answering this question through the examination of citizenship education policy and practice in schools bearing in mind other influencing factors such as family, religious affiliation as they interrelate in shaping individual understanding of citizenship.
1.4 The Study Focus and Findings

To teach citizenship education with its British and American influence in Bahrain presents a number of challenges including the cultural and religious contradictions that arise. Both these liberal democratic countries have developed citizenship education with regard to their own contextual needs and influenced by their own political, social and economic history. To date, a common concept of citizenship with regard to citizenship education has not been agreed amongst educators or other civil society members in Bahrain. Therefore, confusion exists with respect to the aims of the subject, which can affect the desired outcomes. Since the curriculum is centralised and delivered through the use of a textbook-based course, the formal curriculum is the same in all secondary schools in Bahrain. (This study focuses on citizenship education at secondary level only.)

The population in Bahrain is diverse as it constitutes Shia and Sunni Muslims of different ethnic backgrounds including non-Arabs as well as other religious groups. This causes challenges for schools, as public schools are open and free for all citizens and residents. Although some might argue this does not cause for an alarm, it is important to clarify that many schools in Bahraini villages have a majority, if not all, students from one sect whether Shia or Sunni. This is also reflected in the teaching and administration staff, despite the ministry of education’s attempt to deploy the teaching staff to avoid this homogeneity and integrate all groups of society. Moreover, in some geographical areas, schools have a mixed demography of students and teachers that includes recently naturalised citizens as well as non-national residents. These demographical differences have an impact on the commitment to teaching citizenship education and the different conceptions held by teachers and students associated to their religious affiliation and ethnicity. In its attempt to develop cohesion between the two main Muslim sects (Shia and Sunni) by stressing the Bahraini identity, the policy excludes other minorities in schools and the community who are foreign residents and therefore creates division between what is referred to as "original" Bahrainis, on the one hand, and naturalised Bahrainis as well as other nationals on the other, without really resolving any of the existing conflicts.
Therefore, Bahraini schools are facing challenges and, although citizenship education was brought in to address these in an attempt to promote national unity, difficulties remain. These need to be resolved, especially with regard to recent developments that require immediate attention.

The study focuses on examining the citizenship education curriculum policy and practice with regard to the rhetoric surrounding it and its efficiency in addressing issues such as diversity and national unity. It also investigates the conceptions of citizenship held by the different stakeholders: policymakers, teachers and pupils, and explores possible tensions between policy and practice.

Drawing on documents, literature review and field findings, it is apparent that there are contradictions in the Bahraini citizenship education policy as well as how citizenship is actually delivered and taught in schools. There are real challenges in the lives of Bahraini teachers and pupils with regard to their conceptions of citizenship, sect identity, gender identity, urban/rural identity and ethnic identity. The curriculum needs to address these issues.

1.5 The Study Question

The study will attempt to answer the main research question which is: what are the perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education in Bahrain?

1.6 Background

In the 1970s, after Bahrain's independence from Britain, the Ministry of Education undertook the task of improving the system and methods of education in general, and developing curricula in particular. This was done to raise Bahrain’s quality of educational system to international standards. Thus, the Ministry of Education formed curriculum development committees, among which were committees assigned the task of developing a subject named "national education" as part of nation building that followed Bahrain’s independence and the dissolution of the National Council in 1975².

² More details are given in chapter 2
As a result, national education was implemented for the first time as an independent subject in 1977 with a textbook for each grade, from Grade 5 to Grade 9 (between 11 and 15 years old). The textbooks for this subject intended to list the government’s efforts to provide a better life for its citizens. Later in the 1980s, as part of the on-going development of education, subjects including history, geography and national education (which is a civic education in the main) were integrated as one subject within a single textbook named Social Studies.

In 2002, the Directorate of Curricula in Bahrain co-organised a national conference for citizenship education with the British Council. Speakers involved representatives of Bahraini civil society as well as speakers from the Citizenship Foundation in London. Later that year over 60 teachers, curriculum specialists and supervisors were trained in using active learning methods in teaching citizenship education by the Citizenship Foundation experts.

The Curricula Directorate of the Ministry of Education (MoE) presented a paper in the 2002 conference that outlined its rationale for the teaching of citizenship education as an independent subject. It was based on the assumption that there was:

- a national necessity to develop a sense of loyalty and belonging;
- a social need to develop knowledge, skills, citizenship values, dispositions and participation in community service and knowledge of rights and responsibilities; and
- an international need to prepare citizens to be able to respond to international changes. (al-Khaja, al-Ghatam, & al-Marzooq, 2002)

Two years later, in 2004, a directorial decision number 1/2004 was issued to form a team of curriculum specialists to write the citizenship education curriculum policy. The team comprised of 14 specialists from all the different curricular units.

Later the same year, ministerial decision number 252/2004 was issued to form a ministerial committee made up of 20 members from all different directorates of the Ministry of Education to write the new citizenship education curriculum document. Although the citizenship education curriculum document was still under review, several textbooks were developed based on this document for each of the basic school
years (Grade 1 to 9) and one textbook was developed for secondary stage (Grades 10 to 12) called, "Citizenship Education: the political system".

As a result of British protection of Bahrain since 1861, most of the public policies that governed public life prior to Bahrain’s independence had British influence. A prominent British figure who was employed as the Amir’s counsellor, Mr Charles Belgrave, had a direct influence on establishing municipalities as early as 1920s and institutionalising education and a modern state in general. Therefore, when the ministry of education considered to seek help, it was natural that the British Council in Bahrain would be a potential partner due to the historical tradition of seeking advice from Britain. This began in the form of organising a conference for citizenship education in 2002, and showcasing the English citizenship education model. Therefore, the new curriculum was inevitably influenced by the British model for citizenship education with all its implications particularly in relation to the underpinning theory. Moreover, American curriculum standards were also used by the policymakers’ team assigned to write the Bahraini curriculum policy and framework. In addition, the policymakers’ team also had access to the Emarati citizenship education curriculum policy and framework as a reference of a neighbouring Arab country that has many contextual similarities to Bahrain historically and culturally. These, together with Bahraini curriculum specialists’ input, influenced the outcome of the Bahraini Citizenship Education Curriculum Document, (CECD) which was unofficially published in 2004.

It is important to clarify that the research upon which this thesis is based was conducted prior to February 2011. Although most of the issues addressed within the thesis are still valid, I believe what happened in Bahrain in February 2011\(^3\) exacerbated sectarian tensions that existed previously, and since then conceptions of citizenship have become more contested and difficult to agree on between Sunni and Shia in particular. The gaps between Sunni and Shia and between Shia and naturalised\(^4\) citizens. Trust between the different components of the society had been shaken. The February 2011 strikes\(^5\) have

---

\(^3\) Details will be discussed in Chapter 2 as Bahrainis are divided between those who call what happened a coup and the others describe it as a revolution

\(^4\) Naturalised citizens are mostly Arabs who lived and worked in Bahrain for years and were granted Bahraini citizenship.

\(^5\) There were a number of strikes that were called for by Unions that supported the uprising to paralyse and eventually overthrow the political system. Those bodies were controlled by the same groups that called for the uprising and belonged to one theocratic political group.
accentuated the challenges that are described in this study and underlined the importance of taking action to address them.

1.7 Methodology and Data Collection

Qualitative research is based on the premise that individuals are best placed to describe what they mean in their own words even though their conceptions are unfixed as the social world is dynamic and changing. The aim of this study is to investigate the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education from the perspective of pupils, teachers and policymakers and identify any tensions that underlie these. Therefore, an interpretivist approach is most suited for this study as it provides access to accounts of reality as provided by the participants. Mason (2002) argues that interpretivist approaches in qualitative research see people, and their interpretations, perceptions, meanings and understandings, as primary data sources. “[Interpretivist approaches] can happily support a study which uses interview methods for example, where the aim is to explore people’s individual and collective understandings, reasoning processes, social norms, and so on” (Mason 2002, p. 56).

The methods that were used in this study are document analysis and in-depth interviews with policymakers, teachers and pupils. Mason argues that interviews as well as texts or objects can be used in a mixed approach but what an interpretivist would want to get out of these methods and sources would be what they say or how they are constituted in people's individual or collective meanings (Mason 2002, p. 56). Conceptions of citizenship as described by policymakers, teachers and pupils of different backgrounds will be interpreted. Possible tensions may be found between the different meanings held by the different groups and potential challenges will be identified accordingly.

More specifically, the research focuses on the different groups’ perceptions and understandings of the existing citizenship education curriculum with regard to strands two and four of the curriculum document and its reflection in the pupils' textbook. The research has the following objectives:
To examine existing policy (curriculum document, textbook) with regard to its theoretical underpinnings of strand two and four of the curriculum document and its interpretation into the textbook.

To investigate possible theoretical contradictions within and between (1) the curriculum document, (2) the textbook and (3) their authors' intentions and perceptions.

To explore teachers' and pupils' perceptions and understandings of conceptions of citizenship.

Sources of data comprise of documents, policymakers, teachers and pupils. Documents investigated include the citizenship education curriculum document (Directorate of Curricula, 2004) and the citizenship education textbook used throughout the secondary sector (al-Khaja, et al. 2005).

Policymakers include members from the ministerial committee assigned to write the citizenship education curriculum document. All available textbook authors were interviewed in-depth about (1) their participation in designing the document, (2) the rationale underpinning the specific strands and objectives of the citizenship education, (3) their perceptions and understandings of citizenship. Interviews were carried out with a previous minister of education as well as high level Curriculum policymakers. Eighteen Secondary school teachers of citizenship education were interviewed as well as forty pupils from ten schools representing different demographical areas. Further details are provided in the Methodology chapter.

1.8 Personal Account

As a previous curriculum specialist in the Ministry of Education in the Curricula Research Development Department, I witnessed how policy and curriculum were developed. I started my post immediately after the national citizenship education conference in 2002 and was appointed as a member of the Curricula Directorate citizenship education curriculum committee, which was established to develop a curriculum document for the new citizenship education. Later I was appointed a member of the Ministerial committee for the same purpose. Also, I was chosen by the Director of Curricula to be one of two Bahraini members of Arab CIVITAS (a Middle
Eastern version of CIVITAS- the Institute for the Study of Civil Society). I was trained in order to train Bahraini social studies teachers to use an American civic education skill-based course, Project Citizen. Moreover, being sponsored by my employer, the Ministry of Education to conduct this study gave me advantages in terms of access to interviewees and relevant documents.

After returning to Bahrain in the winter of 2010, I worked at the office of the Assistant-Under Secretary for Curricula and Educational Supervision. As soon as the unrest erupted in Bahrain mid-February 2011, I initiated the formation of a committee of curriculum specialists and educational media specialists to start a project to counter the inevitable sectarian outcomes that I had foreseen from the calls for a so-called revolution that, amongst other things, involved schools, teachers and pupils in sectarian disputes. The so-called revolution did not consist of all sects of society but only the Shia sect and a relatively small number of Sunni from liberal oppositional groups. As a result, when the head of the Teachers’ Society (consisted of Shia teachers only and a Shia board of directors), Shia teachers, both male and female, and Shia pupils responded to their calls for civil disobedience to refuse to teach and to gather instead in the protest location in the capital. These same calls were endorsed by religious clerks from the Shia sect and thus most Shia obeyed the calls and many schools were left without teachers. As a result, many Sunni parents volunteered to teach in those schools indicating that what was happening was not a revolution but an Iranian-led coup to change the political system.

I was appointed in April 2011 as the Media Spokesperson for the Ministry of Education and in July, I was honoured to be one of the National Dialogue moderators. In September, I was appointed as the Cultural Counsellor at the Embassy of the Kingdom of Bahrain in the United Kingdom and in 2014 requested to return home due to family commitments. Implications of my personal position on the collection, analysis and interpretation of the data will be discussed in the methodology chapter.

---

6 H.M. the King called for a National Dialogue and appointed the Parliament’s Speaker to chair it in June 2011 to start in July 2011. The dialogue aimed at bringing all segments of Bahraini society together to present the views of the people and their views and demands for further reform. Areas of discussion revolved around four themes: political, economic, social, and legal. Sixteen moderators were trained to facilitate the discussions in these four groups.
1.9 Organisation of the Study

The structure of the thesis is built to allow the reader to understand the aims of the study and progress through the chapters in a logical and in a comprehensive manner to answer the research question. The study is structured into nine chapters that can be categorised into two parts. The first part consists of five chapters which starts with an introduction, followed by a contextual chapter to establish a foundation for the theoretical framework and the methodological approach. The second part consists of the thematic chapters provide answers to the research question and a conclusion that summarises the findings and provides possible recommendations and opportunities for further research.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter gives the reader an overview of the framework of the research and its structure and a summary of the study’s importance, aims, methodological approach and possible findings. It provides an overview of the possible tensions that underlie the new citizenship education policy and practice. It explores the rationale of introducing a new subject and its aims in relation to internal and external factors. It also gives an overview of the rest of the chapters.

Chapter 2: Bahrain Context and Background

According to research findings, there is an influence of contextual factors and detailed structural factors on education systems, in its definition of citizenship and aims of citizenship education influence on citizenship education approaches. As a result, this chapter provides such information to the reader’s knowledge and to the benefit of the study itself. The Bahraini context and background is described through a discussion of the broad and detailed contextual factors affecting citizenship education in Bahrain such as historical tradition, geographical position, socio-political structure, economic system and global trends. These contextual factors highlight how citizenship can be perceived differently due to the socio-political and historical traditions that different groups go through. The particularity of Bahraini society that cannot be compared to Western societies that have also introduced citizenship education in their countries and as a result complicates the transfer of educational policy that is usually developed as a response to particular national needs.
Chapter 3: Relevant Theories of Citizenship
This chapter develops a theoretical framework for the study. The two main influential theories of citizenship are discussed: the liberal and communitarian theories of citizenship. Through the examination of citizenship in Western literature and focusing on the two main traditions, liberalism and communitarianism, citizenship in Bahrain can be explored from a post-colonial perspective. I argue that Bahrain is a communitarian society that suffers from sectarian tensions that are triggered by political unrest and therefore liberal concepts such as human rights are not embedded in society. Moreover, the inclusion of such concepts fails to be translated into classroom practices for many reasons and is used in policy unconvincingly to satisfy international demands rather than a serious will to implement them. Educational policy thus acknowledges diversity but avoids its translation into practice.

Chapter 4: Methodology
In this chapter the methodology of the study is explained, i.e., the methods of collecting and analysing the data, the selection of the data sources (the schools, the pupils, the teachers, the policymakers and the documents). The pilot study conducted is also discussed as are the limitations of the study and ethical issues related to its conduct. In addition, the strengths and weakness of the research design are identified.

Chapter 5: Policy Tensions
This chapter will focus on the analysis of policy documents in order to establish the main themes of the second part of the thesis starting with the national conference on citizenship education held in April 2002 in cooperation with the British Council in Bahrain and the Citizenship Foundation in London. It will also analyse the curriculum document policy, student formal textbook and findings from policymakers to identify key themes. It focuses on the two main strands selected for the study, diversity in Bahraini society and role of the citizen.

Chapter 6: Conceptions of Citizenship
This chapter shows the complexity of investigating conceptions of citizenship. It examines how tensions start in terminology and continue through the different concepts related to citizenship and citizenship education. There are tensions in conceptions between the main groups of participants and between the subgroups.
Different subgroups of teachers and pupils hold different understandings of citizenship according to their backgrounds, stretching citizenship between patriotic to liberal conceptions.

Chapter 7: Challenges of Implementation
Teachers are the main element to the success of any educational initiative. Therefore the success of the new citizenship education depends on the teachers achieving the aims of this subject and how their preparedness or lack of it affect its implementation. Teachers’ conceptions of citizenship also affect their teaching and how they manage their classrooms. Yet what this chapter shows is that a unified vision of this subject does not exist and that none of the teachers had read the policy document. The most important challenges identified by the teachers are the teaching of controversial issues and their ability to achieve the aims of the subject.

Chapter 8: Conclusion
In the concluding chapter, the main arguments of the thesis are summarised. The study confirms that there are tensions in the conceptions of citizenship at policy level as well as in practice. There are many challenges facing Bahraini pupils as well as teachers with regard to diversity of Bahraini society that are ignored at policy level as well as in practice. The chapter argues that tensions within the policy need to be addressed and reflected in the textbook. Teachers need to be better prepared to teach controversial issues, their attitudes need to be challenged and teaching methods and resources provided to teachers. Finally it is argued that, as a result of the unrest in February 2011, more radical measures need to be taken and the curriculum needs to be rewritten to fit the Bahraini context and support the ongoing reconciliation process.

1.10 Conclusion
The importance of this chapter lies in providing the reader with an overview of the study and the thesis structure to enable him to understand the aims of the study, its justification, its approach and how it connects together to answer the research question using qualitative methods and a theoretical framework that will come together in a coherent manner.
Chapter 2: Context and Background

2.1 Introduction
This chapter is important because it sets out the socio-cultural and political context for citizenship education in Bahrain and how key principles such as citizenship and rights have been formulated in Bahrain, through examining those contextual factors. As one of the aims of this study is to understand how Bahraini students view and define citizenship, it also assumes that their views are influenced by the political, social and educational context. It will explore the research topic further by providing the context and background for citizenship education in Bahrain using the broad contextual and detailed structural factors identified in Kerr’s (1999) citizenship education thematic study. This model was adopted to explore the Bahraini context because it was the result of a comparative study of citizenship education of 16 countries from both the West and the Far East, which can be claimed to cover countries with both liberal and communitarian traditions (these two traditions constitute an important focus of the next chapter). The model was found to be useful because it acknowledges that there are conceptual differences between citizenship education, which are related to the contextual factors of each country. The editors of the IEA Civic Education Project that examined civic education in twenty four countries argue that one of the challenges that can be expected in teaching citizenship education in countries establishing democracies or striving to become democracies is related to the fact that teachers and parents in these countries received a very different kind of civic education from the one that new circumstances require (Torney-Purta, Schwille & Amadeo 1999, p11).

As this study focuses on citizenship education in Bahrain, it is important to discuss the broad contextual and detailed structural factors in relation to Bahrain as identified in Kerr’s study. This is important as it sets out the socio-cultural and political context for citizenship education in Bahrain in an attempt to understand what citizenship means in a Bahraini context. According to Kerr, these factors influence the definition of and approaches to citizenship education in each country of the study. The broad contextual factors are: geographical position, historical tradition, socio-political structure,

---

7This was a comparative study of 16 countries carried for the International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Frameworks Internet Archives (INCA) and funded by the QCA. The participating countries are: England, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and USA.
economic system and global trends, and the detailed structural factors are related to the education system. These influence the policy and practice of citizenship education and argues that these structural factors have an impact not only on the definition and approach to citizenship education but also on the size of the gap between the rhetoric of policy and the practice in citizenship education gap. The main structural factors are: organisation of, and responsibilities for, education; educational values and aims; and funding and regulatory arrangements. As Kerr explains (1999, p 2) “the complex and contested nature of the concept of citizenship leads to a broad range of interpretations. These interpretations mean that there are many different ways in which citizenship education can be defined and approached”. These different ways of interpreting citizenship will be further explored in the next chapter. And as mentioned in the introduction chapter, citizenship education curriculum policy was heavily influenced by English and American policies which were developed to address their respective contextual factors. As a result, it is vital to understand the factors that influence the concept of citizenship in Bahrain to better understand how relevant or irrelevant English/ American interpretations of citizenship education are to the Bahraini context as primary references and whether these interpretations were translated into practice. Moreover, it is as important to understand the reasons behind the introduction of this new subject with its ‘Western’ association, i.e. its policy built on Western references yet meant to resolve local challenges.

In the next sections, these contextual factors will be explored as well as a narrative of the unrest that occurred in Bahrain in February/March 2011 and its relevance to this research.

2.2 Citizenship in Bahrain

King Hamad’s Reform Project was launched in 2000 shortly after his inauguration in 1999, and brought a number of new citizenship-related concepts to Bahraini society. Although some of these concepts were practised as traditions and customs, they did not have a legislative framework. For example, the mandatory teaching of ‘national and religious education’ was stated in Article 7 b in the 1973 Constitution. Even though this article was not added in the 2002 constitutional amendments, its interpretation into education policy was different. The difference started with changing the title of this
subject from *Wattania* to *Muwatana*- a new word, at least locally, to describe this subject with its new concepts and principles. In light of the socio-political changes witnessed by Bahraini society and global developments related to human rights and co-existence values, the Ministry of Education in Bahrain gave attention to the subject of citizenship education and the building of national solidarity based on a number of principles and concepts:

- Justice, equity, freedom, love, respect for law, social solidarity and renounce violent.
- Children's rights, women and family's rights, people with special needs rights, elderly rights.
- Respect rules, regulations and laws, maintain public facilities, respect the values of work, no matter of the work type.
- Public, private and civil institutions, constitution, international institution for human rights and the convention on the rights of the child.
- The importance of dialogue to deal with differences, recognition of the other, respect for dissent, reject racial, sectarian, class, religious and gender discriminations.
- The historical development of the idea of human rights, in both political and economic fields.
- Characteristics of the democratic experience in Bahrain, Conventions on human rights, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the role and significance of the society civil institutions (Ministry of Education, 2015, p 85).

Although the Ministry of Education claims these values were the basis for teaching the ‘new’ citizenship education, which was introduced, in secondary education in 2005, this thesis suggests that the challenges facing this subject identified as early as 2008, during the time the field study was conducted, are tremendous. Most of the study’s participants seemed to have a narrow interpretation of citizenship closer to the previous ‘national education’ subject rather than the above principles and concepts identified by MOE. Their conceptions of citizenship was limited to belonging and loyalty which reveals a shortcoming of not only practice but also at policy level. This issue will be explored in the coming chapters.
2.3 Broad Contextual Factors

The broad contextual factors identified by Kerr (1999) are: geographical position, historical tradition, socio-political structure, economic system and global trends. These will be discussed further in relation to the Bahraini context.

2.3.1 Geographical Position

Bahrain is an archipelago of islands located off the eastern coast of Saudi Arabia in the Arabian Gulf and linked to Saudi Arabia by a causeway which was opened to the public in 1986 (see figure 1). Despite its importance throughout history owing to its strategic location linking the East to the West (see figure 2.1), there is a lack of academic literature on the Arabian Gulf both in Arabic and in English (Dresch & Piscatori 2005, al-Naqeeb 1990).

Bahrain is amongst the highest populated countries in the Arab World compared to its area of 765 square Kilometres (CIO 2010). According to the 2010 census the population of Bahrain was 1,234,571 with 568,399 Bahraini nationals and 666,172 non-Bahrainis (CIO 2010). These numbers are similar in the region and form serious challenges that face Bahraini society and the Arab Gulf states in general, related to citizenship issues whether socially, economically or politically. One of the most important challenges facing these countries is to develop an understanding of citizenship that is inclusive based on human rights values and aims to develop responsible citizens. Most gulf countries’ conception of citizenship is based on minimal interpretations of the concept.
and as a result their curricula focus on historical and geographical topics and practices limited to national celebrations that place considerable emphasis on national symbols such as the national flag and heritage.

From the findings of the thematic study, Kerr (1999) concludes that where a country is located influences how citizenship education has been and continues to be approached. For example, because of its strategic location Bahrain has always been a subject of foreign influence as witnessed in its pre and post Islamic history including civilisations such as Dilmun (3000 B.C.) and Islamic (since the 7th century A.D.) and thus was inhabited by different races and nations throughout history, such as the Portuguese (1485 - 1602), Persian (1602 - 1717), Omani (1717 - 1736), etc. (Kelly 1980; Izzard 1979).

In addition to the historical threats of these regional powers, some threats are still perceived as valid, such as that posed by Iran. This will be discussed further in the next section. On the other hand, threats from Oman or Saudi Arabia have disappeared as they have become strong allies and are part of the six Gulf Co-operation countries\(^8\) (GCC). Moreover, the late King Abdulla of Saudi Arabia announced at the opening of the annual Gulf Cooperation Council summit in Riyadh in December 2011 “I ask today that we move from a phase of cooperation to a phase of union within a single entity” (Ramady 2014, p 3) due to the threats the Gulf Cooperation countries face regionally. The call for a Union between the GCC was welcomed by these six countries in light of the escalating regional foreign threats and interference. However, King Abdulla did not elaborate on what form such a union would take or any proposed steps to create it and was left for further discussions.

In addition, Khuri in Thoman (1982, p. 435) claims that Bahrain’s geographical position prohibits democracy as long as its neighbours remain “tribally” ruled.

The affairs of Bahrain are reflections of the greater society, the Gulf and Arabia, to which the country belongs. It is difficult to believe that Bahrain, the little islands, could alone institute democracy while other

\(^8\) The Gulf Cooperation Council was established in 1981 in response to the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980 and the Iranian revolution in 1979. The members of this council are the 6 Arab oil countries: Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates.
states and principalities in the Gulf and Arabia continue to be ruled by
tribally based governments.

Although Khuri is right to point to the influence of geographical factors, his assumption
that Bahrain cannot institute democracy due to its small size or its neighbours, can be
challenged. Despite its small area and population compared to its neighbouring
countries, Bahrain has headed its neighbours in general development, whether in terms
of its higher qualified population, developed education system or advanced health
system. Moreover, the past ten years have witnessed many political, economic and
social developments that negate Khuri’s claim.

Despite Bahrain’s good foreign relations with its neighbours, the Iranian threat still
exists especially after the Iranian revolution in 1978-79 and the attempted Iranian-
backed coup by some Shia in Bahrain in 1982. Another Iranian-organised plot to
overthrow the government and establish pro-Iranian Islamic state was foiled in June
1994 (Darweesh 1996) and, most recently in the 2011 unrest, Iranian TV channels
broadcasted propaganda about what was happening in Bahrain. In general, threats stem
from being part of the overall Middle East with all its instability from the Palestinian-
Israeli conflict, to the American threats to Iran, to the aftermath sectarian violence of
the Iraq war.

Although Bahrain is categorised as an Arab Islamic state, its Muslim citizens are from
both Sunni and Shia sects of Islam, and are generally of Arab or Persian ethnicity. Due
to the geographical position of Bahrain, close to Iran, some of the Bahraini Shia’s
loyalty is sometimes questioned as it is widely believed that their religious loyalty to
Iran compromises their loyalty to Bahrain9 due to their mutual religious identity.

In their survey article, Return of the Citizen, Kymlicka and Norman (1994, p353)
explain that due to such challenges, as given above, the qualities and attitudes of
citizens in a modern democracy are just as important as the justice of its basic structure:

9 Former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak claimed that Shias throughout the Arab region have more
loyalty to Iran than to their countries. For more details see Sir Malcom Rifkind article: Arab eyes are
fixed on Iran on the Independent issue date 23 July 2006.
http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/malcolm-rifkind-arab-eyes-are-fixed-on-iran-
408948.html
“their sense of identity and how they view potentially competing forms of national, regional, ethnic, or religious identities”. They argue that there has been a demand for a theory of citizenship that focuses on the identity and conduct of individual citizens, including their responsibilities, loyalties, and roles (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994).

The above points highlight how Bahrain’s geographical position affect how citizenship and citizenship education can be defined in Bahrain especially with regard to an intention of forming a union between the six gulf countries and what form that union would take. Regional threats are also a crucial factor in the forming of a citizenship education curriculum and how these threats can be perceived differently by different components of the Bahraini society. For example, although the majority of the people of the Arabian Gulf hope for an Arabian Gulf citizenship that would provide security against Iran, a common perceived threat through continuous statements made by Iranian military leaders. On the other hand, there are some Shia groups in the Arabian Gulf that do not wish for such a union and perceive Iran as their ally based on religious affiliation. As a result, the geographical position of Bahrain and the regional tensions evident in the region create different perceptions of citizenship interpretations and therefore affect citizenship policy as there is a general call for a more inclusive citizenship interpretation to include all six gulf countries under one citizenship, whilst there are some Shia groups who affiliate their citizenship based on their religious identity.

2.3.2 Historical Tradition

This contextual factor is related to the tradition of how citizenship rights have developed over decades and centuries and the balance achieved between rights and obligations in each country. Therefore, it helps to explain how underlying values which define how citizenship education has been, and continues to be, approached in that country have evolved (Kerr 1999).

In order to understand how citizenship rights have developed in Bahrain, it is important to note briefly the policing system. The rulers of Bahrain, since the 18th century, the al-Khalifa family, signed treaties with Britain as early as 1830s, making Bahrain a British Protectorate. Therefore, policing in Bahrain was shaped by direct British intervention and the particular constellation of opposition al-Khalifa faced as people perceived
British presence as a form of colonisation (Crystal 2005). Crystal explains that Bahrain developed a larger and more forceful police than its neighbours, in part because it played a more central administrative role for Britain. Britain has also played a significant role in establishing a modern education system in Bahrain. British influence remains to this day with the British Council playing an important role in developing citizenship education as it jointly organised with the Ministry of Education in Bahrain a national conference and training workshops in 2002.

While Bahrain generally enjoyed prosperity and stability for much of the twentieth century, there hangs over the sheikhdom the dormant and sometimes active threat of internal conflict. This is caused by two factors: (a) the religious schism in the population between Sunni and Shia Muslims, and (b) the material division between the wealthy oligarchy which rules Bahrain and the politically conscious and ambitious intellectual proletariat below them (Kelly 1980). Both factors contributed to occasional internal conflict. Historical records indicate that Shia villages - which have almost always been an incubator for political unrest - located mainly in the North-Western part of Bahrain at least until the mid-1950s did not have their own municipality and loosely fell under the jurisdiction of the Capital municipality. This meant that these villages were largely left out of the development process in terms of the modernisation of facilities and infrastructure as funds were often channelled through municipal bodies. However, one of the King Hamad Reform Project initiatives that started in 1999, immediately after his succession, was the National Village Expansion Scheme which was solely dedicated to develop villages’ infrastructure and increase housing schemes for its residents.

Political movements can also be divided into two stages of the modern history of the Gulf and the Arab Peninsula: the first covering the period from 1948 to 1958, when the new social forces in the region were in a stage of fermentation. Thus most of their demands were aimed at constitutional government, universal freedoms, matters pertaining to administrative reform, the improvement of material conditions and insistence upon support for the Palestinian cause. In the second stage, from 1959 to 1967, the demands evolved to raising the question of full, effective independence for the countries which had not achieved it, the issue of complete nationalisation of petroleum and the demand that the states of the region should adopt an Arab nationalist unionist goal hostile to colonisation and imperialism (al-Naqeeb 1980).
In Bahrain, a reform movement had arisen earlier which tried, in the period of 1921 to 1923, to convince the emir, Sheikh Isa al-Khalifa, to recognise the municipal council as a legislative body and to grant it the following rights:

- to choose the Muslim canon law judges and the government department heads
- to dismiss non-national department heads;
- to set limits to British interference in internal affairs;
- to form a national police force.

When Sheikh Isa manifested sympathy towards these demands, the British deposed him and exiled the nationalist leaders of this movement to India (al-Naqeeb, 1980). Another reformist movement sprang up in Bahrain in 1938. The demands of this movement were directed at the creation of democratic government, the organisation of the country on modern foundations, and priority for the appointment of Bahraini citizens in the Petroleum Company. The results achieved were the refusal of all these demands and the suppression of the reform movement by force. Indeed, following the strike against the Bahrain Petroleum Company in 1938, the company began a deliberate policy of hiring more compliant and cheaper Indian and Iranian workers (Magnus 1980; al-Naqeeb 1980). These demands were made by national opposition that included both Sunni and Shia Bahrainis.

The early 1950s witnessed the largest public mass movement in Bahrain’s modern history, before being abruptly cut short by force. Regionally, this was the period of revolution and rising Arab nationalism, heightened by the rising star of Jamal Abdul Nasser in Egypt. Arab developments echoed strongly in Bahrain as many young Bahrainis were taught by Egyptian teachers in schools and a few who led these movements studied in Egypt. These slowly brewing factors needed a spark that would transform them into a wider national movement. This was provided by the sectarian violence that afflicted the country between 1953 and 1954. Clashes broke out between
Shia participants and Sunni men—during the religious march of Ashura\(^{10}\) in September 1953. Intermittent clashes continued, resulting in several deaths and injuries.

To counteract these rising tensions, a series of meetings were held between Shia and Sunni community members to discuss the situation on the island. A Higher Executive Committee (HEC) headed by eight individuals—four Shia and four Sunni—was elected to put forward their demands to the authorities. These demands centred on a legislative council, a general legal and civil code, labour unions, and the establishment of a Supreme Court.

Since political organisations were then forbidden in Bahrain, the Committee depended for the appointment of its members upon the social and athletic clubs: the Bahrain, the Urubah and the Ahli. In its work, it concentrated from the beginning on a basis of joint nationalist activity within a framework of the National Front, composed of Shia, Sunni, merchants, workers, and members of the middle class. Throughout the years 1954-6 it successfully used in its struggle the weapons of secret political organisation, strikes, and the press (Sawt al-Bahrain- The voice of Bahrain). These weapons presented a threat to the system of rule in Bahrain (al-Naqeeb 1980).

Al-Naqeeb (1980, p 94) describes the joining of the Shia of Bahrain into joint political activity with the Sunni as “one of the most important accomplishments of the Higher Executive Committee in its struggle against sectarianism and one of the most serious threats to the system of government enjoying the direct protection of the British”. However, the members of this committee were exiled and its supporters imprisoned upon the occurrence of violent disturbances directed against British interests and companies on the day of the nationalisation of the Suez in Egypt in 1956.

In 1956, Arab Nationalist demonstrations swept the Gulf and a state of emergency was declared in Bahrain and tribal levies were recruited into a special riot squad. After the violent strikes of 1956, the Public Security Law was enacted granting the government sweeping powers to issue any orders deemed essential for public good, safety, and security (Crystal 2005; Khuri in Thoman 1982).

---

\(^{10}\) Ashura is the tenth day of Muharram (first month of Islamic year). It is commemorated by Shia Muslims as a day of mourning for the day of the martyrdom of Prophet Mohammed’s grandson in Karbala. In Bahrain, ninth and tenth days of Muharram each year are given as public holiday.
However, according to Kelly (1980), in 1968 as a consequence of a decision by the British government to cut overseas expenditure and withdraw from the Gulf by December 1971, the Foreign Office suggested to the rulers of Bahrain that they combine with the other lower gulf rulers in a federation which would make the passage to independence easier, and at the same time afford them some measure of mutual protection. The rulers of Bahrain, Qatar and the Trucial sheikhdoms (the current United Arab Emirates), signed an agreement on the 27 February 1968 to establish a Federation of Arab Emirates. The agreement was supposed to take effect on 30 March 1968.

The Shah of Iran had reservations about the projected Federation of Arab Emirates. However, it is believed that the Shah’s rage was related to the inclusion of Bahrain in the new federation and the ignoring of Persia’s long-standing claim to sovereignty over the island. The British government had never recognised the claim as having any validity, and it was repeatedly rejected by the ruling dynasty of Bahrain, the al-Khalifa, who had entered the island in 1783 and ruled it uninterruptedly ever since. This claim by the Shah was formally reasserted in a note to the British government soon after despite their inability to substantiate the claim on legal or historical grounds.

A number of meetings in Geneva led at the end of 1969 to the devising of a formula concluding that the Bahrain question would be referred to the secretary-general of the United Nations, who would in turn appoint a mission of inquiry to determine the true wishes of the people of Bahrain regarding the future status of the Sheikhdom.

According to Kelly (1980) the Shah’s reassertion of the Persian claim to Bahrain had been more or less successful in its objective, which was to impede any progress that might be made by the Gulf Sheikdoms towards federation. The other sheikdoms were reluctant to enter into any form of association with Bahrain that might require them to support the sheikdoms against the Shah. They were also wary that Bahrain’s more advanced economy, its longer mercantile experience, its more sophisticated society and its much larger population would combine to give Bahrain a more powerful position in the projected federation. Bahrain, with a population of well over 200,000, greater than that of the seven Trucial Sheikdoms combined, and a large proportion of which was educated, technically skilled and politically alert, simply could not be equated with a
Trucial Sheikhdom like Ajman\textsuperscript{11}, for example, with a population of only 5,000 (Kelly 1980).

The secretary-general of the United Nations complied with the Shah’s request to implement the agreement, and appointed an Italian diplomat from his secretariat, to head the mission of inquiry, and before the month was out he was on his way to Bahrain to sound out its inhabitants on their attitude towards the Persian claim. He reported in late April that the overwhelming majority of Bahrainis were in favour of the recognition of their island as a ‘fully independent state’. As a result, Bahrain declared itself fully independent and steps were taken to promulgate a constitution (Kelly 1980). Moreover, it is commonly stated in official documents that, at this point, the people of Bahrain reasserted their Arabism as well as their desire to be ruled by the al-Khalifa family. The United Nation mission that lasted eighteen days in Bahrain concluded in its report: the enthusiasm of Bahraini people to decide its fate, reaffirm Bahrain’s Arabism and its Islamic identity, solidarity of its society and co-existence of Sunni and Shia sects as well as the role of women and their participation in the referendum. Moreover, the report stated that even minority groups of non-Arabs were integrated in society and affirmed their opinion of Bahrain’s Arabism, all society sects affirmed their desire for independence under the Khalifa family, the ruling family and representative of legal authority of Bahrain since 1783 (Abdulla & Zain Alabedeen 2009, p. 186; UN Report, Security Council. S/C9772, p. 30 A, 1970/Findings and Conclusions).

The above has serious implications for citizenship education in Bahrain as some members of the extremist Shia opposition have promoted amongst their communities the idea of illegitimacy of al-Khalifa ruling family and described them as occupiers of Bahrain for over two hundred years. The Iranian Revolution in 1979 rekindled Iran’s claim to Bahrain through the promotion of its Wali- Alfaqih ideology amongst Shia Bahrainis and the predominance of religious affiliation over national affiliation. As a result promoting the idea of occupancy of the ruling family in Bahrain as Iran was ruling the region prior to that despite the long feudal history between Arabs and Persians.

\textsuperscript{11} Ajman is one of the seven emirates that form a federation of the United Arab Emirates
On the other hand, most Bahrainis are grateful to their rulers for securing their independence from Iran and preserving their independence and Arab identity. Most Sunni Bahrainis perceive Iran as a direct threat to Bahrain and believe that the 2011 unrest was orchestrated by Iran through its religious loyalists in Bahrain (BICI report, 2011). It is crucial that citizenship education addresses this matter clearly and that students are provided with teaching materials and approaches that give them opportunities to explore this critical matter and that the United Nations Findings Report becomes part of the citizenship education curriculum especially after the 2011 that left the society more divided than ever on fundamental historical issues and created a vacuum for contrasting interpretations of historical events and facts.

Sheikh Isa announced in June 1972 that the basis of the sheikhdom’s government was to be broadened and that elections were to be held for a constituent assembly. The constitution drawn up over the next six months and promulgated in June 1973 declared Bahrain to be Islamic state with the Sharia as the principal source of legislation. It provided for the setting up of a national assembly with legislative powers, consisting of thirty elected members and a council of ministers appointed by the ruler.

Despite the first article of the 1973 constitution stating that citizens have the right to vote, only adult, male Bahrainis were allowed to vote and stand for elections. This implies that women were not considered citizens as they were not allowed to vote or stand for election even though as stated in the UN Finding Report (1970) that Bahraini women were as active in their participation as men in asserting their opinion of Bahrain’s future.

The citizens shall have the right to participate in the public affairs of the State and enjoy political rights, beginning with the right to vote, in accordance with this Constitution and the conditions and procedures set forth in the law. (Bahrain Constitution 1973, article (1) e)

Political parties were forbidden so that candidates for the assembly had to stand as individuals. About a third of the 22 candidates elected in December 1972 were moderates with socialist leanings, consisting of fourteen Shia and eight Sunni (Kelly 1980; al-Naqqeb 1980).
Despite the Assembly members’ proportional representation of the population, not a single piece of legislation was passed for the duration of the 18 months until it was dissolved by the Emir when they refused to pass a draft of the internal security law. Upon the dissolving of the assembly, many of its members were exiled, and their supporters detained and tortured. The Public Security Law was enacted, which enabled the detention without trial for three years, and suspended many sections of the constitution regarding civil and political rights. Freedom of speech was non-existent and due to the massive numbers of political arrests, people were scared to speak against the government. Moreover, the education system reinforced this fear by discouraging the development of autonomy and emphasising values such as obedience, whether that is being obedient to the father, to the teacher, to the employer or to the political leader. This had the effect of hindering the successful construction of a civil society in Bahrain (al-Rumayhi 2008).

However, a Consultative Council was established in 1993 to provide advice and opinions on legislation proposed by the cabinet, and suggest new laws in certain cases. Unfortunately, Bahrain suffered from riots led by Shia clerics, backed by Iran, demanding parliament in the mid-nineties (Educational Documentation Section 2004; World Fact Book 2006). This resulted in casualties from both the opposition as well as the security forces and started a new era of sectarian tension that has grown since then more vividly and became a national worry, charged further by regional events, such as sectarian conflict after the Iraq War, and the tension around Iran’s nuclear ambitions.

Shortly after his succession in 1999, King Hamad began a process of national dialogue and consultation with the wider society about their concerns and aspirations for the future. He met with a series of Shia religious figures in their houses on a daily basis and with former exiles, journalists, religious leaders and civil society representatives to hear their concerns. In a gesture geared towards the opposition, the King pardoned a well-known and popular opposition figure convicted of inciting social disorder in July 1999. In order to show his genuine desire for reform and to widen his support base in society, the King pardoned all political opponents who were being held for their role in the unrest of the 1990s as well as the restoration of citizenship for exiles in order to allow them to return to Bahrain. Furthermore, the King championed a programme of democratic reform by establishing a committee to create a blueprint to move from a
hereditary emirate to a constitutional monarchy within two years, resulting in the National Action Charter. In the first comprehensive public vote in Bahrain since the 1970s, 98.4% of voters approved the charter. In February 2001, Sheikh Hamad pronounced Bahrain a constitutional monarchy and changed his status from Emir to king. That same month, King Hamad pardoned all political prisoners and detainees, including those who had been imprisoned, exiled or detained on security charges. He also abolished the State Security Law and the State Security Court. He announced that the first municipal elections since 1957 would be held in May 2002 and parliamentary elections in October 2002.

Despite the fact that four political societies, mainly Shia, organised a boycott to protest against the constitutional amendments enacted by the King that gave the appointed upper chamber of parliament voting rights equal to the elected lower chamber, turnout for the 2002 parliamentary elections was 53%. One of the main reasons that the opposition boycotted the 2002 parliamentary elections was the role of the appointed Shura Council which was seen as a step backward from the 1973 constitution with its regression to a unicameral national assembly from a bicameral assembly. However, Wright (2006) points out the reason behind this policy. He explains that King Hamad received opposition from within more conservative elements of the government, mainly stemming from the experience of the previous constitution and parliament in order to support the gradual development of democracy. As a conservative society made of different religious groups, it can be difficult for democratic principles to flourish and protect the rights of all citizens.

The historical contextual factor is crucial in affecting the citizenship education in Bahrain as aspects of history are enlisted, altered or omitted for the assumed benefit of the state and its people. Moreover, there are different historical discourses held by different groups in Bahrain which can be problematic in citizenship education curriculum content. The major factor influencing such differences is related to Iran’s historical claim on Bahrain prior to its revolution and rekindled through its expansionist ambitions in the region through its Welayat al Faqih system that emphasises religious affiliation over national identity. Therefore, citizenship education has to address a diverse conservative society that is comprised of different historical accounts and must be inclusive and provide a safe platform for discussion to all discourses.
2.3.3 Socio-political Structure

The socio-political structure in a country reinforces the values and traditions underpinning society and is the major influence on the direction and handling of legal, political, social and economic matters. The degree of influence of this factor is dependent on a number of variables, most notably, the size of the country and the type of the government (Kerr 1999). Kerr argues that changes to socio-political structure can have a major influence on the definition of, and approach to, citizenship education, “in particular, the response to current citizenship challenges such as national identity and social cohesion” (Kerr 1999, p. 5). Changes in socio-political structure have had, and continue to have, a profound effect on citizenship education. This is due to the increase of control over the education systems by the centralised government which started in Bahrain before independence in the early 19th century.

Bahrain is a small, highly centralised country which has been ruled by a dynasty for over two centuries. Nevertheless, it has a complex socio-political structure, with its mix of Arabs, Hawala, Baharnah and Ajam speaking communities. The main and official religion as stated in the 1973 constitution and the 2002 constitution is Islam with 98% Muslims of both Shia and Sunni citizens. The small indigenous Christian and Jewish communities make up the remaining 2% of the citizenry population. Roughly half of the foreign resident community are non-Muslim, and include Christians, Hindus, Buddhists and Sikhs. Arabic is the official language, with English widely spoken in businesses and taught as a foreign language in schools (Bahrain Central Information Organisation 2001). Persian is also widely spoken amongst nationals of Persian origins. Their cultural identity is preserved by a Persian school, and the use of a Persian language in their homes; and sometimes by the maintenance of family connections in their province of origin (Fischer 1980, p. 514).

The term Arab is loosely used in Bahrain to refer to anyone who is an indigenous Arabic-speaking Sunni, whether or not he or she has an Arab or Persian origin. However, there are also long-established communities of non-tribally descended Bahraini Sunni, who speak the same type of dialect as their tribally descended Arabs.

The Baharnah consider themselves Bahrain’s original inhabitants. In a manner familiar from elsewhere in Arabia, “they were stigmatised, as against those of 'tribal'
descendent, by association with certain occupations and ways of life. As late as the 1970s the following trades were still virtually the exclusive preserve of Baharnah communities: carpentry, agriculture, animal husbandry, green-grocery, fish selling, butchering, meat selling, and bread baking” (Cole 2005, p. 58).

In Bahrain until about twenty five years ago, there was an almost total residential separation of Sunni and Shia. The Arab lived exclusively in al-Hidd, al-Muharraq, Qalali, Busaytin, Jaw, Askar, Zallaq, al-Jisrah and Budayya, all coastal settlements which were once centres of the pearling industry, and in West and East Riffa in the centre of the island, near the ruler’s main palace, where many of them worked as retainers or in the military. Some of the older neighbourhoods of Manama, such as al-Fadil, al-Dhawadiah and al-Hoorah were also predominantly Sunni in population. The Shia were heavily concentrated in most of the older, central quarters of the original settlement of Manama - al-Mukhargah (literally the pearl-borers), al-Nu’em (a community of boat-builders), al-Hatab (firewood), al-Hammam (the public baths) - or in villages close by which over the last century or so have been absorbed by Manama, such as Ras Ruman (well-known for its seafarers). The bulk of the Shia population lived in about 60 scattered villages, several of which were centres for a particular craft such pottery (A’li) or weaving (Abu Saybi and Bani Jamrah). But in the main, the village economies depended on allotment farming, animal husbandry and palm cultivation until the 1960s, as the Arab communities had depended largely on pearl-diving until the mid 1930s (Cole 2005, p. 53).

Until very recently there was no intermarriage between the Sunni and Shia communities, and it is still relatively rare, even in the more liberal atmosphere of Manama. Each sect maintains its mosques, its own religious courts and, in the Shia case, mawatim (funeral houses), which serve not only as centres for mourning of Shia during Muharram (first month of the Islamic calendar), but also as places for the Shia religious education which is not provided by the government school system till the establishment of the Jaffari Institute in 2002.

It was clear from the voting return in 1972, at Bahrain’s first general election, that in constituencies where the population was predominantly Sunni, citizens voted overwhelmingly for Sunni candidates and in Shia constituencies they voted for Shia
candidates. In the last 40 years, the building of Isa Town, Hamad Town and other new
residential areas has had the effect of breaking down the previously almost apartheid-
like system of voluntary segregation. Moreover, the development of an industrial and
trading economy, as traditional neighbourhood and village-based occupations have
been all but wiped out, has brought the two communities together, at least publicly, in
the workplace. However, the Sunni and the Shia “still remain separate and distinct
threads in the warp and weft of Bahraini society and culture” (Cole 2005, p.60). Schools
selected in this study covered all areas in Bahrain, and the student population in each
shows demographical differences. Schools in Shia villages consisted mainly of Shia
students, whereas schools in Sunni Villages consisted of Sunni students. On the other
hand, new residential towns such as Hamad Town and Isa town, had both Sunni and
Shia students. Schools in the Capital and in Muharraq had Shia, Sunni and other
nationalities. On the other hand, the staff in all schools selected was a mixture of Sunni
and Shia Bahrainis as well as other nationalities. The diversity of the student and teacher
demography in these schools will reflect the perceptions of citizenship and citizenship
education held by the different groups in Bahraini society and that of the state.

Apart from a handful of well-to-do merchant families and senior government officials,
the most prominent and influential individuals among the Shia are the Mullahs, the
religious dignitaries. The previous al-Khalifa ruler, Sheikh Isa, made considerable
efforts to conciliate the Shia. He recognised, as did his father, that both the Shia mullahs
and the Sunni divines possess substantial authority in their respective communities, and
he was usually careful to consult them over questions of a politically sensitive nature.
Kelly describes the religious influence at that time as “an independent and
unpredictable force in Bahraini politics, one that is more likely to be exercised on the
side of extremism than it is on the that of moderation” (Kelly 1980, p. 182). Kelly’s
statement has crucial implications to the conceptions of citizenship in Bahrain, related
to this recognition of the two main communities within the society, Sunni community
and Shia community. These two communities are mostly led by religious clerics on the
one hand, and on the other hand, a state that is heavily influenced by post-colonial
British liberal common laws that influenced the constitution. As a result, the next
chapter will focus on the two main traditions of citizenship, liberal and communitarian,
to explore the conception of citizenship as a framework for this study.
Kumarasawamy (2006) explains that all Middle Eastern countries suffer from the inability to recognise, integrate, and reflect their ethno-cultural diversity. He claims that all of them have tried to impose an identity from above. Whether ideological, religious, dynastical, or power-centric, these attempts have invariably failed and have often resulted in schism and sectarian tensions. In the case of religious identity, Kumarasawamy argues that all of the Middle Eastern countries except for Turkey have opted for a religion-centric identity. He explains that all countries contain a large proportion of the religious ‘other’. Therefore, he concludes that any religion-centric identity is both exclusive and incomplete. Moreover he continues that most of the internal tensions and conflicts are due to their inability to accommodate the religious other. Kumarasawamy (2006) suggests a solution for the Middle Eastern countries that each state would have to recognise the need for and eventually evolve an inclusive identity. In many or most cases, such an identity, given the mix of populations, would not be exclusively “Arab” or “Islamic” but would require a lot of local variation and flexibility.

The above point is particularly valid in the Bahraini context, as the Constitution states the Muslim Arabic identity of the state in its first article (Constitution of Bahrain, 1973, 2002). Also, most of the recent opposition and uprisings highlighted sectarian tensions between the indigenous population of Shia and Sunni. Moreover, the large proportion of foreign workers that constitutes about half of the population (Central Statistics Organisation 2010) also needs to be acknowledged, especially with the naturalisation law which grants citizenship to other Arab nationalities and non-Arabs who lived in Bahrain for certain periods of time. These will have further implications for the national identity of the population that the state is emphasising in its official documents, that of an Arab Muslim nature yet at the same time acknowledges other religions such as the appointing of Jewish and Christian Bahrainis as ambassadors and members of the Shura Council. Moreover, freedom of religious worship and practice is granted in Bahrain through the vast number of places of worship such as churches, synagogues and temples that are spread across the country.

In the above historical account of Bahrain, different viewpoints and sources were used. Nevertheless, in contrast the historical account taught in schools in general and particularly in the Citizenship Education: Political System, the textbook used for this
study, is one that gives a positive image of the ruling family and words such as 'invade' are never used. Nevertheless, some Shia in the opposition consider al-Khalifa family as invaders as can be seen in their extremist websites and blogs\textsuperscript{12}. This historical aspect has serious significance for citizenship education. In particular, it has implications for the definition of citizenship and aspects such as identity, rights, responsibilities and dispositions. From the above, identity issues arise in relation to what makes a Bahraini, i.e. ethnicity, religion or the citizenship status. Moreover, the historical development of rights in Bahrain also has its importance in citizenship education that currently is not officially acknowledged. In addition, the responsibilities of citizens especially to the religious other are yet to be recognised in such in policy and in the practice of citizenship education.

\textbf{2.3.4 Economic System}

This factor is important at both the micro level of national economies and the macro level of moves to create larger supranational trading blocs, such as the European Union (EU), and international trade agreements, such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). It means that the micro is increasingly being influenced by the macro, thereby bringing a number of challenges to citizenship education. Many countries have to deal with the impact of the migration of workers, both invited and uninvited, across national borders. These challenges present a mixture of opportunity and threat. For example, for Europeans, the EU offers greater economic and political cohesion on the one hand, but threatens national identity and self-determination on the other (Kerr, 1999).

The Arab oil monarchies are usually referred to in local usage as “the Gulf”. Despite the differences between all six Gulf countries, they are treated as relatives by their neighbours and citizens. Those six countries formed the Gulf Co-operation Council, or GCC, in 1981. This council reinforces the shared position they hold and a set of common perspectives, due to their shared historical heritage and patterns of similarity between those countries. Oil discovery in the area strengthened that shared position.

\textsuperscript{12} These websites and blogs have extreme oppositional groups and show clear hatred towards the ruling family, Sunni as well as naturalised citizens. For example: http://www.bahrainonline.org/
Gulf States are rentier states, which means that as their governments receive substantial amounts of oil revenues from the outside world on a regular basis local taxes are not needed. The oil revenues are sufficient to provide for the ruling family and the rest of its citizens, thus taxation is not common in these countries. In addition, due to the high demand for labour, most of these countries have high dependency on foreign labour.

In 1965 a month-long uprising broke out after hundreds of workers at the Bahrain Petroleum Company were laid off. Then the dismissal of hundreds of workers sparked an uprising which showed the sophistication, militancy and mass support of the protestors, and the important role of organised labour in the struggle against British rule and for a more equitable social order. Parallel to this, the initiation and implementation of development plans in the Gulf states required large numbers of migrant workers of many nationalities. Much of the initial need was in construction, where many unskilled and semi-skilled workers were needed. Thus, Yemenis and Egyptians who were unskilled or semi-skilled continued to have easy access to the Gulf labour markets, but recently other migrants from areas outside the region began to stream in. Nationals were inadequate in number and education to meet the need of the labour market. As a result, migrant populations have grown recently to account for more than half of the population in Bahrain for the first time (CIO 2010).

There are commonly three circles of identity in Gulf society beyond that of *muwatin* or fellow citizen: *khaliji* or Gulf, then Arab, then *ajnabi* or foreigner. But the structures of privacy are almost in reverse order. The constraints of privacy beyond the 'mahram' (the little circle of non-marriageable kin) are everywhere strictest with those closest, and the net effect is a pattern of knowledge and exclusivity quite different from that of European racism for an example (Dresch, 2005, p.25). These layers of identity and belonging circles must be recognised and addressed in citizenship education, especially in controversial issues to address exclusivity of citizenship and as a result a clear conception of citizenship must be reached at policy level to decrease the gap between policy and practice in schools.

Magnus (1980) highlights the role and size of the immigrant population in the Gulf. He argues that there is understandable resentment among the immigrants. He explains that they keep a very low social and political profile because conditions are even worse
where they come from. However, as part of King Hamad Reform project that started with his succession to the throne, a lot of development has been made in this area and a new labour law was passed in September 2012 to overtake 1976 labour law that was outdated especially to correspond with international conventions that were ratified by the government of Bahrain in the last two decades. Moreover, unemployment rates went down as the government has initiated employment schemes. This development also addressed foreign labour living situations and developed policies that ensure their safety and living conditions. Nevertheless, as most of this foreign labour force work in construction, people call through their municipalities to allocate isolated accommodation areas for this group as most of these are single young men and point to social and criminal acts caused by these groups that live amongst Bahraini families.

Therefore, under the pressures of high numbers of foreigners and others, the importance of citizenship increases, and the line around the privileged status of 'citizen' or muwatin is drawn more tightly. Many outsiders to the Gulf see the foreign population marginalised and alienated by the indigenous population in spite of the fact that they often make up the majority of the labour force. On the other hand, many citizens feel a similar estrangement in their own labour market due to their mismatched skills and inability to secure work due to the saturation of the public sector and the reluctance of private sector employers to hire them. It has also exacerbated tensions between the indigenous population of different religious sects and this labour force as they are seen to overtake their job opportunities. This area is also important in the definition of citizenship and how inclusive or exclusive it is perceived.

2.3.5 Global Trends
Global trends related to citizenship and democracy have affected Arabian Gulf countries including Bahrain. These countries have become required to take actions in this direction, to build relations between its citizen and the state based on citizenship and democratic principles. As a result, they have started establishing democratic institutions such as parliament, Shura Councils and hold general elections and human rights commissions and allow civil societies to pursue their goals.
There is a growing awareness of the impact of what have been termed ‘civic mega
trends’ (Kennedy, 1997), that is developments that affect all countries. These stem from
the rapid pace of change in modern life which has brought about a reduction in the
perceived size of the planet. This has led to talk of the world as a ‘global village’, where
it is possible to communicate, trade, visit, live and often fight with other peoples and
places on a scale never before possible. These trends are presenting a number of
challenges to citizenship which are common to all countries.

Some conservative societies such Bahrain got wary of such global trends such as
globalisation in fear that these changes would affect their values, principles, customs
and heritage. These changes affected all aspects of life, economic, social-cultural and
political which affected the structure of its society and its stability. Therefore, Bahrain
as its neighbouring countries, resorted to the educational system as one of the most
influential social systems to prepare individuals for such challenges and preserve the
society’s values and traditions. As a result, Bahrain adopted a conception of citizenship
in a way to keep pace with international development of citizenship based on human
rights principles and democracy whilst emphasising local values of belonging and
heritage, ensuring that citizenship as a concept does not contradict Islamic principles
and teachings.

It can be argued that Arabian Gulf countries were more resistant to global trends in
relation to citizenship than other parts of the world that were affected by democratic
waves throughout the last decades, and that 2011 can be described as the third
democratic wave to affect the Arab world. However, it is evident that Arabian Gulf
countries are more resilient to such international influences even though their education
systems introduced attempts to adapt a citizenship education curriculum in line with the
global trend as early as 2002 for example in the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and
Oman. These attempts were influenced by Western literature through the use of
American and English curriculum policies and started to include new concepts of active
participation in citizenship instead of general historical and geographical topics listing
the state’s achievements and instilling patriotic feelings amongst its people. Moreover,
globalisation and economic crisis resulted in an increase in unemployment rates that
weakened the people’s trust in their governments. All these indicators show that the
patriarchal relation between the people of the Arabian Gulf and its governments will
inevitably transfer to one based on citizenship and participation to face such challenges and its citizens need to become responsible active citizens rather than recipients of rights given by their states that can no longer provide based on unstable oil revenues.

According to Wright (2006) the recent reforms in Bahrain are not the product of domestic or international pressures but they come from a generational change that is being driven by King Hamad. This is supported by two main facts, first is that upon his succession King Hamad’s security forces were more than equipped to handle any possible uprising enhanced by the islands’ small size; second, that the reforms started in 1999 before the September 11th 2001 attack in New York and Bush’s announcement to democratise the Middle East. However, regional changes such as the Iraqi occupation that was led by the United States of America and welcomed by Shia Iraqi at that period had a major impact on unrest led by Shia in Bahrain in the nineties. Sectarian violence is still present in Iraq despite claims of democratisation. And the establishment of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and its massacres is another proof for its failure to include everyone.

On another level, a threat to culture is found not only in flows of goods and images but in the number of foreigners who inhabit the Gulf itself, whether that be in the form of other Arab workers, domestic servants and Asian labourers. Dresch (2005, p. 6) explains that,

Celebrating tradition is seen as a way to defend local against the global influences. An appeal to exclusive culture, and to local values or principles such as those of family, is in part an assertion of autonomy in deploying claims and images that, abstracted from immediate context, belong to contradictory fields. The rulers’ claim to uphold both the privilege and the privacy of citizens has a populist appeal here at local level. Domestic order is aligned with a claimed continuity of local values, to be celebrated and defended- hence an imagery of force.

Therefore, governments have confined foreigners to camps or quarters to attract less attention, whilst providing a much needed work force. The street life in Gulf cities is often predominantly foreign, and the labour-force beyond government offices is almost wholly so, even in countries where citizens are a majority of the population, such as Bahrain. It is clear that without a significant foreign presence neither society nor
government would function (Dresch 2005). Nevertheless, resentment in Bahrain towards foreign workers accelerated over the past decade. This was due to the rise of unemployment amongst the young Bahraini, even though they would not take certain jobs themselves as they are seen degrading. This resentment was manifested in the first incident of the 1990s uprisings, as the riots targeted foreign workers (Marschall 2003).

Although some political analysts associated the unrest in February and March 2011 in Bahrain to the Arab Spring that started in Tunisia in early 2011, followed by Egypt, political reforms in Bahrain were welcomed by all segments of the society and a National Charter was voted for with a 98.4% more than ten years before these events took place. The majority of the Bahraini people went out in counter demonstrations to ascertain their position in favour of the political system and reject claims made by this group of protesters that demanded for the toppling of the regime, the same regime they had voted for and were elected in as members of parliament. These were the same group that led the disturbances in the 1990s to resurrect in the form of a sectarian movement to topple the Bahraini regime and “forming a religious state that follows a neighbouring sectarian and religious system” (Bahrain Jurists Association 2011). The violence and vandalism movements adopted the idea of overthrowing the regime in Bahrain and tried to take advantage of the revolutions that erupted there to execute their plan under the veil of democratic demands. What negates their democratic demands is that the same group, led by al-Wefaq Islamic Society, are against the development of women’s rights and is formed only by Shia members that belong to the largest Shia branch referred to as Twelvers, which is derived from their belief in twelve divine leaders. Therefore, not all Shia in Bahrain belong to this group that transcends Bahrain borders and aim to form an Islamic Republic similar to Iran, as they announced during the unrest. Therefore, regional trends are very relevant to citizenship education and how it is defined and approached. This can be contributed to expansion ambitions of neighbouring countries that aim to impose their ideologies in the region through supporting particular groups in Bahrain by enforcing loyalties based on religious affiliation which is growing in the region, for example, Hizbu Allah in Southern Lebanon, in Iraq and most recently in Yemen.
From the above broad contextual factors, citizenship education in Bahrain is certain to have tensions in its policy and practice because all these factors as explored above have potential tensions and controversy in a diverse society that is inexperienced with democracy and entrenched with cultural and religious beliefs that guide its lifestyle. In addition historical accounts seem to differ between different groups of society which complicate the prospect of an agreed narrative being introduced by citizenship education.

2.4 Detailed Structural Factors

According to Kerr, the above broad contextual factors in turn influence the nature of a number of detailed structural factors concerning the organisation of the system of government and education in each country. Kerr (1999) argues that those factors not only have an impact on the definition and approach to citizenship education but also on the size of the gap between the rhetoric of policy (what is intended) and the practice (what actually happens) in citizenship education.

Those structural factors are:

- Organisation of, responsibilities for, education
- Educational values and aims, and
- Funding and regularity arrangements.

2.4.1 Organisation of, Responsibilities for, Education

According to Kerr (1999), how education is organised and how responsibilities are held and delegated by governments within education within education systems is an important structural factor. In Bahrain education is highly centralised and citizenship education was introduced in 2005 as a statutory subject. Formal education in Bahrain started in 1919 with the first boys’ school and later the first girls’ school opened in 1928. The educational ladder in figure 2 explains the current structure of the education system in Bahrain. In relation to the education system management, the Ministry of Education is responsible for the education administration and schools’ administration is run under the MOE’s umbrella. As seen in figure 2, the education system in Bahrain comprises of the following:
Pre-school Education
The pre-primary stage, namely nurseries and kindergartens, is outside the educational ladder and is run by the private sector under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs for nurseries and the Ministry of Education for kindergartens.

Basic Education
Basic education is divided into two stages: Primary education includes the first two cycles of basic education. It lasts six years and caters to children aged 6-11. In the first three grades (first cycle) a class-teacher system is applied, according to which all subjects are taught by one teacher with the exception of English language, design and technology, physical education and music education. In the second cycle (Grades 4-6) an associate class-teacher system is applied: two teachers, one for Arabic language, Islamic religion, and social studies; and the other for mathematics and sciences.

Education in this stage is not co-educational; i.e. there are separate schools for boys and girls with teaching staff of the same gender. However, according to the 2003/2004 statistics there were 31 primary schools for boys managed by women and boys were taught by women teachers due to male teacher shortage at this stage.

The intermediate stage is considered as an extension and support for the primary stage, and foundation for secondary education. It is the third and last cycle of basic education and includes the 12-14 age groups, which lasts three years. The subject-teacher system is applied here, according to which each subject is taught by a specialised and educationally qualified teacher. Schools are not co-educational, i.e. there are separate establishments for boys and girls.

The syllabi for the first and second cycles of basic education (primary level) include the following compulsory core subjects: religious education, Arabic language, English language, physical education, family-life education, fine arts, songs and music. Alongside the above-mentioned subjects and with the exception of songs and music, the syllabi for the third cycle of basic education (intermediate level) include practical studies, such as: pottery, printing, textile work, agriculture, metal work, carpentry, etc.
Secondary Education
This stage is complementary to basic education. It prepares students for entry to universities, higher institutes or the labour market. It lasts for three years divided into six semesters of three levels. Entry is conditional on obtaining the Intermediate School Certificate or its equivalent. The daily timetable consists of six periods of fifty minutes each in all secondary schools. A credit-hours system is applied in this stage and was generalised in 1994/95. A student has a choice to pursue different curricula: scientific, literary, commercial, applied or technical. Within the applied curricula track, there are five branches: agriculture and livestock resources (for boys only); printing (for boys only); textile and clothing (for girls only); graphic design (for girls only); and hotel management (for boys only). Depending on the common courses, students may change tracks among more than one specialisation. A total of 156 credit hours is needed to graduate for all tracks except technical, where a total of 180 credit hours is required (one credit hour is equivalent to fifteen periods). The system enables students to choose any of the tracks shown in figure 2. At the end of secondary stage, the student is awarded General Secondary School Certificate in the track of his/her choice after having passed the examinations held the Kingdom level. A new unified track has been implemented at this stage.

![Figure 2.2 Bahrain Education ladder from www.moe.gov.bh](image)

Religious Education
Religious education is provided for boys only in a specialised institute under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. As shown in figure 2, the institute adopts the
same trends of basic and general secondary education schools but it focuses on religious and Islamic studies aiming at the preparation of men with an appropriate background and knowledge in Islamic religion affairs. On completion of their studies in the institute students obtain a certificate of General Secondary Education (Religious Branch).

In the light of the development of religious education, a Jaffari Religious Institute was inaugurated in 2002/2003. It started with six classes for first grade. The curriculum in this institute is similar to the one applied in public primary schools, except for the Islamic education, where an Islamic law (Sharia) according to the Jaffari doctrine has been added.

2.4.2 Educational Values and Aims
According to Kerr, how countries express their values has a marked influence on the definition of, and approach to, citizenship education. In Kerr’s study countries were grouped into three categories according to the degree of detail with which national values are expressed in education legislation. Bahrain would fit in the third category with national values expressed in detail with its highly centralised system as it lists very detailed aims and clear educational and social values. According to Kerr, one of the major tensions countries face in approaching citizenship education is the extent to which it is possible to identify and articulate the values that underpin citizenship education. This question is particularly important in the teaching of controversial issues in citizenship education, whether citizenship education takes a neutral stance to values and controversial issues, leaving the decision on values to individual teachers and students or whether the state determines these values and imposes them in the curriculum.

In relation to educational aims, Kerr found that most countries specify the promotion of citizenship as a fundamental national aim of education. However, there is considerable variation as to how this aim is translated into policy and practice. The educational policy of the MOE in the Kingdom of Bahrain adopts the principle of equality of opportunity, ensuring education for all in pursuit and equality for all citizens. This is inspired by the constitution which accords great attention to building the Bahraini society. Article (4) of Part II of the constitution deals with the fundamental
components of the society, and establishes the principles of justice, freedom, equality, 
education, security, solidarity and equality of opportunity in all fields.

Equality between Bahrainis and non-Bahrainis is also ensured in regards to enrolment 
in government schools. All educational stages are accessible to both sexes. Government 
schools are not co-educational. However, textbooks, teaching methods, educational 
media and examination systems are the same in all schools. Also, the Ministry has 
integrated children with special needs (e.g. Down’s syndrome children) to general 
schools.

2.4.3 Funding and Regularity Arrangements
Kerr’s study found that differences in educational funding arrangements and how 
countries regulate their curriculum and assessment frameworks can also have powerful 
impact on citizenship education. In Bahrain, school funding is regulated and controlled 
directly by the ministry of education. Therefore, the teaching of citizenship education 
is highly controlled by the government as authorised textbooks are written and printed 
to all schools and inspection is used to ensure schools comply with curricular and 
assessment expectations. This is in keeping with other countries and speaks to the very 
nature of citizenship education.

2.5 Events of February 2011
As mentioned earlier, Bahrain witnessed waves of unrest through its modern history. 
However, the demography of those participating in the 80s, 90s and most recent in 
2011, differs from previous ones. The recent ones constituted mostly of Shia 
demonstrators and these incidents were labelled as coup attempts rather than national 
uprisings, as evidence associated them with the Islamic Republic of Iran, which was 
announced in 1979 following the Islamic revolution.

The latest elections in Bahrain were held October 2010. These elections witnessed a 
huge success for the largest Shia opposition Al-Wefaq National Islamic Society, 
granting them all 18 seats they ran for out of the 40 seats in the House of 
Representatives. Many political analysts contributed Al-Wefaq’s remarkable success to 
win all seats they ran for to a list they published ‘faith list’ in those constituencies that 
included the names of 18 of its members to be voted for in the elections and was blessed
by the society’s spiritual leader Ayatollah\textsuperscript{13} Sheikh Isa Qassim\textsuperscript{14}. Al Wefaq also launched a big campaign against the government’s proposal to issue a family law that would protect the rights of women. In 2004 street protests led by followers of conservative Shia scholar Isa Qassim had forced the government to call off a campaign in support of the new family law. Khalil Marzooq, spokesperson of the largest Shia bloc Al Wefaq and deputy secretary general of the society, that was behind the shelving of the Shia chapter, claimed that the draft law clashed with Islamic Shariah principles\textsuperscript{15}.

In the next sections, narratives of what happened in Bahrain in February and March 2011 is given as documented by the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry\textsuperscript{16} (BICI) which was established on 29th June 2011 pursuant to Royal Order No. 28 by His Majesty King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa. It is significant to highlight that the creation of this commission was the product of internal decision-making and not by external mandate as usually the case. Its mission was to establish the facts in Bahrain’s events, by hearing statements from all sides, document facts and monitor any violations with those detained. The commission presented a detailed 500-page report, containing all remarks and observations from all sides. It concluded that the events did not warrant such crisis. However, it presented a number of recommendations, particularly; raising freedoms ceiling, curbing sectarianism and discrimination, the reform of official information authority, the consolidation of dialogue and mutual understanding, compensating the victims and families of those who died in the events, numbering 35, including 26 civilians, 5 security men and 4 foreigners (BICI report, 2011).

In June 2012, the BBC Board of Trustees\textsuperscript{17} admitted in a report about the channel’s coverage of the Arab Spring that the channel’s coverage of events in Bahrain did not succeed in understanding the complexities of events and dimensions sectarianism as it did not focus enough to highlight the views and motives of the parties supporting the government. The report said that the media coverage of the BBC improved in terms of

\textsuperscript{13} Ayatollah means sign of God, and it is a high ranking title given to Usuli Twelver Shia Clerics by Iran supreme leader and it is the highest rank for this sect in Bahrain.

\textsuperscript{14} Sheikh Isa Qassim ran for parliament in 1973 and as a member of parliament was strongly against women working

\textsuperscript{15} For more information read an article on http://www.ipsnews.net/2009/06/religion-new-family-law-for-sunni-women-in-bahrain-not-for-shiites/

\textsuperscript{16} Full report (503 pages) can be found on official website http://www.bici.org.bh/

\textsuperscript{17} The guardian of licence fee revenue and of the public interest in the BBC. (http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/).
neutrality and familiarity with the complexities of events and dimensions after repeated visits by the journalist Frank Gardner\textsuperscript{18} to Bahrain which began on April 2011. Gardner contributed in providing media coverage including in-depth understanding of other aspects of the events. The report acknowledged that the coverage of the events of Bahrain was not balanced until April 2011, which raised several criticisms against the news station (BBC trust report, 2012). For more descriptive details see appendix 1.

From the above narrative, it is clear that Bahraimi society suffers deep tensions whether between Sunni and Shia citizens or Shia and expatriates and naturalised citizens. Although the events of 2011 took place after the study was conducted and analysed, they present serious challenges to citizenship education policy and practice. Citizenship education needs to be redefined starting from acknowledging the serious challenges in schools pre- and post- 2011. These challenges then need to be addressed one by one in order to review the aims of citizenship education and evaluate the current policy document and its reflection in the textbook. Moreover, teachers and school staff need to be prepared to teach the subject and their views of citizenship concepts challenged. Although other factors involved in such magnitude, especially the religious and local community factors, education remains a reformist tool that empowers people to make better life choices. Therefore, better links need to be forged between ministry of education and local community religious and non-religious leaders in order to develop a meaningful citizenship education curriculum that is relevant and accepted by the majority of Bahraimi society.

\section*{2.6 Conclusion}

This chapter discussed a number of factors that impact citizenship education in Bahrain including geographic, historical, economic, political and demographic issues. Owing to its strategic location and small size, Bahrain has been subjected to foreign influence that shaped its development and ethnic and religious makeup. The indigenous population of Bahrain is made up of Arab and Persian Muslims of different sects, mainly Sunni and Shia. The Shia population and the Persian ethnic Bahrainis share religious and ethnic links with Iran respectively. These, added with the grievances of discrimination, real or perceived, these groups feel towards the ruling class, puts their

\textsuperscript{18}British Journalist sent to Bahrain during the events. He is currently the BBC’s Security Correspondent.
loyalty in question which in turn impacts belongingness and citizenship issues. Migrants and foreign workers make up the other major portion of the Bahraini population. Despite their significant numbers, migrant workers both Arabs and non-Arabs feel marginalised and as a result, it becomes natural for them to retain the sense of belonging to the nation and region that they have left behind. This creates a challenge in integration in general, and citizenship education in particular.

The economic disparity in Bahrain cannot be viewed in isolation as it also reflects ethnic and religious division. Many of these grievances that still resonate today are mixed between political representation and wealth distribution. Building a national identity under such divisions is clearly as challenging as it is imperative. Changes in socio-political structure have had, and continue to have, a profound effect on citizenship education. In conclusion, citizenship education is a highly contextual subject and therefore all the broad and detailed factors discussed above influence directly or indirectly its policy and practice. As a result these factors should be studied and analysed thoroughly by policymakers and educators in order to avoid possible tensions in policy and decrease the gap between policy and practice. Policy must be edited and reedited and it has to be tailor-made to Bahrain’s context rather than copied and pasted from other countries’ policy documents, especially those that differ completely from Bahrain’s culture and education system. In the next chapter, the theoretical framework will explore liberal and communitarian interpretations of citizenship and citizenship education and how their differences have significant influence on the subject aims and outcomes.
Chapter 3: Continuum of Citizenship

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two provided the context and background for citizenship education in Bahrain using the broad and detailed contextual factors identified in Kerr’s thematic study of citizenship education (1999). This chapter examines the two main theories of citizenship in Western literature, liberalism and communitarianism, to establish a theoretical framework for this study that looks at citizenship education in Bahrain which was heavily based on English and American curriculum policies. Although citizenship education has been widely researched in the West, much less has been written about the applicability of these approaches in non-Western and postcolonial contexts such as Bahrain. Steiner-Khamsi (2002, p.202) describes this practice as a “new phenomenon of educational transfer” and explains that for a variety of political or economic reasons, policymakers borrow civic education programmes from other educational systems assuming that they all share a similar political culture. In the previous chapter, the particularity of Bahraini context was shown with special focus on the socio-political structure to emphasise how citizenship definition and citizenship education approach differs from one context to another and a transfer of educational policy especially in the field of citizenship is bound to have its shortcomings both in policy and practice. As Kerr (1999, p.3) argues that what works in one context cannot simply be transported to another and if approaches and programmes in citizenship education could be readily transported from one country to another, they “would only succeed if they took due to account of the unique historical, cultural and social traditions of the new context”. He explains that careful adaptation rather than wholesale adoption should be the watchword and that this applies whether at national, regional, local, school or individual classroom level.

McLaughlin (1992) assumes that teaching a contested concept such as citizenship is a complex issue to any country with its particular historical, economic and socio-political context and entails a need for “a wide ranging and informed national debate, to establish as far as possible a degree of agreement, about the ‘public virtues’ and the ‘common good’ and about how ‘citizenship’ and ‘education for citizenship’ are to be understood” (McLaughlin, 1992, p.244). Although a national conference was held in April 2002 in
Bahrain in cooperation between Bahrain Ministry of Education and the British Council in Bahrain, the policy that was developed relied heavily on the English model for citizenship education that was advocated by the Citizenship Foundation during a policy seminar. A year later, in October 2003, a Citizenship Foundation team delivered a week-long training programme in Bahrain to over 100 primary and secondary teachers. The course covered discussion-based pedagogical approaches, whole school citizenship and examples of effective resources, and was designed to enable attendees in turn to train further teachers in their locality (Citizenship Foundation Annual Review 2002/3). As a result of the Citizenship Foundation’s policy seminar and training programme of Bahraini policymakers, Bahraini citizenship education policy was heavily influenced by the new English citizenship education policy despite attempts to localise the policy.

Therefore, it can be assumed that a liberal based curriculum policy that was written to address liberal democratic English society’s needs, would cause tensions to a communitarian society that was under British protection since 1880, and got its independence less than four decades ago, and continues to be threatened by a neighbouring theocratic regime, Iran, which has been trying to export its revolution in the region especially in countries with Shia populations, such as Bahrain. Moreover, the colonial relation of Bahrain to England would entail an exploration of the possible postcolonial praxis on conceptions of citizenship in Bahrain and the continued dependency of the state on its former ‘Protector’.

The particular focus of this study was the introduction of a new citizenship education subject in secondary schools in Bahrain. Western literature was used to explore conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education in Bahrain as the new citizenship education policy was guided by Western (British and American) policies of citizenship education, due to the dominance and relevance of these two traditions in citizenship education debates in Western literature. For the purpose of this research, these two dominant traditions are reviewed in relation to citizenship education in Bahrain.

---

19 Citizenship Foundation is a British registered charity supported by the Law Society and the Cabinet Office’s Office for Civil Society. It was established in 1989 and lobbied with others for the inclusion of citizenship on the National Curriculum. Its work is recognised both nationally and internationally. For more see [http://www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk/](http://www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk/)
According to Delany (2000, p. 9) “citizenship as a membership of a political community involves a set of relationships between rights, duties, participation and identity”, where the emphasis lies between these four components of citizenship defines the different traditions in modern social and political thought. This is summarised as:

The liberal tradition, in both its right- and left- wing forms, has principally emphasised citizenship in terms of rights; the conservative tradition has stressed the duties or responsibilities of citizenship; the republican and communitarian traditions have given centrality to participation; while identity has been the core idea in nationalist-inclined conceptions of citizenship, as well as in some communitarian theories (Delany 2000, p. 10).

In this chapter, conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education are explored using liberal and communitarian theories of citizenship in relation to citizenship education in Bahrain to analyse whether there are tensions within policy and practice related to Bahraini contextual factors. I argue that citizenship education policy in Bahrain was influenced heavily by a citizenship education policy that was tailored for a Western social democratic liberal context, which would entail the application of liberal democratic concepts in a non-liberal very young democratic society, with socio-political tensions. Therefore, its implementation in a postcolonial oil-economic communitarian context would create conceptual tensions amongst policymakers that would lead to further tensions in policy documents and challenges in schools.

Moreover, England being a former imperial power, and Bahrain a protectorate of Great Britain until its independence in 1971, indicates the huge differences in contextual factors between those two countries and how postcolonialism can explain the conceptual tensions that may arise. Therefore, I argue that using English citizenship education policy as a primary reference for developing Bahraini citizenship education policy would have a negative outcome on the intended aims of Bahrain’s citizenship education and will cause further gap between policy and practice. For instance, many Western governments introduced citizenship education programmes underpinned by the belief that young people have become disengaged with politics, and therefore aim to develop active citizens. On the other hand, in Bahrain for example, citizenship education was introduced as part of King Hamad Reform Project as mentioned in the previous chapter, which was launched in 2000 as an initiative by his majesty the King.
to address socio-political challenges that occurred in the mid-nineties and left the society fragmented. Citizenship education as one initiative of this reform project was introduced as an educational tool to address such challenges and raise solidarity and belonging and loyalty to the state and its leadership. Due to the sectarian nature of the unrest in the mid-nineties, which consisted mainly of Shia with religious affiliation to Iran, matters of belonging and loyalty to the state and its leadership were at the forefront of introducing this subject. Moreover, as a global trend and in line with international organisations such as UNESCO and United Nations treaties such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, democracy and human rights concepts, the state was required and encouraged to address such topics in formal education. As a result, both liberal and communitarian conceptions of citizenship need to be explored in this thesis to address local and external demands for the teaching of citizenship education in Bahrain. The next section will explore the two theories of citizenship.

3.2 Liberal Theory of Citizenship

Liberal theory can be divided into two forms. The first, classical liberalism, is associated with John Locke with its emphasis on religious tolerance and individual freedom, and with the economic writings of Adam Smith, with its emphasis on market capitalism and minimum state control. The second, contemporary liberalism, has a more mixed pedigree, but it emphasises the well-being of the individual and allows that there are times when an activist state may be needed to advance that goal. This form is associated with the political writings of John Stuart Mill, John Dewey, and John Rawls, and with the economic writings of John Meynard Keynes (Feinberg & McDonough 2003). Both forms give priority to securing the conditions of individual liberty but differ in the degree of state intervention which best serve that goal. Feinberg & McDonough (2003), on the other hand, argue that there is a third form of liberalism and it is what they call affiliation liberalism.

Affiliation liberals acknowledge the culturally embedded self, but reject the communitarian conclusion that individual flourishing depends on permanent loyalty to one’s primary group. Rather, affiliation liberals allow that individual flourishing takes place within a cultural context, and they conclude that when such support is threatened the state may have a responsibility to provide special protection to certain collective formations, be they cultural, religious, or national, from temptations that the larger society allows
individual members to choose in ways that weaken solidarity (Feinberg & McDonough 2003, p.5).

Liberalism emphasises the importance of rights and freedoms in helping individuals to develop their potential by escaping the limits of social status, traditional roles and fixed identities. Citizens are free to choose their own identities and loyalties. They can find fulfilment in choosing their own destiny irrespective of family or cultural pressures. Liberalism allows citizens independently to pursue private affairs and accumulation of wealth. In this respect, the concept of liberal citizenship is linked to capitalism as an economic concept, making liberal citizenship a political expression of capitalism.

Liberal citizenship is much less demanding of the individual than other citizenship traditions such as communitarian citizenship. It focuses on the state's obligation to protect citizens' rights, with minimal interference in the private sphere. Citizens are under no obligation to participate in the public arena if they do not wish to. Nor have they any responsibilities towards their fellow citizens. In exchange for the protection of their rights by the state, citizens have limited duties to perform, mainly the payment of taxes. However, citizens are to respect others’ preferences even if they disagree with them.

Citizenship is seen as possibility. Citizens are free to choose their own identities and loyalties. They can find fulfilment in choosing their own destiny irrespective of family or cultural pressures (Osler 2005, p. 17).

Bahrain as a former Protectorate of Great Britain, was influenced indirectly by liberal concepts in its 1973 constitution which was based on English Common Law. It constitutes a list of rights that are granted to its citizens such as housing, free education and health provision without any listed duties such as the payment of taxes due to oil revenues. Moreover, as mentioned in the contextual chapter, during British Protection and beyond, people of Bahrain went through a number of political movements demanding more rights and authority over running their own lives. Most of their demands were concerned with political rights rather than civil rights. For example, state neutrality in matters of private life was challenged by Shia members of parliament in 1973 and demands were made to forbid women from public life, such as separation of men and women in all public institutions.
One of the main principles of liberalism is neutrality. The principle of state neutrality in decision- and policymaking is based on the premise that policies are not pursued to favour some individuals over others. Liberalism acknowledges that there are a variety of conceptions of the good life in modern society and that pluralism and disagreement are seen as justification of the neutrality of the state. The state can make policy decisions as long as they are not made with a presumption of a superiority of a particular view of human flourishing over others held in society. Therefore, state neutrality is a political ideal that governs public relations between individuals and the state and not the private relations between individuals and other institutions. Public education policies must be neutral but other institutions such as mosques and mawatem (funeral houses for Shia) need not be neutral. For example, the teaching of one denomination of religion in a school that is attended by pupils from more than one denomination as well as pupils from other religions is a non-neutral policy from the perspective of the excluded community. However, policymakers in Bahrain argue that what is taught in Bahraini public schools is general teachings of Islam as the largest denomination of Islam and are derived from the teachings of Prophet Mohammed peace be upon him. Nevertheless, many parents of different religious affiliation to the one adopted by the state choose to take their children to after school religious institutions to learn more about their specific denomination as some of them feel their faith is not acknowledged by the state. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a large proportion of Shia in Bahrain follow the Twelver sect which is the official state religion of Iran and their highest religious leader in Bahrain, is appointed by the Supreme Leader, the Commander in Chief of the armed forces of Iran himself. This can lead to the precedence of religious identity in this group over their national identity.

In a critique of liberal neutrality, Walzer (1990) makes the following argument:

The standard liberal argument for neutrality is an induction from social fragmentation. Since dissociated individuals will never agree on the good life, the state must allow them to live as they think best, subject only to John Stuart Mill’s harm principle, without endorsing or sponsoring any particular understanding of what ‘best’ means (Walzer 1990, p. 16).

Walzer (1990) argues that the above creates a problem in that individuals becoming more dissociated, making the state stronger, as it will be the only or the most important
social union, leading to the membership in the state being the only good that is shared by all individuals. This criticism can actually stand as a defence of liberalism, at least from a Bahraini perspective, where citizens may share an identity as Bahrainis but in a thin form of citizenship and possibly a cosmopolitan one. It is for the benefit of all citizens that they unite as citizens of the world or at least their country rather than religious or ethnic identities due to the diverse demographic nature of the population and associated loyalty issues that undermine the state and social cohesion. I argue that one of the main reasons for sectarian tensions in Bahrain is lack of a defined Bahraini identity that is inclusive and accepted by all Bahrainis, that acknowledges multiple identity affiliations unified by citizenship identity. Although Bahrain is ruled by a Sunni dynasty for over two centuries, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the ruling family involved religious clerics of both Sunni and Shia in the running of the country, thereby acknowledged the importance of the established religious communities. For example, Shia as a community, in Bahrain have been given financial support and administrative in running their religious institutions, for example during Ashura as stated earlier. For the past two centuries, Bahrain has been ruled as a civic state except for family law where separate Sharia courts were established to look into these cases. Regardless of the percentage of Shia and Sunni in Bahrain, a state should not be ruled by denominational laws as religion should be a private rather than a public matter. However, this view would be rejected by religious leaders and clerics as they have been involved heavily in politics, putting religion at the forefront of public life.

Walzer (1990) claims that liberalism is distinguished by the freedom to leave social groups and sometimes even social identities behind rather than by the freedom to form groups on the basis of these identities. Walzer argues that association is always at risk in a liberal society. As a result Walzer (1990) suggests that to save these groups from extinction, the state, if it is to remain a liberal state, must endorse and sponsor some of them, namely, those that seem most likely to provide shapes and purposes congenial to the shared values of a liberal society. He explains that this can be done in different ways such as the use of tax exemption and grants to enable different religious groups and others to run programmes of welfare.

Yet, if a liberal state is to use such a method it would no longer be defined liberal and eventually may turn into an authoritative communitarian one. Association that is based
on excluding the other is not a goal of liberalism and therefore a liberal state should not fund such groups as they tend to be exclusive in membership. In Bahrain, as explained in the previous chapter, the population is diverse and the state's objective is to continue nation-building and avoid internal conflict and disharmony by promoting social cohesion and unity especially amongst the two dominant groups Shia and Sunni.

One persistent criticism of Rawls’ theory is that it is excessively individualistic, neglecting the way that individual values are formed in social contexts and pursued through communal attachments (Kymlicka, 1998). In response to this critique, whilst acknowledging the influence of social context on forming individual values, especially that many values and identities are enforced on individuals directly or indirectly through communal attachments at a younger age; liberal theory gives those individuals the freedom to rethink those values and decide for themselves regardless of their social context and communities’ values. Liberal theory encourages the individual to be free from dependence on the will of others including any relations with others, except those relations which individuals enter into voluntarily. Another critique holds that liberal theory radically misrepresents real life as human beings are social creatures. Indeed the following critique of liberalism is given in the form of questions by a communitarian theorist.

How can any group of people be strangers to one another when each member of the group is born with parents, and when these parents have friends, relatives, neighbours, comrades at work, coreligionists, and fellow citizens, connections which are not so much chosen as passed on and inherited? (Walzer 1990, p. 10).

Liberalism does not claim that individuals live in a vacuum. It does acknowledge familial and communal attachments, yet it negates precedence of communal interests over individual interests. Classical and contemporary forms of liberalism intend to lift the individual above the constraints of family or cultural background and therefore education was the device to achieve this goal. According to liberal theory, citizenship requires autonomy. Kymlicka gives a definition of autonomy in the following extract:

Autonomy is the capacity to rationally reflect on, and potentially revise, our conceptions of the good life. An autonomous person is capable of reflecting on her current ends, and assessing whether they are worthy of her continued allegiance (Kymlicka 1999, p. 24).
With regard to citizenship education in Bahrain, Halstead’s summary of the aims of an Islamic education contradicts this liberal principle:

The aim of education in Islam … is to provide children with positive guidance which will help them to grow into good adults who will lead happy and fruitful lives in this world and who will aspire to achieve the reward of the faithful in the world to come. The goodness of human beings lies in their willingness to allow the whole of their lives to be governed by Islamic principles. There is no question of individuals being encouraged through education to work out for themselves their own religious faith, or to subject it to detached rational investigation at a fundamental level. The divine revelation systematized in the Sharia (Islamic law) provides them with the requisite knowledge of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and the task of individuals is to come to understand this knowledge and exercise their free will to choose which path to follow (Halstead, 1990, pp. 4-5).

It is argued that Muslim community does not favour autonomy. On the contrary it is seen as a sign of rebellion. It is the Islamic community’s aim to pass its values and beliefs as the true faith to the next generation without being subject to critical scrutiny or rejection (Archard 2003; Halstead, 1992). One of the reasons why citizenship education in the Bahraini context cannot simply adopt liberal values such as autonomy entirely is because the state and the majority of the society share the above understanding of Islam. Starting from their families and later in school, children are taught not to question and take whatever is given to them as the ultimate truth. This starts from a religious perspective and is then generalised into other domains of life, which explains the use of this particular theoretical framework for this thesis.

Banks (2004, p 13) argues for a citizenship education that "will be perceived by all students within the nation-state as being in the broad public interest". He claims that only such a curriculum will promote national unity as well as reflect the diverse cultures within a nation-state. Moreover, if citizenship education in Bahrain is to be a liberal education, it has to either acknowledge all the different communities living in Bahrain as mentioned in the previous chapter, by teaching pupils about each community's culture or else it should not teach about any culture at all. Careful consideration must be given to the nature and consequences of multicultural perspectives particularly within citizenship education where issues of identity and belonging are central components.
Despite the fact that citizenship education in Bahrain teaches about human rights and democracy, they will not be fully learnt unless liberal principles are fully embedded in such a curriculum and in school practices. Otherwise, these lessons would be recited by pupils in a rote learning way to pass a written exam and all forgotten about after that.

3.3 Communitarian Theory of Citizenship
Modern Communitarianism began as a critique of John Rawls' book A Theory of Justice (1971). This was led by four philosophers: Alasdair MacIntyre, Michael Sandel, Charles Taylor and Michael Walzer. Unlike liberalism, communitarianism emphasises obligations and identity rather than rights. Community is central and therefore comes before the individual.

The second wave of modern communitarians led by Amitai Etzioni differ from the ones above in some respects. The first group are usually labelled by other thinkers as communitarians and do not see themselves as such. However, they do share a tendency towards anti-individualism that disqualifies them from being liberals. Etzioni argues that since the middle of the nineteenth century, much of the normative debate in the West focused on the merit of the free market versus the role of the state in securing the citizens’ wellbeing. On the other hand, he explains that communitarians focused on the third leg of the ‘stool’ of social life that of the civic society, which is neither state nor market (Etzioni 2004, p. 8). Olssen (1998) explains that communitarianism is commonly used to refer to a philosophical viewpoint that can be distinguished from liberal school of thought (rights theories, utilitarianism, Rawlsianism) on a number of dimensions. What is distinctive about Communitarianism is the rejection of individualism and contractualism. Delanty [15] (2000) argues that "it is this move from ‘contract to community’ that marks it off not only from liberalism, but also from social democracy" (Delanty 2000, p.24).

In communitarian theory, citizenship is derived from an individual's sense of identity and belonging to a community. The difficulty of this view lies in assuming that an individual has one defined identity and presumes that he/she feels a sense of belonging to that identity. This can be noticed in comments made by some individuals who
identify themselves as solely humans and refuse to be associated with other forms of cultural identities.

Communitarian theories of citizenship strongly emphasise the fact that being a citizen involves belonging to a historically developed community. Whatever individuality the citizen has is derived from and limited by the community. In this vision, the citizen acts responsibly when he or she stays within the limits of what is acceptable to the community. This is a difficult concept for liberals to digest, as it seems authoritarian and oppressive of civil rights. However, such a view predominates in Bahrain, where for example homosexuality is not accepted by the national community and any related incidents are denied to exist. In general most issues that are not in line with community values are brushed under the carpet and if confronted, endless excuses and accusations are made to blame the West of exporting such phenomenon that are allegedly alien to the community.

In short, Communitarianism is a social philosophy that maintains that society should articulate what is good. In contrast to liberalism, where the philosophical position is such that the individual should formulate the good on his/her own, communitarians examine the ways shared conceptions of the good are formed, justified and enforced. (Etzioni 2003, p. 224). The majority of communitarians have adopted the 'common good' as a central theme in their movement and by it they mean that individual citizens and voluntary groupings of individuals should make specific contributions to the common welfare of society. They also believe that individuals should be prepared to associate with others in order to promote private interests which the whole community holds in common (Arthur 1999, p. 81).

In contrast with Rawls, and other liberal thinkers, communitarians place a greater emphasis on the 'common good', i.e. on collective goods including the shared values and practices of a community (Olssen 1998, p. 71). Their argument is that individual values are derived from community values rather than human nature as liberals claim. Communitarians believe that the community good is a precondition for human development and therefore, by denying the priority of the good over individual rights, the liberal theory fails with its conception of the good (Olssen, 1998).
A communitarian perspective recognises that the preservation of individual liberty depends on the active maintenance of the institutions of civil society where citizens learn respect for others as well as self-respect; where we acquire a lively sense of our personal and civic responsibilities, along with an appreciation of our own rights and the rights of others; where we develop the skills of self-government as well as the habit if governing ourselves, and learn to serve others- not just self (Etzioni 2004, p. 13). It can only be assumed that Etzioni refers to a community where everyone is the same and shares the same set of beliefs and priorities, neglecting the uniqueness of individuals because if everyone is the same then everyone must respect the other.

In a communitarian society, the common good is conceived of as a substantive conception of the good which defines the community’s ‘way of life’. This common good rather than adjusting itself to the pattern of people’s preferences provides a standard by which those preferences are evaluated. The community’s way of life forms the basis for a public ranking of conceptions of the good, and the weight given to an individual’s preferences depends on how much they conform or contribute to that common good. The public pursuit is of the shared ends which define the community’s way of life and is not, constrained by the requirement of neutral concern. It takes precedence over the claim of individuals to the liberties and resources needed to choose and pursue their own ends (Kymlicka 1991, p. P77). However, a key issue is how these community preferences are identified.

According to Delanty (2000) there are three forms of communitarianism, liberal, conservative and civic republican. Liberal communitarians appeal to cultural particularism against liberalism’s moral universalism. Taylor (1994, p. 24) warns against non-recognition or misrecognition of minority or subaltern groups in today's multicultural societies, as it can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being. Taylor argues that "multinational societies can break up, in large part because of a lack of (perceived) recognition of the equal worth of one group by another" (Taylor 1994, p. 64). Therefore, liberal communitarianism is not sufficient or adequate. An example of non-recognition in Bahrain is evident in Islamic Education, where Islam as beliefs and practice is only taught from a Sunni perspective to both Sunni and Shia pupils. Also, Religious
Education Schooling was only available to Sunni pupils and a Shia Institution was formally opened as part of King Hamad Reform Project.

While liberal communitarianism in the 1980s had been a response to left-wing liberalism, such as that of Rawls, conservative communitarianism was a reaction to the rise of neo-liberalism. The communitarian stance, at least in its more conservative form, tends to stress family, religion, tradition, nation and what in general might be called a culture of consensus. It is a variant of old conservatism in its appeal to the ideal of the nation, though this is now linked to civil society. Delanty (2000) criticises Etzioni's communitarianism as lacking a political voice as well as a promotion of another version of voluntarism, releasing the state from responsibility for society. I agree with Delanty, as it is the state’s responsibility to secure the wellbeing of its citizens and that if their outcome is left to voluntary groups, they will eventually be oppressed by such groups. Many Shia were forced by their communities during February 2011 events to participate in civil disobedience, including teachers and pupils as groups of young Shia men established checkpoints at the exists of villages (BICI report 2011).

The third form of communitarianism and is the oldest of the three is Civic republicanism. In this tradition, participation occupies the position given to identity in liberal communitarianism but it takes a more distinct political form than the idea of moral responsibility found in other streams of communitarianism thinking. Rather than self-interest what is at stake is public interest. Civic republicanism is a communitarianism of participation, with a commitment to achieving a common goal (Delanty 2000). Participation is not encouraged by the state in Bahrain as the case in most countries where the norm is to preserve the status quo.

Paul Theobald and Dale Snauwaert in Arthur (1999, p. 48) provide a summary of the difference between the liberal and communitarian purpose of education:

The fundamental purpose of communitarian education is the transmission of the cultural heritage, and with it enculturation into an ethic of association wherein there are fundamental obligations to the common good. In contrast, the fundamental purpose of liberal education is preparation for defining and pursuing one’s own conception of the good life and with it enculturation into an ethic of tolerance wherein there is respect for the equal rights of others.
Osler (2005) argues that the communitarian approach emphasises group solidarity rather than individualism. It stresses the benefits of identity conferred by a cultural or ethnic group. It is prevalent in nationalist movements and struggles. Those aspects of citizenship education programmes that stress national identities may be considered communitarian. The limitations of this view are that they may confine individuals within predetermined ethnic or cultural identities with which they do not necessarily feel at ease. It may deny citizens the freedom to determine their own way in the world and develop as cosmopolitan citizens with multiple identities and loyalties.

In describing authoritarian communitarians' stance, Etzioni points out that authoritarian communitarians argue that "to maintain social order and harmony, individual rights and political liberties must be curtailed, some believe in the strong arm of the state and some in strong social bonds and the voice of the family and community" (Etzioni 2004, p. 9). Communitarians argue a philosophy based on shared values and mutual understanding can restore a nation's promise and moral leadership. They place special value on social harmony. The means of nurturing virtue that good societies chiefly rely upon often are subsumed under the term "culture." Specifically, these means include agencies of socialization (family, schools, some peer groups, places of worship, and some voluntary associations). The voice of the family and community can, however, be divisive in itself. This is especially the case in schools with children from diverse groups. As an example, a primary boys' school I visited in a Sunni village in Bahrain in 2003, with a substantial number of Shia pupils coming from a nearby village were not drinking from the same water tap and although it was not labelled, it was highlighted to me by the school principal that each knows which is which.

It is argued by Dalacoura (2002) that the Middle East is highly appropriate for the study of community and culture because both are central in social and political life there with its diverse ethnic and religious groups. Even though the ethnic make-up of Bahrain is predominantly Arab Muslims, there are also Christian and Jewish minorities as well as different sects within Islam mainly Sunnis and Shias. Also, in all countries the existence of ethnic minorities is the rule rather than the exception. Again in Bahrain, many Persians, Turkic, and Asian minorities exist as well as big numbers of expatriates.
Community can refer to many terms such as state, society, nation, minority, religion, culture, etc. Therefore, individuals can belong to many communities and have multiple identities. In Bahrain for example, a person might say they belong to their family, tribe, village; a religious sector (Sunni/Shia) or any other faith; an ethnic background (Arab, Persian), etc. Any of these communities to which a person belongs can have an equally strong claim to his or her loyalty. Any of them can be said to 'constitute' an individual, with their interests, values, inclinations and loyalties. To deny there is a problem here is to not acknowledge that these different entities may have contradictory claims on one’s loyalty.

Dalacoura (2002, p.77) argues that for state-formation to be successful, it must cause the individualisation of society which will lead to the cancellation of small-scale communities, one over the other. She explains that "a strong state is not repressive or oversized but one that has evolved in a gradual manner, integral with society, and has led to the individualisation of the society. No such states exist in the Middle East. In relation to the Middle East, Dalacoura (2002) argues that it is safe to generalise that an anti-individualistic ethic predominates in Middle Eastern social life and that the community is valued more than the individual. Furthermore, Dalacoura claims that the resurgence of Islam and cultural politics over the last three decades have increased the region’s rejection of Western values and reasserted its particularity of values especially when it comes to the balance between individual rights and cultural and religious norms.

In relation to Bahrain, it is clearly evident in the constitution that it is not a neutral state as it states in its first and second Article that it is an "Islamic Arab state whose population is part of the Arab nation and whose territory is part of the great Arab homeland" (Constitution of Bahrain 2002, Article 1). This immediately gives a communitarian perspective. Moreover, Bahrain and other Middle Eastern countries with significant Shia population have been negatively impacted by the Iranian revolution and its announced intention to export its revolution. Over the last thirty years, political Islam has been at the centre stage of the Middle Eastern politics. Indeed, not only has political Islam been a cause for social mobilisation, it has acted as an agency for the radicalisation of the marginalised people throughout the region.
As a result, the Bahrain's fear of socialists and secularists in the 1970's made way to religious institutions to immerse people in religion and push them away from politics. However, three decades later, it is those religious institutions that have won the parliamentary elections and are forming public policy, especially in regards to banning civil rights and freedom.

Etzioni argues that several Islamic societies have taken a few small steps away from their versions of authoritarian communitarian regimes by reducing reliance on the state to impose a religious code and by becoming less authoritarian. He listed a timeline account of the Bahraini reforms starting in 1998 in the following text:

In 1998 Bahrain made its constitution the supreme source of its laws and legalised nongovernmental organisation. In 2001 the emir freed political prisoners, granted amnesty to exiles, and repealed security laws used for punishing political dissidents. In 2002 the first Bahraini national parliamentary elections since 1973 took place, the very first in which women were allowed to run for office and to vote. Bahrainis formed their first labor union that year. The government also revoked the harsh laws that had been used to punish dissenters, but it still denied people access to the internet and even to Al Jazeera (Etzioni 2004, p. 31).

Etzioni argues that such changes reflect the increasing acceptance of Western values in the Middle East, as more and more people gain more autonomy. He argues that other developments are taking place in the same countries that are directly relevant to the normative synthesis thesis: “Several of these societies are struggling to find a religious foundation for their social order - but a 'soft' one. They are seeking (not necessarily consciously) to adopt a moderate version of Islam, based on faith and informal controls rather than on the moral squads and flogging stones. They differ in their interpretation of Sharia … such a soft Islam need not clash with the West, but it also would not be secular, libertarian, or individualistic. Instead it would constitute a form of East-West synthesis. It combines a strong social and moral order based on religion with much respect for liberty and rights” (Etzioni 2004, p.33).

I am not sure to what extent Etzioni is right, if at all. In Bahrain, civil rights are on the decrease as a consequence of democracy in a highly communitarian society. I argue liberal values must be planted heavily in curriculum to balance out the values developed
in the private sphere - family, places of worship, etc. Selznick (2004, p. 65) puts it simply "religions lose their innocence and step out of bounds when they ignore the difference between upholding a value and determining public policy". Selznick praises faith communities' and religious institutions in general in their approach to attend to the spiritual needs as well as the material of the people they help. These activities are valued by communitarians not only for the immediate good they do but also because they strengthen civil society (Selznick 2004, p. 65). On the other hand, he points out to the principle of inclusiveness of communitarianism, and that it would be put at risk as such institutions will be tempted to win over those people in need and convert them to their own beliefs or strengthen them. As an ideal concept, Selznick (2004, p. 65) explains that the faith community "should be inclusive, serving without discrimination, without regard for religious affiliation, without demanding religious participation, and above all, without messages of bigotry and hate". This ideal view of a faith community seems very hard to grasp in reality, in Bahrain at least. Such practices are far from reality especially since the recent parliamentary elections that started in 2002, as election campaigns relied heavily on sectarian grounds.

3.4 Citizenship Education
In England, the authors of Encouraging Citizenship (Commission on Citizenship, 1990) chose to frame their analysis within the terms set by T.H. Marshall’s highly influential conceptualisation of citizenship as involving three elements, civil, political and social which he argued were developed in successive centuries. According to Beck (1996) the novel element in Marshall’s analysis at the time was the social element which was seen as indispensable to what he saw as the capacity of citizenship in modern welfare societies, to generate “a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession” (Commission on Citizenship, 1990,pp.40-41). Beck (1996, p 358) argues that there was a fundamental conflict between the extension of the social component of citizenship which was based upon moral principles and the amoral operation of the capitalist market economy. Marshall’s conceptualisation of citizenship was based on what he called the hyphenated society (of democratic-welfare-capitalism) which recognise that both the welfare sector and the mixed economy are contributing to the creation of welfare (Marshall, 1950, p.131).
Heater (1990, p. 339) believes that democratic societies should promote a holistic ideal of citizenship and argues that the relationship between education and citizenship should be one of developing an understanding of citizenship in future citizens as well as a set of dispositions, commitments and skills, which will contribute to the individual developing a well-rounded sense of identity as a citizen. The holistic conception of citizenship is grounded in a narrative of the successive development of legal/civil, political and social elements of citizenship. In addition, Heater identifies two further essential components: dispositions to exercise the virtues of citizenship, and an identity component, with citizenship identity being distinguished “by its potential to moderate the divisiveness of other identity feelings—gender, religion, race, class—and even those of nation where citizenship attaches to supra-national entities and allegiances” (Gilbert, 1995, p. 21). However, this view is problematical as Beck (1996, p. 362) argues that such a specified and extensive conception of citizenship is difficult to achieve complete and agreed understanding as that which Heater puts forward.

In an attempt to address that problem, Terrence McLaughlin (1992), an educational philosopher draws a carefully defined distinction between what he calls maximalist and minimalist versions of education for citizenship and he points out that both as well as the various underlying conceptions of citizenship which may be connected to are controversial. He also highlights the importance of an agreement about the public virtues and the common good “which gives rise to the various disputes about citizenship and citizenship education” (McLaughlin 1992, p. 243). He claims that much of the ambiguity and tension contained within the concept of citizenship can be roughly mapped in terms of minimal and maximal interpretations of the notion. He explains that these contrasting interpretations of democratic citizenship, locatable on a continuum rather than in terms of discrete conceptions, and related to underlying political beliefs and to contrasting interpretations of democracy itself, can be briefly illustrated by reference to four features of the concept. These are identity, virtues of the citizen, political involvement and social prerequisites (McLaughlin 1992, McLaughlin 2000).

On ‘minimal’ views, the identity conferred on an individual by citizenship is seen merely in formal, legal and juridical terms. A citizen is one who has a certain civil status, with its associated rights, within a community of a certain sort based on the rule of law. On maximal views, this identity is seen as a richer thing than the possession by
a person of a passport, the right to vote and unreflective ‘nationality’. The citizen must have a consciousness of him or herself as a member of a living community with a shared democratic culture involving obligations and responsibilities as well as rights, a sense of the common good, fraternity and so on. She argues that the interpretation of identity is dynamic rather than static in that it is a matter of ongoing debate and redefinition.

Also, on minimal views, loyalties and responsibilities are seen primarily as local and immediate in character. Thus the citizen is one who is law abiding and ‘public spirited’ in the sense of helping neighbours through voluntary activity. On the other hand on maximal views, citizens are seen as requiring more extensive focus for their loyalty and responsibility. Also, on minimal views, there is a degree of suspicion of widespread involvement, and the citizen is seen primarily as a private individual with the task of voting wisely for representatives. In contrast, maximal views favour a more fully participatory approach to democracy.

With regard to social prerequisites for citizenship, minimal approaches are content to see these simply in terms of the granting of the formal legal status, while its maximalist counterparts insist that, although citizenship is an egalitarian status in theory and intention, social disadvantages of various kinds must be considered if that status in any real and meaningful sense is to be achieved. Whereas maximal conceptions require a considerable degree of explicit understanding of democratic principles, values and procedures on the part of the citizen, together with the dispositions and capacities required for participation in democratic citizenship generously conceived.

As mentioned earlier, citizenship education in Bahrain was heavily influenced by the 2002 citizenship education in England that was based on the Crick Report. McLaughlin (2000, p 550) argues that although “the Crick report seeks to embody a broad conception of citizenship and citizenship education, the conception does contain marked evidence of ‘maximal’ or ‘active’ elements” as it aims to form citizens who are active, critical and responsible. Bernard Crick described the view implicit in the report as ‘civic republicanism’ which emphasises critical political understanding and engagement. McLaughlin (2000, p 551) argues that some of these maximal elements of citizenship are reflected in the claim that whilst voluntary and community activity is a necessary it is not a sufficient condition of citizenship.
Will Kymlicka’s view of citizenship education includes acquiring a range of dispositions, virtues and loyalties that are intimately bound up with the practice of democratic citizenship that are additional to those general and economic virtues (Kymlicka, 1989;1991;1999). In his view these include public spiritedness, a sense of justice, civility and tolerance and a shared sense of solidarity or loyalty. On the other hand, citizenship education policy in Bahrain was also influenced by American policy. In their study of educational programmes in the United States that aimed to promote democracy, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) offer three conceptions of the good citizen—the personally responsible, participatory, and justice oriented. They argue that the “narrow and often ideologically conservative conception of citizenship embedded in many current efforts at teaching for democracy reflect not arbitrary choices but, rather, political choices with political consequences (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004, p 237). They argue that personal responsible citizenship, which they presume as a form of character education, is increasingly associated with visions of obedience and patriotism which can be at odds with democratic goals as they work against critical reflection and action that many assume are essential in a democratic society. They conclude that “there are some indications that curriculum and education policies designed to foster personal responsibility undermine efforts to prepare both participatory and justice-oriented citizens (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004, p 264).

In relation to the detailed structural factors mentioned in the previous chapter, Kerr (1999, p. 9) argues that the most important is that of educational values and aims. He explains that how countries express their values has a marked influence on the definition of, and approach to, citizenship education. These are categorised into three groups according to the degree with which national values are expressed or prescribed in education legislation. Kerr (1999, p. 9) continues that this categorisation corresponds with one of the major tensions in approaching citizenship education, both practical and philosophical, namely the extent to which it is possible to identify, agree and articulate the values and dispositions which underpin citizenship. This is related to the broader debate about the balance between the public and private dimensions of citizenship which led McLaughlin (1992) to identify approaches of citizenship education as thick and thin depending on how public or private citizenship is perceived. Those who view citizenship as a public concern see a major role, or thick, role for education in the
promotion of citizenship and those who view citizenship as a largely private matter perceive a much limited, or thin, role for education and advocate for a stronger role for the family and community organisations (Kerr 1999).

Tawil (2013, p.3) argues that citizenship education has a social, civic and political function and has an essential part of the formation of citizenship in any given context and that the wide range of approaches available are stemmed from diverse interpretations of citizenship. He makes the distinction between civics education and citizenship education that the latter is focused on the learner and the development of skills and attitudes to participate in and contribute to a changing social order while civic education tends to be based on national and cultural values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From more conservative approaches</th>
<th>To more progressive approaches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civics education</td>
<td>Citizenship Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education about citizenship</td>
<td>Education through/for citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reproduction of social order</td>
<td>Transformation /adaptation to change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformity/compliance</td>
<td>Action and civic engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content-led</td>
<td>Process-led</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge-based</td>
<td>Principle-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didactic transmission</td>
<td>Interactive approaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>critical interpretation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above table summarises the continuum of approaches to citizenship education and make it easier to determine whether a particular approach of citizenship is fundamentally based on interpretations of citizenship that is conservative such as Bahrain’s or other progressive established liberal democracies such as England. These distinctions will be explored in the analysis chapters to determine where citizenship education lies in the continuum.

From the above it can be concluded that minimalistic and conservative interpretations of citizenship education are aimed at the reproduction of the existing social order, whereas maximalist ones are aimed at adaptation to change and transformation of existing social dynamics (McLaughlin 1992; Kennedy 1997; Kerr 1999).
3.5 Postcolonial Approaches to Citizenship and Identity

As mentioned in the contextual chapter, although Bahrain was under British Protection for over a century, it was seen as a form of colonisation by the people of Bahrain as British presence extended to the running of the country, and thus many of the political movements that preceded its official independence in 1971, were viewed by its people as a form of rebellion against the colonist. However, Tikly (2004, p173) argues that a new form of Western imperialism appeared in former colonies even though they are officially independent through a subtle, unofficial form of power and control. He argues that new imperialism is presented into a new regime of global governance which serves to secure the interests of the USA, its western allies and of global capitalism more generally through “a concept of ‘development’ which has provided the principal means by which the West has come to understand and hence control the non-West” Tikly (2004, p173). Tikly argues that in this development project, education is considered as a key policy area and an important disciplinary institution.

Andreatti and de Souza (2012, p. 12) argue that neo-colonialism functions through a powerful discourse that gives former colonies official sovereignty while they are in fact still dominated by Western nations as the global elite through the use of transnational movement such as global citizenship education. Willinsky (1998) insists that in terms of the colonial legacy of education, the globalisation of Western understanding was always about a relative positioning of the West by a set of coordinates defined by race, culture and nation. The question of whose and what knowledge is strongly connected to the power of having and representing identity; and in drawing on the concept of citizenship, questions of identity and belonging are integral to global citizenship education (Andreatti and de Souza 2012, p. 20) They argue that postcolonial studies offer a set of productive questions that can be used to examine and interrogate the frames of reference that shape certain approaches and to imagine education otherwise. Quaynor defines postcolonial theory as a “framework developed in the humanities by intellectuals from formerly colonised countries to critique the simplistic ways in which Western academics understood the identity and agency of the multitude peoples and cultures in postcolonial states” (Quaynor 2012, p 91). She argues that if applied to civic education, this framework calls for the interrogation of monolithic categories such as “democracy” and “citizenship,” an understanding of the ways these concepts operate.
on different levels, and an engagement with the way that competing definitions for these categories exist in relation to each other.

On the other hand, Smith (1999) in (Andreatti and de Souza 2012) explains that many indigenous intellectuals resist discourses of post-colonialism as they view post-colonialism as a convenient invention of Western intellectuals which re-inscribes their power to define the world. Andreatti and de Souza (2012) define postcolonial theories as tools for thinking rather than theories of truth. Therefore, postcolonial perspectives can help to question and rearticulate the origins and implications of particular concepts in education programmes such as citizenship education when transferred from former Western imperial powers such as Great Britain or the United States of America.

Quaynor (2012) argues that visions for citizenship education based on post-colonial theories have been articulated by scholars in the field, though few link them explicitly to post-colonial theory and identifies Banks (2008) as one of them as he describes it as transformative rather than mainstream citizenship education which “emphasises memorising facts, learning about various branches of government, and developing national patriotism, transformative citizenship education promotes an understanding of multiple and complex identities” (p. 92). Therefore, postcolonial theorists suggest that students and teachers can explore the hybridity of their communities rather than having to choose between identities.

3.6 Conclusion

The previous contextual chapter gave an extended account of the socio-political structure that had influenced the definition of citizenship in Bahrain. It presented that Bahrain was under British protection for more than a century, during which the British Resident had great influence on the establishment of frameworks and systems of life by organising a state management process, for the benefit of securing British commercial interests in the Arabian Gulf.

Bahrain was influenced positively by the British system, whether in the form of the establishment of municipal councils in the 1920s or in the establishment of formal education in 1919. However, Bahrain’s independence was a changing point for the development of citizenship. Leading to Britain’s withdrawal from the country, waves of demands for independence from British rule were carried by Bahrainis demanding
political rights, overlapped with Iran’s claim over Bahrain during the rule of Shah. First by force and secondly through the United Nations, which made the concept of citizenship relevant in the form of practices on the ground, where it became clear that the concept in its application was linked to affiliation to the land and to Arabism as an identity as well as a commitment to customs and traditions. Moreover, allegiance to the ruling regime was announced to the United Nations, rejecting foreign rule such as Iran or the continuation of the British presence. Theories that were explored in this chapter have relevance to the development of the concept of citizenship in Bahrain. After its independence, Bahrain’s government sought to strengthen the sense of belonging and loyalty in its people through a reform of the education curriculum, and the introduction of national education in the mid-seventies.

Influenced by British liberal democracy, a constitution was written and elections for parliament took place immediately after independence. However, due to the communitarian nature of the different groups that constitute Bahraini society and other circumstances discussed in the previous chapter, the parliament was dissolved in 1975. In addition, an attempted coup backed by Iran in the early eighties was another turning point in the development of citizenship in Bahrain’s modern history which reinforced concepts of loyalty and belonging to the country and its regime. That was followed by the nineties political unrest that was ignited by a senior Shia clerk throwing a stone on a Western female racer running a marathon, leading to uprisings demanding for political rights.

A shift towards the development of liberal citizenship corresponded with King Hamad Reform Project in 2000 setting out clearly the rights of individuals versus the duties of the state, these political rights granted participation in decision making through the revival of parliament, right to participate or boycott and the right to free elections, in addition to increased freedom of expression and formation of political associations. Therefore, a shift towards individual autonomy was witnessed. However, Bahraini society was and is conservative and communitarian in nature and therefore practices remained far from liberal. It can be argued that the state’s dependence on its former colonist had a great influence in its education policy, specifically in the new citizenship education policy that was based on British policy. Nevertheless, the use of liberal concepts was resisted by a dominant communitarian tradition held by Bahraini
conservative religious communities despite a general appeal to democracy and human rights which correspond to Islamic sharia.

The influence of Western superiority can be seen in the dissemination of Western knowledge through the transfer of citizenship education policies and programmes to other parts of the world as a new form of imperialism. This is evident in American organisations such as CIVITAS that have exported programmes for citizenship education across the world or through the request for help from former colonists such as the case in Bahrain. In both cases, the result is bound to have tensions due to inapplicability of such concepts in local contexts. Moreover, increase role of international organisations in member states’ educational policy such as UNESCO also led to the dissemination of Western liberal concepts through constant review of national reports and adoption of global educational strategies such as the integration of Human rights education and global citizenship education in national education policies (UNESCO 1974, UNESCO 2013).

In relation to Bahrain, citizenship education is intended to promote social cohesion and national unity that transcends other group identities especially religious identities. As mentioned in the previous chapter, sectarian tensions have always existed at various levels that increase and decrease in relation to political changes. However, after the latest political events, sectarian tensions have reached an unprecedented level. Nevertheless, the education system avoids acknowledging the diversity of the Bahraini people and takes an assimilated approach. It attempts to promote a Bahraini citizenship with its emphasis on symbolic practices such as daily singing of the national anthem and saluting the national flag. This approach to citizenship education can be defined as a communitarian approach to citizenship despite an attempt towards liberal values in the form of teaching about Human Rights. According to Osler (2005) nationalist discourses encourage xenophobia because they make a sharp distinction between national citizens and foreigners. Many Bahrainis have strong feelings towards foreign workers and naturalised citizens and feel more entitled to the benefits of society than others because of this shared national culture they belong to. The next chapter will demonstrate the methodology chosen for this project in order to answer the research question.
Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the problem under investigation, the aims of the study, its importance, and methods used to collect the data will also be presented. There are three perspectives that can be used to classify the kind of research that is performed (Kumar 1999): the application of the research study, the objective in undertaking the research and the type of information sought.

This study explores mainly the perceptions of the various stakeholder groups (policymakers, teachers and pupils), of their conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education to identify any potential challenges secondary schools in Bahrain encounter as a result of possible conceptual and practical tensions related to the definition of citizenship and citizenship education approach adopted in the renewed version of citizenship education that was introduced in 2005. This will help in identifying where citizenship education in Bahrain is located in the continuum of citizenship and whether Liberal or communitarian values prevail in policy and practice. Therefore, qualitative methodology, using in-depth interviews, is best suited to understand what citizenship is in the Bahraini context and how this relates to Western principles of citizenship education.

4.2 Research Objectives

This thesis aims to contribute to citizenship education literature as it examines how an Arab Muslim postcolonial country is struggling with liberal concepts that are transferred from Western citizenship literature into a communitarian society whilst it is struggling in its particular socio-political challenges by investigating possible theoretical tensions within and between (1) the curriculum document, (2) the textbook and (3) their authors' intentions and perceptions). It will explore teachers' and pupils' perceptions and understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in relation to liberal and communitarian theories of citizenship and how they relate to policy. This will contribute to knowledge about citizenship education in the Middle East in general and in Bahrain in particular.
4.3 Data Methodology

This thesis uses a qualitative approach in a social research to answer its question which seeks to understand meanings and conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education in Bahrain and examine whether conceptual tensions exist due to the transfer of Western liberal concepts to a communitarian socio-politically charged context.

The most suitable primary data collection methodology depends on what kind of information is sought (Kumar 1999). A research is defined as qualitative if “the purpose of the study is primarily to describe a situation, phenomenon, problem or event and if analysis is done to establish the variation in the situation, phenomenon or problem, without quantifying it” (Kumar 1999, p.10). If the purpose is to “quantify the variation in a phenomenon, situation, problem or issue, if information is gathered using predominantly quantitative variables, and if the analysis is geared to ascertain the magnitude of the variation, the study is classified as a quantitative study”. In this study a qualitative methodology is employed, in which semi-structured interviews were conducted to find out the perceptions of the different stakeholders, identify conceptual tensions, and challenges of implementation from the teachers’ perspective.

The advantages of qualitative research that are relevant to this study are related directly to its aims that are not concerned with making valid generalisations through the use of large and random samples using questionnaires but to understand meanings and accumulate sufficient knowledge to lead to understanding or explanation through the use of in-depth interviews as differences found in small samples may be more meaningful. In addition, qualitative research is more suitable to collect data that can be considered sensitive in the Bahraini context, as it provides through in-depth interviews more opportunity for participants to explain their views and perspectives using interview schedules designed to reflect the theoretical framework and examine the tensions identified in the literature chapter. Due to the relatively large amount of data, NVivo software was used to assist with the data management and analysis.
4.4 Triangulation

According to Denzin (1988) triangulation in qualitative data analysis lay more extensively in the agreement in the results obtained from the diverse, systematic and dissimilar uses of methods, theories, different data sources or investigators. Mason (2002) encourages the use of multiple methods as long as the researcher thinks strategically about their integration. She argues that there are a lot of advantages of mixing methods, many of which centre on the concept of triangulation and its value in validating data or analysis, or in gaining a fuller picture of the phenomenon under study. This is due to the fact that social experience and lived realities are multi-dimensional and that our understandings are impoverished and may be inadequate if we view these phenomena only along a single dimension.

However, she warns that it is important to work out the logistics of employing a mixed method in terms of practical implications and feasibility. In this research design, in order to answer the research questions it is crucial to examine the documents involved as well as the intentions of its authors. Therefore, both interviews with policymakers as well as document analysis are applied. Moreover, different groups are interviewed to look for similarities and differences of interpretations of meanings.

Denzin (1988, p. 512) explains that what is sought in triangulation is an interpretation of the phenomenon at hand to illuminate and reveal the subject matter in a thickly contextualised manner. "A triangulated interpretation reflects the phenomenon as a process that is relational and interactive". He argues that triangulation is the appropriate way of entering the circle of interpretation making the researcher part of the interpretation.

In their study of policy enactments in the secondary school, Braun, Ball, Maguire and Hoskins (2011) concentrate on school context and identify a framework that influence differences in policy enactments between similar schools. Braun, et.al (2011, p 586) explain that school reform and improvement literature define the meaning of policy as an attempt to solve a problem, generally through the production of policy text such as legislation or other nationally driven insertions into practice whereas they see it as “a process as diversely and repeatedly contested and/or subject to interpretation as it is...
enacted in original and creative ways within institutions and classrooms”. This study will explore similar differences between policy in policy texts and policy as actually implemented in schools.

For the purposes of this research, the advantage of using document analysis and in-depth interviews is that mixing methods offers enormous potential for exploring new dimensions of experience and to cover all stakeholders’ inputs. It also allows the researcher to incorporate her understanding of the text with that of other audiences and those of its producers. Assuming that the written word in documents could have different meanings to different recipients. For example, policymakers’ conceptions during in-depth interviews revealed different conceptions of citizenship than that stated in policy documents. Also, collecting information from a variety of sources enables the research questions to be answered more completely.

4.5 Document Analysis

Document analysis is important for qualitative research as it can be easy to access and low cost (Hodder 1994). Another advantage of using documentary analysis is highlighted by Merriam and Simpson (1988), who argue that documents allow the researcher to have a rich understanding of the context of the problem being studied. Moreover, it is often described as an unobtrusive and non-reactive method of data collection as it can be conducted without disturbing the setting in anyway, in this instance, the school classrooms (Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

Bogdan & Bilken (1992, p. 135) explain that official documents such as policy documents, statements of philosophy are viewed by many researchers as extremely subjective as they represent the biases of their promoters and that they are usually presented in “an unrealistically glowing picture of how the organisation functions”. However, they argue that qualitative researchers are not interested in the truth as it is conventionally conceived instead they are interested in understanding how these documents are perceived. In these documents they argue, researchers can get access to the ‘official perspective,’ as well as to the ways information is communicated and delivered.
Public policies are usually formulated to adapt to changes in society. When they are formed they tend to represent the perspectives of its authors at the time and they seek acceptance and support from the public. Therefore, words and phrases are usually picked to echo the voice of the people. Such policies are politically driven and hence tensions of understandings and purposes can be identified at the different levels it is received.

This method has special significance in this study as it will examine the citizenship education curriculum document with particular focus on the second and fourth strands, the ministerial decisions regarding the policy development and the pupils' textbook. This method is essential in identifying possible contradictions and obtaining clarification of conceptions at policy level in order to examine consistency or inconsistency amongst the different policy sources. According to Scott (1990) the ultimate purpose of examining documents is to arrive at an understanding of the meaning and significance of what the document contains. He explains that the problem of meaning arises at two levels, the literal and the interpretive.

The document analysis approach to be used in this study is a hermeneutic interpretation of meaning. According to Scott (1990, p. 34),

The hermeneutic task involves interpretive understanding of individual concepts, appreciation of the social and cultural context through which the various concepts are related in a particular discourse, and a judgement on the meaning and significance of the text as a whole. The first step is to elucidate the underlying selective point of view from which the account or report is constructed. This is the standpoint from which the individual concepts acquire their relevance. But grasping this frame of meaning is no easy task, for no researcher can escape the concepts and assumptions of his and her own frame of meaning. One frame of meaning can only ever be understood from the standpoint of another. There can be no pre-suppositionless knowledge, and so the investigator must, in effect, enter into dialogue with the author of the documents being studied.

Documents do not reflect a straightforward, objective description of social reality, but by presenting a particular interpretation of events they help to construct a version of social reality (Clark& Dawson, 1999, p. 85). The researcher must seek to discover as much as possible about the conditions under which the text was produced, and must relate the use of individual concepts to this context. This can be developed further.
through the in-depth interviews with policymakers. However, as Scott (1990, p. 33) argues that "the ultimate interpretation of the meaning of the text will derive from the researcher's judgement that this interpretation 'makes sense', given his or her understanding of the author's situation and intentions". Also, the perspectives and interests of the various potential audiences of the text must be considered by the researcher in the interpretation of a text.

Another approach of document analysis is the quantitative method of content analysis. Scott (1990, p.34) explains this technique as:

content analysis is an older tradition of interpretive understanding, working from very different principles. In this approach, quantitative techniques are used to assess the significance of particular items within a text. The number of times a particular idea is used and the number of contexts in which it appears, are taken as measures of the importance of this idea to the author of the document.

However, Scott points out that it may be that a single striking word or phrase conveys a meaning out of all proportion to its frequency; and a non-quantitative approach may be better able to grasp the significance of such isolated references.

Scott (1990, p34) argues that there are three aspects of the meaning of a text- 'three moments’ in the movement of the text from author to audience. These are:

- the intended content of a text is the meaning which the author of the text intended to produce;

- the received content is the meaning constructed by its audience;

- internal meaning is the transient and ephemeral intervening between the intended and the received meanings

Scott (1990) argues that the most that can be achieved by a researcher is an analysis which shows how the inferred internal meaning of the text opens up some possibilities for interpretation by its audiences and closes off others.
Aside from this emphasis on intended and received meaning, there is also content meaning upon which content analysts focus their attention… “in particular terms, the questions asked of a document at the level of content meaning focus upon relationships within the text and its relationships to other texts” (May 2001, p.195). This point is particularly relevant to this study as it intends to investigate relationships within the citizenship education curriculum document, i.e. the two selected strands and their standards and how they relate to one another as well as how it is reflected in the textbook in order to reach an interpretation of the meaning intended and received by the different audiences.

May (2001) makes an argument that what people decide to record is itself informed by decisions which, in turn, relate to the social, political and economic environments of which they are a part, and points out that documents might be interesting not only for what they contain but for what they leave out as well (May 2001, p. 183). Despite the logical appeal of this notion, this notion may lead the researcher to a complicated path where decisions of what is not there may be endless. Also, it can be argued that the researcher can be biased as to what he/she considers left out and it would be subject. For example, although citizenship education is seen implicitly as a solution to end sectarian tension in the society, sectarianism is not mentioned anywhere in policy or official documents. Also, diversity of the Bahraini society is one of the four main strands of the citizenship education curriculum, but the curriculum document and the textbook do not identify any diversity in the community.

4.6 Interviews

The most popular method in qualitative research is interviewing. This method was selected because it is imperative for the researcher to meet those people who shaped the framework for this new initiative in order to understand the process involved as well as the perceptions and intentions of the policymakers. Collecting information from policymakers will complement the data to be obtained from document analysis. Moreover, interviews were also used with the subject teachers as well as pupils.
The importance of the interview in educational research is well documented. Guba and Lincoln (1981, pp. 153-155) state that:

Interviewing itself should be thought of as an almost indispensable tool in the tactics of the naturalistic inquirer. Of all the means of exchanging information or gathering data known to man, perhaps the oldest and most respected is the conversation.

Interviews are usually categorised into basic types of interview formats: the structured, the semi-structured and the unstructured. However, Mason (2002) explains that the term qualitative interviewing is usually intended for in-depth, semi-structured or unstructured interviews. Fontana and Frey (1994, p. 361) state, “interviewing is one of the most common methods and most powerful ways we use to try to understand our fellow human beings”. In order to investigate the perceptions and understandings of the proposed concepts shared by the different stakeholders involved, in-depth interviewing is needed to obtain such data as citizenship concepts are usually contested and highly contextualised. It is only through in-depth interviews that research participants have an opportunity to shape or reconsider their understandings of such concepts. In-depth interviews also minimise the tendency of giving the expected answer as perceived by the interviewee.

Qualitative in-depth interviews are much more like conversations than formal events with predetermined response categories. The researcher explores a few general topics to help uncover the participants’ perspective, but otherwise respects how the participant frames and structures the responses. This is a fundamental assumption to qualitative research- “the participant’s perspective on the phenomenon of interest should unfold as the participant views it, not as the researcher views it” (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 80). In this particular study, in-depth interviewing is particularly important as the study investigates contested concepts in the Bahraini context as mentioned in the broad contextual factors in chapter two, as Bahraini society seems to be politically and socially polarised.

Interviewing is highly flexible as it can be used almost anywhere and is capable of producing data of great depth. In addition, Fraenkel and Wallen (1996, p. 447) state that “the purpose of interviewing people is to find out what is on their mind—what they think or how they feel about something”. This particularly important as it allows
participants the opportunity to think of issues at more depth and express them in their own words rather than ticking a predetermined set of checklist as in questionnaires.

Indeed, interviews have many potential advantages, for example, exploration of the meanings of responses, explanation and correction of contradictions, and correction of misinterpretations of item meanings. Furthermore, interviews provide opportunity for greater in-depth probing. This is carried out by using question-asking techniques that are best suited to each individual in relation to his/her knowledge, degree of education, and perspective (Kvale 1996).

As there are many advantages to the interview method, there are also a few disadvantages. McMillan and Schumacher (1997, p. 264) argue that some of the most important disadvantages of using the interview tool are “its potential for subjectivity and bias, its higher cost and time-consuming nature, and the lack of anonymity. Depending on the training and expertise of the interviewer, the respondent may be uncomfortable, and the interviewer may ask leading questions to support a particular point of view, or the interviewer’s perceptions of what was actually said may be inaccurate”.

Clark and Dawson (2000, p.75) argue that "there is an established body of evidence suggesting that characteristics such as age, sex, race, religion, demeanour, attitudes, expectations and appearance of the interviewer can have influence on the quality and validity of response data". With reflection on what actually happened, my initial concerns regarding these characteristics were understandable. As I entered some schools I felt uncomfortable due to my unusual appearance especially in boys’ schools. Although, girls’ schools are usually men free zones in Bahrain, many of the school staff and pupils had their headscarves on all the time. Therefore, I felt I had to put on Abaya20 on my shoulder in an attempt to blend in as many of the teachers and pupils were religious/conservative. Even though, I wore Abaya, I did not cover my hair. That was a personal decision that I took. Lavis (2010, p 320) argues that “researchers ‘performs’ specific types of identity with specific participants in order to facilitate their research”

---

20 Abaya is a cloak like garment usually black that drapes from the shoulder and is commonly worn in the Arabian Peninsula
and she adds that this multiplicity can be created by the researched as by the researcher and can be beneficial to both. In more than one occasion I was asked by participant teachers about where I live in Bahrain and my family in an attempt to uncover particular aspects of my identity. This implied to me that some participants were highly conscious to my identity and as a result might have influenced their answers. Please find samples of interview transcripts with policymakers, teachers and students in Appendices 2 to 5.

Overall sixty two in-depth interviews were conducted in this thesis, forty of them were with pupils from ten secondary schools which lasted between 20 to 40 minutes each, eighteen teachers were interviewed between thirty and sixty five minutes each, two teachers from each school except in two schools one was interviewed from each. And four policymakers were interviewed including a former minister of education which lasted between thirty five and sixty minutes each. Interview schedules consisted of twenty questions addressed to policymakers, twenty two questions to teachers and sixteen questions to pupils. Questions were organised to allow interviewees to ease into the interview and intended to allow participants to rethink their answers in follow up questions. Policymakers were questioned about their role in developing the citizenship education curriculum policy, student textbook and teacher training as well as general questions to their personal conceptions of citizens, citizenship, citizenship education, loyalty, belonging, references used in developing policy and their rationale for introducing the renewed citizenship education and its relevance to the previous national education. Teachers’ interviews also involved conceptual questions as policymakers, as well as questions related to the student textbook which is the major teaching tool for teachers in Bahrain such as their most/least enjoyed topics to teach, their reaction to controversial issues and challenges that may arise, pedagogies used and training opportunities. Teachers were also asked to compare current citizenship education to its former version and their rationale for its introduction. Pupils were asked about the topics covered in the subject, their favourite, least and why. They were asked about most important human rights they had learned and why as well as the diversity of Bahraini society and their rights and responsibilities. Moreover, pedagogical questions used by their teacher and whether they are given opportunities to discuss controversial issues. They were asked about what makes a Bahraini citizen and their relation to their community. Pupils were also asked about what citizen, citizenship, belonging, loyalty
and democracy meant to them and what they would like to learn in this subject. Students were also asked if they participated in out of school religious or voluntary activities.

The following is a descriptive table of data sources, number of participants and time frame.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Duration of one-to-one interviews</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collecting data from pupils</td>
<td>10 (5 Girls schools and 5 Boys schools)</td>
<td>40 pupils (20 boys and 20 Girls) 4 pupils from each school</td>
<td>Between 20-40 minutes each</td>
<td>November/December 2008 During Revision period before exams January 2009 During exams/marking of first semester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collecting data from teachers</td>
<td>10 (5 Girls schools and 5 Boys schools)</td>
<td>18 teachers (9 male and 9 female)</td>
<td>Between 30-65 minutes each</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collecting data from policymakers/textbook authors/Exam minister of education</td>
<td>4 (two policymakers were also co-authors)</td>
<td>Between 35-60 Minutes each</td>
<td></td>
<td>April 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62 participants/ interviews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1 Table of data sources

4.7 Sampling

Although sample size is relatively small in qualitative research compared to quantitative research, there seems to be no rules in qualitative research. According to Patton (1990) “sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what’s at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources” (Patton, 1990, p. 184).

In qualitative research, the use of purposeful sampling is quite different from the logic of probabilistic sampling in statistics. Patton (1987, p. 58) explains that “the power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth” in an attempt to learn about issues of central importance. For this study, the population is policymakers and secondary school citizenship education’s teachers and their pupils.
I chose the secondary level schools as the venue in which to conduct my study for the following reasons:

- First, it is the last stage where students are expected to achieve all the aims intended from public education before they leave school.
- Second, according to Piaget’s theory of cognitive development with its four stages, children over 11 years old have reached the last stage, the formal operational stage, which is characterized by acquisition of the ability to think abstractly, reason logically and draw conclusions from the information available. During this stage the young adult is able to understand such things as love, "shades of grey", logical proofs, and values.
- At this age, pupils are more aware of difference and other political concepts and many of them already participate in civil and political society’s activities. Although it can be argued that most of their conceptions are acquired from home and community much earlier than this, it is at this age that they can think about abstract issues.

On the other hand, it is assumed at this stage pupils' views would have been influenced by what they had learnt in primary and intermediate schools. According to the citizenship education curriculum document, pupils' learning outcomes are carefully designed and the same four strands are consistent at all learning stages. In addition, at this stage pupils have also acquired knowledge from sources other than the formal school curriculum such as local social clubs and religious institutions as well as the vast amount of information on the internet.

In the selection process, the objective was to achieve as wide a geographical spread as possible, therefore schools from each of the five governorates in Bahrain were selected to identify and compare any significant changes. Respondents, both teachers and pupils, were taken from a purposive sample of secondary schools, representing all five governorates of the Kingdom of Bahrain at the time. The aim was that the ten schools selected would represent the different public secondary schools in Bahrain in terms of geographical spread, urban and rural areas, demographical background of pupils and gender. Another aim was to include urban and rural constituencies as well as a mixture of homogenous and heterogeneous groups of Shia and Sunni sects as well as other ethnicities/religions if available. An initial visit to each school was considered helpful
to discuss with the head teacher the proposed procedures and the subject of inquiry. An appointment with the head teacher or her representative was made followed by a formal letter requesting cooperation and enlisting the project objectives and procedures.

Unfortunately religious schools were not included as there were not Shia religious schools at secondary level at the time of data collection. From each school, two subject teachers were chosen according to availability and four pupils were selected from a pool of volunteers to represent the different sub-groups of the school's pupil population if applicable.

Stakeholder groups included policymakers (officials/ curriculum specialists/textbook writers), teachers (secondary teachers of the subject) and pupils (secondary pupils who are undertaking or took the subject). Members of stakeholders groups were selected for the study based on the following factors:

- Teachers who took part in the study reflected perceptions of both male and female participants and teachers with a range of religious backgrounds and ethnicities.
- 4 pupils from each school were interviewed in-depth on a one-to-one basis.

With regard to the policymakers, selection was limited due to the small number of the population and was based on availability.

Looking at all the secondary schools in Bahrain (around 30 secondary government schools) ten schools were selected from the five governorates, these were given pseudonyms to refer to them to ensure confidentiality:

1- School A: Boys school (an area of both Sunni and Shia students with little reported sectarianism)
2- School B: Boys school (many of the students use the bus from different areas, had many reported violence incidents reported)
3- School C: Boys school (housing area of both Sunni and Shia students with little reported sectarianism)
4- School D: Boys school (a new housing area of both Sunni, Shia and naturalised/Arab residents)
5- School E: Boys school (an area of majority Sunni and naturalised/Arab residents)
6- School F: Girls school (an area of both Sunni and Shia students with little reported sectarianism)
7- School G: Girls school (an area of Majority Shia students with a small percentage of Sunni students)
8- School H: Girls school (an area of both Sunni and Shia students with little reported sectarianism)
9- School I: Girls school (an area of majority Sunni with a number of Shia students from nearby villages)
10- School J: Girls school (an area of majority Sunni and naturalised/Arab residents)

4.7.1 Access to Schools
A letter was written to the director of the Scientific Research Directorate (see appendix 2). The letter requested permission for an approach to be made to the headteachers of the local schools in order to conduct research among their pupils and teachers. Accompanying this formal request was a statement which outlined the aims, design and methods of the research, and included some justification for doing it, in terms of its relevance to education and it included the interview schedules for policymakers, teachers and pupils. These were sent by the Scientific Research Directorates to the Curricula Directorate for their technical approval. Based on the recommendation of the director of Curricula, a letter of approval was issued to proceed with the fieldwork research. An assurance of the confidentiality of any data obtained was stated in the letter I wrote to the schools. The confidentiality applied to the responses of individual children, the names of participating schools, none of whom should be identifiable in any published report or thesis.

The timing for the fieldwork in the research study was made to coincide with a period when students had completed their examinations. According to Oppenheim (1992, p. 108) “the schools, too will want to know how much classroom time the study will require. After examinations, however, children are often much more readily available”. The process included the following:
• I submitted a formal request to director of the scientific research directorate at Secretariat General of Higher Education Council in March 2008 and filled related forms with attaching research objectives and tools.

• Interview schedules were examined and approved by Curricula Directorate and Secondary Schools Directorate after being piloted by three curriculum specialist (Senior social studies specialist, and two senior Arabic specialist)

• I obtained approval letter to be shown to school administration in May 2009 I called each school and spoke to its headteacher or his/her assistant to arrange a meeting and on the meeting agreed on a date for conducting the interviews. Some schools were flexible to meet on the same day before the pupil interviews.

• In Girls’ schools, I entered a number of classrooms, introduced myself and asked for volunteers after explaining my research.

• In Boys’ schools, pupils were sent to where I conducted the interviews, so I had to introduce myself, my research and asked for their consent to participate. A few opted not to participate.

• All interviews were digitally recorded with each participant’s consent except for two female teachers opted not to be recorded.

4.8 Methods of Data Analysis

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the purpose of an inquiry is to accumulate sufficient knowledge to lead to understanding or explanation and Davis and Meyer (2009) explain that to be able to do so large amounts of rich and descriptive data is needed to be obtained via the use of qualitative data techniques. This leads to the imperative of establishing a working system of data management to prevent data from being miscoded, mislinked and mislabelled. According to Davis and Meyer (2009, p116) researchers have developed Computer Assisted Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) in recent years to create useful and efficient modes of qualitative data analysis, such as NUD.IST, NVIVO and QualPro. In this study, I took a training workshop at the University for using QSR*NVIVO 7 and obtained the software from the university. Davis and Meyer (2009) undertook a comparative study between manual and electronic data analysis using data from a previously conducted qualitative study that was examined both manually and electronically using QSR*NVIVO 7 package. In
their study they found that some of the advantages using NVIVO were its simple coding capabilities which allow highlighting meaning units of electronic texts as well as the context surrounding them and choosing from the coding options whether to code at existing node\textsuperscript{21} or code at new node. Davis and Meyer (2009, p.119) explain that “the existence of the free node list can be advantageous because it enables the researcher to view all like meaning units by double-clicking the designated free node name”. I found this feature of the software package very useful as I was able to type a name representative of the coded material and compile a list of simple codes as a free node of a particular category instead of using categorisation systems such as physical files and endless note cards and papers. Moreover, free nodes were continually updated by the software limiting the possibility of misplacing or miscoding meaning units. In addition it allowed me to see quantitative representations of simple codes and how many participants discussed specific themes and how frequently these themes were discussed. Amongst other advantages, they identified categorising data into emergent themes using what is described as tree node option in the package which allows for constructing emerging themes emanating from the free node list. Nevertheless, it still remains the researcher’s responsibility to use his or her knowledge of the data to cognitively and analytically categorise simple codes into themes. The third advantage of using this software according to Davis and Meyer (2009) is its option for writing memos regarding important issues within the electronic text such as notes about the research process, which I used to incorporate themes from policy documents ie, formal textbook and curriculum policy meeting minutes that I managed to acquire from a colleague, as well as using note cards.

On the other hand, Davis and Meyer (2009) identify three disadvantages of computer assisted qualitative data analysis software. These are related to the lack of flexibility during simple coding and the accuracy of simple coding, such as the mislabelling of meaning unit codes may result in an inaccurate representation of themes frequencies. The other disadvantage is the possibility of computer or electrical malfunction. To avoid this I kept copies of all NVIVO files and print out which the software allows. The third disadvantage they state is the assumption that such software packages are time-intensive to learn and the assumption that the software eliminates the social context of

\textsuperscript{21} A node is the term NVIVO 7 uses to describe a simple code
the word within the process of the interview. In this study, I combined the use of NVIVO as well print outs of interview transcripts and both soft and hard copy of the curriculum policy and meetings’ minutes to feel more confident. I began the transcription process immediately after interviews and uploaded into NVivo software to start coding, finding patterns by matching similarities and identifying differences. Then converted into themes and labelled and merged with initial themes from literature. Process was repeated to develop a final category system using software features. With regard to policy documents, I obtained a soft copy from the curriculum policy document from a colleague at the Curricula Directorate and uploaded it in the software. Formal textbook was in a hard copy and therefore, the more traditional method of card notes was used with the addition of using the note function in NVivo.

4.9 Pilot Study

The pilot study is very important in a research investigation as it helps the researcher to see how the interviews will be conducted at the time of the main study. Moreover, it gives the investigator a chance to make necessary modifications to the interview schedules. The importance of the pilot study is emphasised by Bell (1993, p. 84) when she says:

The purpose of a pilot exercise is to get the bugs out of the instrument so that the subject in your main study will experience no difficulties in completing it and so that you can carry out a preliminary analysis to see whether the wording and format of questions will present any difficulties when the main data are analysed.

Similarly, Allen and Skinner (1991, p. 217) point out that “pilot work is essential not just to test your measuring instruments but also in order to make sure that you have clarified and refined your research objectives before you begin your main data collection”.

This preliminary study was essential as its results caused the researcher to introduce some amendments and to add some items to the interview schedules. It was found that one of the things that had to be dealt with before the implementation of the main study was for some of the questions to be made more clear and understandable. As Sudman
and Bradburn (1983) stress, a pilot study can indicate those questions that need modification and/or those that can be excluded.

The pilot study undertaken presented an opportunity to make amendments, before the implementation of the data collection. It also helped me to familiarise with the environment in which the research was to take place. Finally, it served to gain information about how the interviews may be approached.

After translation into Arabic, the interview schedules were reviewed and pre-tested to be sure that none of the questions had been misunderstood or were ambiguous. This review and pre-testing was done with the help of an Arabic Language specialist, a senior social studies curriculum specialist, followed by an Arabic specialist. This pre-testing was counselled by Borg and Gall (1989, p. 445), who advise that: “pre-testing will nearly always reveal flaws in your questions, inadequacies in your coding system, gaps in interviewer training, and other problems that must be solved before research data can be collected”. Altogether, the tools were examined by three specialists. Each took an average of one week time to return the schedules with feedback. After that, the researcher wrote a letter to the Director of the Scientific Research Directorate at the Secretariat General of the Higher Education Council accompanied by the refined research tools in order to get an approval letter to use them in schools. This process took much longer time as the department had to get approval from the Curricula Directorate followed by the Secondary Education Directorate before issuing a letter allowing me to visit schools and conduct my research. Due to the time constrains related to the school calendar, at the time the start of the revision period before the final exams, only one school was visited, which was the school I attended. The reason for that was that I felt more familiar with the school environment and that it was all girls, which made me feel more comfortable to do the pilot in. However, despite phoning the school and arranging for a visit, I found out upon my arrival that it was the first day of revision period and most pupils were awaiting their ride to go home. I met with the head teacher briefly and then the assistant head teacher walked me to a classroom with a number of pupils in it.

Therefore, focus group participants were selected randomly on the basis of availability by the assistant head teacher. They came from diverse backgrounds including different
religious sects, students from mixed parentage, and foreign residents. Although, the interview started with a diverse group, the Egyptian girls left quite early, followed by others at later times as they were called in as their parents came to pick them up before the end of school day (revision period).

As a result of the pilot study, I decided it might be best to have a one-to-one interview with the pupils instead of a focus group. This was a difficult decision as I believed focus groups is a better method to be used with young people and it would generate more discussion. However, I realised from the pilot, that not all pupils felt comfortable talking in front of others and that their contributions were affected by who left the group. Moreover, due to the sensitivity of the topic I opted for a sample of volunteers on a one-to-one basis.

A visit to the classroom on the preliminary visit was negotiated with the school administration for a short observation and to ask for volunteers for a one-to-one interview with two to four pupils. This way I was able to choose from the number of volunteers those who would give a diverse representation of the pupils. In general, the pilot study was very useful in clarifying the research design and procedure. It also helped refine the interview schedules and the style of interviewing selected for the pupils.

4.10 Interview Schedules

The interview schedules were designed based on the theoretical framework, the main research question and the ethical issues related to the study by outlining the broad areas of knowledge that are relevant to answering the research questions and develop questions related to these areas and shaping them to fit each respondents’ group. Four schedules were used to accommodate the four target groups; policymakers, teachers, students and elite.

Firstly, students interviews started with questions about the schools they have been to before and which they liked most and why. And policymakers and teachers were asked about their qualification and work experience. Students were then asked about their opinion of the citizenship education subject and why they think so, following up with what were the most and least interesting topics you learned about and why. Then
questions build up to specific concepts such as citizen and resident in general and what is meant by a Bahraini citizen, which would lead to asking about diversity in the Bahraini society and what they learn about it in the subject. Then students will be asked individual questions what the words citizenship, loyalty, belonging, democracy, women’s rights, the constitution, voting, identity and other concepts means to them. Further questions about the teaching methods used in the subject and opportunities available to them to discuss controversial issues and practice some of the concepts learned in the textbook. The last part of students’ interviews would cover questions relating to their after school activities, what they would like to change about the subject as a content and approach.

Secondly, teachers’ interviews covered questions related to their teaching background, number of years teaching the subject and their knowledge of the citizenship education policy document. None of the teachers had any knowledge of the policy document and most of them had to undergo a short training run by the Curricula Directorate, policymakers/textbook authors, to be eligible to teach the subject. Then teachers were asked why they think this subject was introduced and how it differed if it all from the previous subject Tarbia Wattania in terms of content and approach. They were asked about social cohesion and how diversity in the Bahraini society is reflected in the subject and the civil society’s role. Teachers were also asked about their favourite and least liked topics in the textbook to teach and the challenges they face in teaching this subject. Their understandings of the main concepts covered in the theoretical framework, the policy document and the textbook. They were also asked if they had been in a training and its main outcomes. The last part of their interviews covered questioned related to their aspirations to the subject and how they think it can be improved.

Thirdly, policymakers’/textbook authors’ interviews covered questions related to their role in writing the policy document/student textbook, their rationale for introducing the subject, its aims and most importantly their understandings of all the different concepts related to citizenship. They were asked more direct questions such as what is more important to you the community or the individual, rights or responsibilities. Also, they were asked about concepts such as loyalty and belonging that are covered in the policy document and how it is reflected in the textbook, the references used to develop the
policy document and the impact of the 2002 citizenship education conference and workshops affected the policy document in Bahrain.

Elite schedule included questions to the previous minister that was responsible for education during the teaching of the previous subject *Tarbia Wattania*. His questions were mostly about the rationale for teaching *Tarbia wattania* in the seventies and the new citizenship education introduced in 2005 and the socio-political circumstances related to both.

I chose the above approach for the interview schedules because of the sensitivity of the topic to most people in Bahrain. Therefore, interviewees were eased into the interview with general questions of likes and dislikes to build rapport and lead to more specific questions related to their perceptions of political concepts that are more complex. And at the last part of the interview covered more sensitive questions followed by questions to empower the interviewee and make him/her feel listened to such as what they would change about the subject and their aspirations. Asking the questions in more than one way should help the participants to articulate their conceptions and identify tensions.

### 4.11 Reliability, Validity and Representativeness

Each research and research method should be examined critically in relation to its reliability, validity and representativeness (Finn et al. 2000). The reliability of a method is related to the consistency of the results obtained from it. In the case of a questionnaire, the questions should obtain the same answer from a person each time it is asked. To assure this, the questions should be simple and clearly worded (Finn et al. 2000; Bell 2001). The validity of a research instrument indicates if it measures what it is supposed to measure (ibid) and if the collected information really reflects the phenomenon that is studied (Veal 1997). Finally, the representativeness of a research’s results indicates to what extent these results can be generalised (Finn et al. 2000), by asking if the data and the research methods, together with conclusions derived from data analysis, are broader in their application than the sample of respondents studied (Clark et al. 2002).

Cohen et al. (2000, p. 105) argue that “in qualitative data the subjectivity of respondents, their opinions, attitudes and perspectives together contribute to a degree of bias, “understanding is a more suitable term than ‘validity’ in qualitative research” (p. 106).
The claim is made (Agar 1993) that, in qualitative data collection, the intense personal involvement and in-depth responses of individuals secure a sufficient level of validity and reliability. In this research, I realised the subjectivity and sensitivity of the topic, and how data collected might be different if taken by different interviewers. For example, my background might have influenced the extent of the participants’ openness to the questions. Some Shia male teachers might have been more cautious answering questions coming from me, an employee of the ministry of education and a Sunni female, whereas they might have felt more at ease answering the same questions if they were asked by a fellow Shia who was not employed by the ministry of education. Similarly, Sunni female teachers were more open talking to me about sectarian issues than their fellow Shia female teachers. For example, I noticed the reluctance of Shia teachers to talk about sectarian incidents or acts of vandalism carried by Shia children and youth. On the other hand, I did not feel the same level of caution from the pupils. To reduce the invalidity of the data, in-depth semi-structured one-to-one interviews were opted to allow the participants more flexibility to create a rapport with the interviewer to speak freely rather than fill questionnaire, therefore giving more validity to the data.

4.12 Ethical Issues

May (2001, p 59) explains that ethics" is concerned with the attempt to formulate codes and principles of moral behaviour. Ethical decisions are not being defined in terms of what is advantageous to the researcher or the project upon which they are working. They are concerned with what is right or just, in the interests of not only the project, its sponsors or workers, but also others who are the participants in the research".

According to May 2001, there are two ways in which approaches to ethics and social research have proceeded: deontology and consequentialism. The first viewed as a doctrine of universal form and "is intended to be followed regardless of the place and circumstances in which the researchers find themselves". On the other hand, consequentialism is concerned with the situation in which researchers may find themselves and with the consequences of their acts. Also, adherence to deontological
ethical codes would entail undue restrictions on the researcher's activities and creativity, as well as preventing the representation of marginalized voices.

In summary, rigid sets of ethical rules may constrain social research whilst a loose set may lead to immoral practices. Therefore, a middle ground is preferable where both context and guidelines are considered together.

In this research project, many ethical issues arose. First, being sponsored and employed by the government of Bahrain, puts me at an awkward position professionally as well as socially as most of the policymakers are work colleagues and some are friends. However, this allowed me easy access and immediate cooperation. Moreover, being a female Bahraini citizen, cultural and religious barriers may have played a part in terms of receptiveness and openness of different research participants. I tried to give an honest representation of myself without jeopardising the research objectives or deceive the participants in order to gain more openness. For example, I did not change my accent depending on the participants, even though my opinion based on cultural understanding was that Shia participants might have been more open if they assumed I was Shia.

On the other hand, I had to adjust my dress code to an extent by wearing Abbaya, which is what the majority of women in Bahrain wear. However, I did not cover my hair even in Boys’ schools. Again this might have had some implication on the participants’ receptiveness and potentially could have influenced their answers. Also, a couple of boys in the study mentioned some critical information in terms of experiences they went through that might be used against them by law. Ethical codes are, however, general and absolute. They are intellectualised, objective constructions that make no allowance for cultural, social, personal and emotional variations. In acceptance of that ethical code, I decided to maintain confidentiality of information that could potentially be interpreted as one of national security nature to some of the participants. Interestingly, Fisher (2012) argues in her paper ‘Ethics in Qualitative Research: Vulnerability, Citizenship and Human Rights’, regarding the ethical prioritisation in qualitative research studies on assessing a person’s fitness to provide an informed consent, that it may have unwanted as well as desirable consequences particularly to socially marginalised groups who tend to be labelled vulnerable. According to Fisher, the liberal model of citizenship underpinning ethical practices has placed the emphasis on negative
freedoms whilst overlooking the benefits derived from participation in qualitative research. In relation to my research, an informed consent was crucial. But I also intended through the use of in-depth interviews to offer opportunities of differing perspectives, including those who perceive themselves as vulnerable in their schools such as naturalised pupils, to allow pupils from different backgrounds to have the choice to volunteer to voice their opinions and concerns.

Moreover, all participants gave an informed consent before the start of their interviews and I explained to them that they had the right to withdraw from the interview whenever they chose to do so. Among all the participants, two boys from one school requested to do so individually as they said they did not take citizenship education and a third one from a different school explained he just did not want to do it. I did not try to convince them otherwise and respected their decision. But it probably had to do with their teachers choosing them for the study rather than doing so voluntarily. Unfortunately, all five boys’ schools’ management decided that they approach their boys themselves and thus rejected my suggestion of introducing myself to the classrooms and asking for volunteers. One boys’ school went even a step further by designating an empty room and instructing me to lock the door using a key the whole time I was there for my own protection.

All participants were assured of the anonymity of their identity and the confidentiality and security of the data through the use of pseudonyms. For further reassurance, when I entered girls’ classrooms to introduce myself and explained to them the purpose of my study, I asked for volunteers without taking names. At the beginning of each individual interview, I showed them my notepad which did not include any names. Also, I took their permission before using a recorder and only two Sunni female teachers from the same school opted for not using a recorder, which made it more difficult for me in terms of managing the interview and taking notes but I respected their decision.
4.13 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Research Design

The research design was based on conducting a qualitative study that aimed to examine policy as text and policy as implemented in schools. Based on the initial pilot study using focus groups, aspects of the research design was altered. For example, instead of using focus groups with pupils, I opted for in-depth one to one interviews as I found out that focus groups were disadvantageous against those less extrovert pupils and lack privacy for participants especially in discussing controversial issues. Therefore, using in-depth interviews was a strength as it provided large amounts of rich and descriptive data that satisfied the research objectives and minimised unwanted exposure to others. From a triangulation perspective, I believe having for example two interviewers, a Shia and a Sunni, might have strengthened the validity of the data and possibly showed if there were any significant differences in the participants’ answers depending on the interviewer’s background. The fact that this study was conducted prior to February 2011’s unrest is advantageous as it identified existing tensions prior to that date, yet I feel it would have been more challenging to conduct the same research after that date, whether in terms of obtaining permission to conduct the research or in terms of school managements’ willingness to have me in their schools. This is due to the fact that tensions have heightened a lot more since then and the response of participants might be highly influenced to their position during and after the unrest.

On the other hand, triangulation methods using different sources of data such as policy documents, meetings minutes, student textbook as well as policymakers, teachers and pupils strengthened the study in relation to cross-referencing all these data sources and using an electronic data analysis software was extremely useful in managing that large amount of descriptive data.
4.14 Conclusion

The research in the main employed a qualitative approach, using official documents and semi-structured interviews both face to face and on a focus group basis were administered by the researcher. The sample included all stakeholders including school teachers and pupils. Balance of the interviewees on religious background and citizenship status was observed to reflect the cross-section of the Bahraini society as much as possible. Permission was obtained from the school administrators and the subjects themselves. Anonymity, self-determination and confidentiality were ensured during administration of the interviews and report writing. This chapter reviewed the research process and gave account of the research techniques and sampling in an attempt to answer the research question based on the theoretical framework and socio-political context of Bahrain. It also reviewed validity and ethical issues and procedures the researcher had to consider.

In the next chapters, findings from the study are divided into four chapters that discuss and analyse the data collected. The first of them will detail an analysis of key policy documents and the formal textbook and form a platform of key themes for the following discussion chapters.
Chapter 5: Policy Tensions

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will give an analysis of key policy documents used in this thesis to lay the foundation for the rest of the discussion chapters. It will cover the citizenship education conference which was a critical juncture in the development of the new citizenship education curriculum as well as the policy documents and formal textbook. These will include data gathered from policymakers’ interviews in light of their role in the development of the policy document and the textbook as well as evidence collected from teachers to provide a platform for discussion of key themes and issues in the next chapters.

5.2 Citizenship Conference 2002

As part of an ongoing cooperation between the Ministry of Education, represented by the Directorate of Curricula, and the British Council in Bahrain, a meeting between the directors of the two institutions at the time was held and a discussion of a need for developing responsible citizens in Bahrain was raised. The British Council offered support in the organisation of a national citizenship conference which led to the invitation of English experts from the London-based Citizenship Foundation as well as other speakers from Bahrain. The conference was held in April 2002. There was little documentation to the conference and colleagues who participated in the conference mentioned there was local criticism refusing what they termed ‘importing a national concept such as citizenship from abroad’. In addition to the Citizenship Foundation policy contributions, a paper was presented by the directorate of curricula that outlined the directorate’s rationale for a new citizenship education as an independent subject due to three main reasons: a national necessity to develop a sense of loyalty and belonging; a social need to develop knowledge, skills, citizenship values, dispositions and participation in community service and knowledge of rights and responsibilities; and an international need to prepare citizens to be able to respond to international changes (al-Khaja, al-Ghatam, & al-Marzooq, 2002).

In their 2002 Annual Review, Citizenship Foundation lists a policy seminar and citizenship conference requested by Bahrain in their international work. In their 2003
Annual Review, they report that in October 2002, a week-long training programme in Bahrain for over one hundred primary and secondary teachers was delivered by a Citizenship Foundation team, which covered discussion-based pedagogical approaches, whole school citizenship and examples of effective resources, and was designed to enable attendees in turn to train further teachers in their locality. As a result of that focused policy input from the Citizenship Foundation, which was based on the English context, many of Bahrain’s policymakers were influenced by their model and was taken as a founding structure for the renewed citizenship education in Bahrain. Although the socio-political structure for Bahrain is far different from its former colonist/protector, this face value adoption of policy can be attributed to the perceived superiority of the former colonist despite some resentment to Western liberal values and principles that is revealed later during the development of the policy documents and its failure to translate such concepts in a meaningful manner into the formal textbook. Therefore, the contribution of the Citizenship Foundation was a critical juncture in the development of citizenship education approach in Bahrain despite its failure to produce a national debate on the definition of citizenship and citizenship education that is meaningful to the socio-political structure of Bahrain as mentioned in the contextual chapter.

5.3 Citizenship Education Curriculum Document (CECD)

A directorial decision number 1/2004 was issued to form a team of curriculum specialists to write the citizenship education curriculum policy in 2004, almost after two years of organising the policy seminar and citizenship conference. That can be related to the criticism the ministry of education received for what was described as “importing citizenship”. However, in corresponding to the need for such an education that was perceived as a solution to the socio-political challenges the country was witnessing as well as one of the initiatives of King Hamad Reform Project, the team was made of 14 specialists from all the different curricular units.

Later the same year, ministerial decision number 252/2004 was issued to form a ministerial committee made up of 20 members from all different directorates of the Ministry of Education to write the new citizenship education curriculum document. Although the citizenship education curriculum document was still under review at the time, several textbooks were developed based on this document for each of the basic
school years (Grade 1 to 9) and one textbook was developed for secondary stage (Grades 10 to 12) called, "Citizenship Education: the political system". In addition to the guidelines of the English policy, Bahraini curriculum specialists referred heavily to American curriculum standards which were detailed and easier to transfer into a curriculum matrix.

The citizenship education curriculum document, CECD, policy lists three reasons for the teaching of citizenship education. These are: (i) a national/patriotic necessity to develop feelings of belonging, (ii) a social necessity to develop knowledge, abilities, values, dispositions and participation in community service and knowledge of rights and obligations, and (iii) an international necessity to prepare a citizen according to international changes (CECD 2008, p. 5), which were the same reasons presented by the Curricula Directorate at the conference mentioned earlier. Furthermore, human rights, women’s rights and children’s rights have been included in the Bahraini curriculum as a result of UNESCO recommendations (UNESCO 1974, p 164) and as response to the recommendation of the Representative House to teach concepts of human rights, democracy and citizenship education (Student textbook 2005, p 5). Moreover, the political reforms (as mentioned in Chapter 2) that followed sectarian tensions during the mid-nineties’ uprising required an educational component. Therefore, citizenship education was in a way a response to external and internal factors, i.e. to abide by Bahrain’s commitment to International Human Rights treaty with international organisations such as UNESCO to include human rights in its curriculum and on the other side to develop loyalty and belonging to the political leadership and the country.

The citizenship education curriculum policy is made up of four main strands that are covered in all four cycles\textsuperscript{22} of the education system, these are:

1. the citizen and the political system;
2. cultural diversity in Bahraini society;
3. the cultural role of the Kingdom of Bahrain;
4. role of the citizen in a democracy (CECD 2004).

\textsuperscript{22} Education in Bahrain is divided into four cycles: Primary education cycle 1 (grades 1-3) and cycle 2 (grades 4-6), intermediate education cycle 3 (grades 7-9), cycle 4 (secondary education grades 10-12)
The study examines the second and fourth strands of the fourth cycle of the education system in Bahrain (Secondary Education). The reason for selecting these particular strands are related to their relevance to the study’s focus as the first strand is focused on political systems which will deviate from the main aim of this study. So is the third strand which is about the foreign affairs of Bahrain and its international relations which is mostly informative. The focus on the second strand aims to understand better where policy and practice stand in relation to the diversity of the Bahraini society, especially that this strand specifically was added by the Bahraini policymakers’ team to adapt Western policy references to contextualise the curriculum policy and framework and to respond to the socio-political challenges that affected Bahraini society in the last decade and resulted in a new social phenomenon in schools. In addition, the fourth strand is closely related to Western conceptions of citizenship and democracy which is relevant to the aims of the study as explained earlier. Examining this strand is crucial to help understand whether policymakers are serious about the importance of teaching students about democracy and human rights or whether, instead, they have been influenced by a desire to satisfy UNESCO requirements to include these concepts in education policies and practices.

Each Member State should formulate and apply national policies aimed at increasing the efficacy of education in all its forms and strengthening its contribution to international understanding and co-operation, to the maintenance and development of a just peace, to the establishment of social justice, to respect for and application of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to the eradication of the prejudices, misconceptions, inequalities and all forms of injustice which hinder the achievement of these aims (UNESCO 1974 Recommendation).

In this section, I intend to explore the strands to highlight possible tensions that underlie policy aims. Each strand of the fourth cycle (secondary level) has one principal standard, five secondary standards and twenty four performance standards/indicators. The principal standard for the second strand is “to be aware of the social, political and economic characteristics of the Kingdom of Bahrain”. The following attainment targets are derived from this. The student:

1. understands the cultural diversity in Bahraini society;
2. identifies the **King’s political reform project** and its importance in developing Bahraini society;

3. appreciates the role of trade unions, societies and **voluntary work** in promoting **democracy** and the development of social, political and economic life;

4. respects the **differences in viewpoints** to achieve **coexistence** with others and work with them;

5. identifies the characteristics of Bahrain economy and ways of developing it based on its national wealth.

Although the principal standard for this strand, the cultural diversity of the Bahraini society, clearly emphasises the particularity of the social, political and economic characteristics of Bahrain, there is no explicit reference to these social characteristics, in the curriculum document nor in the textbook. This is important as it suggests that such particularity of Bahraini society should be implicitly known without explicit identification to avoid conflicting views about them.

The principal standard for the fourth strand is "to adopt values of **citizenship**, **democracy** and **human rights** to participate effectively in political and civil life". The following attainment targets are derived from this. The student:

1. translates his/her **loyalty and belonging** into his/her daily life;

2. appreciates the **importance of political leadership** and its role in providing public services to build a **democratic society**;

3. abides by the **limitations of his personal, civil, political and economic rights**;

4. exercises life skills that would reinforce his/her ability to do carry out personal, social and civil **responsibilities**;

5. **participates positively** in political, social and economic life in order to achieve goals and the requirements for developing his/her **community** (CECP, 2004).

This strand is rather contradictory as its principal standard is clearly liberal with its emphasis on democracy and human rights, yet its attainment targets emphasise communitarian characteristics by using words such as: loyalty, belonging, limitations of rights, responsibilities, and community.
These two particular strands are useful to examine as they combine features of both liberal and communitarian principles within them. Both the above strands and the more detailed attainment targets for the second and fourth strands highlight the importance placed on identity, community, limitations of rights and responsibilities (communitarian principles) as well as concepts such as diversity, co-existence, democracy, human rights and citizenship values (liberal principles).

With regard to the second strand, the policy document addresses a number of concepts: diversity, coexistence, King Reform Project, role of societies, voluntary work, and democracy. By assigning one strand out of four strands in the citizenship education curriculum in Bahrain, it can be deduced that diversity was a crucial component of the curriculum and these concepts and principles emphasised a liberal tradition of citizenship. However, looking at the five detailed attainment targets for the fourth cycle (secondary education, 15-18 year olds) of education in the curriculum policy framework, the first of these was to understand the role of diversity in enriching the cultural heritage and common values in Bahraini society. The learning objectives for this were (1) appreciate the importance of diversity and its positive role in the lives of the Bahraini people, (2) know examples of disputes that occurred as a result of diversity and understand ways of resolving them and manage them, (3) proud of common values and principles of the Bahraini people (cultural, social, etc.), (4) know constitutional values and principles that are necessary to manage and resolve conflicts.

The only other detailed attainment target that addressed this matter was number four: respect diversity of views to achieve coexistence with others and work with them. In this detailed attainment target, there were three learning objectives: (1) distinguish between criticising people’s positions and criticising their being according to specific measures (2) distinguish between different positions and between aggression towards others, (3) show the value of dialogue in bridging between persons and peoples to each other.

These learning objectives clearly addressed issues of diversity, tolerance and conflict resolution. On the other hand, it claimed that there were common values and principles of the Bahraini people that students should be proud of. This assumes a particular identity of the Bahraini people that was distinct from other people, which is distinct.
from the universal values of liberalism. However, it failed to state what these particularities were except that they were cultural, social and etc.

The policy document listed eleven aims to be achieved by students, by the end of the citizenship education curriculum. Three of those relevant to diversity and particularities in Bahraini society. Aim number five stated “respect cultural diversity, and addresses the importance of values of co-existence to achieve national unity principles”. Followed by aim six “aware of the impact of the particularities of the Bahraini society, cultural, social, political, economic, and its role in maintaining the identity of the community and a common cultural heritage” and aim ten “develop a sense of responsibility towards the issues of peace, tolerance and international understanding to achieve the concept of global citizenship” (CECD 2004, p3).

Although aim number five acknowledged cultural diversity and encouraged co-existence to achieve national unity, aim six indicated that there was one identity in the Bahraini society and a common cultural heritage that was distinctive culturally, socially, politically and economically. This contradiction of statements was evident elsewhere in the policy and student textbook. Moreover, there were no direct references to diversity in Bahraini society in the student textbook, nor there were any attempts to address the challenges associated with it. There was no mention of what constituted a Bahraini society or the groups that construct it. Also, aim ten touched upon the concept of global citizenship and the importance of developing a responsibility towards the issues of peace, tolerance and international understanding, implying these issues were of a global nature rather than local or national.

As a result, tensions within the policy document are evident whether in the selection of the four main strands that were derived from the initial three strands of the English citizenship education policy as discussed in the theoretical framework, and the addition of a fourth strand dedicated to address the socio-political context of Bahrain, diversity of the Bahraini society. These tensions are further transferred in the form of principal standards and attainment targets that are incoherent and sometimes ideologically opposed as showed above.
5.4 Formal Textbook

The first edition of the pupil formal textbook for citizenship education for secondary education was published in 2005 and had 119 pages. All editions have a coloured portrait of his Majesty King Hamad, followed by an introduction page written by the authors that states that “according to instructions given by His Majesty King Hamad, King of Bahrain, to teach the political system to all secondary students in all schools in Bahrain” and continues to state the constitutional article related to the teaching of “national” education. The authors refer to the citizenship education curriculum document (CECD) as a main reference to guide their writing and assert that “citizenship as a topic exists in social life through the solidarity of its people and common interests in an Arab Muslim framework, which produced a Bahraini character society”. Comparing the authors’ note to the CECD, which they claim was the main reference for writing the textbook, clear shortcomings are evident in the textbook as it fails to include any of the topics related to the standards mentioned above. Moreover, their final statement contradicts the diversity strand by stating Arab Muslim as the an exclusive identity, which excludes all other religious and ethnic groups such as Christians, Jews, and non-Arab Bahrainis as described in the contextual chapter.

The student textbook (published in 2005) was written by two of the policymakers interviewed, an educational expert, a university lecturer and a school senior teacher and was based on the curriculum framework in the policy document. The textbook was made up of two sections and four units altogether. The first section was entitled citizenship education and included definitions for homeland, citizen, government achievements and human rights, which was added to respond to the prime minister’s instruction to enforce the parliament’s recommendation regarding the teaching of human rights, democracy and citizenship education. The second section was entitled the political system and consisted of three units that covered the concept of statehood and general knowledge and definitions of political systems and was a response to the King’s instruction to teach the political system in schools.

The citizenship education section had one unit entitled citizenship and human rights. That unit was divided into four lessons: (1) homeland/country, citizen and national consciousness, (2) kingdom’s ministries: its tasks and achievements, (3) human rights,
(4) human rights and democratic practice in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Each unit started with a set of aims and learning outcomes. The first unit (citizenship and human rights) had fifteen learning outcomes, none of them addressed diversity. Nevertheless, objective four stated ‘know concepts of wattan (homeland/country), muwattana (citizenship), loyalty and belonging, the first lesson addresses these concepts and gives definitions for wattan and muwatten (homeland and citizen).

In the first lesson, definitions of homeland (country) and citizen were given. Wattan (homeland) was defined as a person’s place or the land a person takes for residence, and therefore the land a group settles in is considered wattan for that group. It then provided two conventional meanings that were described as original wattan and wattan of residence. From the field study evidence, the distinction between citizenship and residence appeared to have caused some confusion amongst some of the sampled students and teachers. For example students reciting phrases from the textbook and getting the sequence of the words wrong, i.e. textbook differentiated between country of origin and country of residence and some students seemed to have adapted those concepts and applied them to what they called original citizen and residing citizen. An example of the confusion amongst students related to this paragraph:

School B Sh 4: someone who enjoys rights and duties, for example an African for example, you don’t see they have rights, you don’t see they have duties, they are not considered citizens. There are two types of citizens, residing original citizen and a citizen, eh, someone who comes from abroad, meaning before naturalisation. They come as human resources for example. They use them and they come as labour force. This is it.

The textbook defined the first as “the state an individual has its citizenship (jensya) and the place he/she was born and bred”, and the second as “where a person goes with his family to reside in for a periods of time without taking it as a permanent residence” (Student textbook 2005, p 13).

At least four students, two boys and two girls, all Sunni except one boy, identified two types of citizens, an original and a residing one. Although, this is not in the textbook, it can be concluded that it originated from the textbook’s identification of an original
"wattan" and a residing "wattan." In his answer to what makes a Bahraini citizen, one of the policymakers clarified the inclusion of that paragraph in the textbook as follows:

Policymaker 2: I assume a Bahraini citizen is one whose grandfathers and his children live and I think having the nationality (legal status) is crucial, but here in the textbook, as long as one lives here, I remember the minister of education, he has a vision, that this textbook is also studied by foreigners, as long as they live on this land, and of course this is a progressive vision, it is indeed, because you expect of foreigners to act as citizens, and therefore the legal status is not a requirement, but this is what the textbook states.

Although, the above concept was introduced, as a “progressive vision to include the other”, as described by policymaker 2, it seems that its intention should be communicated better as it is open for interpretation. Following is a negative followed by a positive example of both. However, belonging seems like a problematic factor in both, especially that when asked how to determine these factors students were unable to give answers that are not related to going to war.

School E B 4 (S): with regard to the original [citizen], he has belonging, ok, meaning belonging that he doesn’t allow any harm to be placed on his country, doesn’t allow any thing that happens inside his country. Whereas that one [residing citizen] has from both sides external belonging and internal belonging. This is my opinion.

School F G 3 (s): As we understood it we define a citizen as someone who belongs to the area he is in, whether his belonging was, we divided between them, we have a citizen, an original citizen and a citizen who came as a resident in the country, but he is considered a citizen and has rights and obligations, rights of a citizen and obligations of a citizen. He belongs to the state [country] and has obligations to belong, belonging and loyalty, that he works, gives all he has in order to push the state forward and has obligations. These are his obligations. And he has rights that the state respects his opinions, gives him the freedom in the state, there were lots of rights. He is someone who belongs to the state, and has rights and obligations towards it, whether he is a resident or born in the state.

With regard to residents, as mentioned earlier, most students seemed confused by lesson one which defined two forms of homeland, an original and a residing homeland. And this confusion might have been amplified as the textbook identified two forms of loyalty, a natural form of loyalty that was exclusive to the sons [and daughters] of the homeland, and a realistic form of loyalty that was the loyalty of foreigners to the country they reside in.
Another girl from School I, Shia majority, also seemed confused with the term resident and citizen:
Lubna: Does a resident have rights in the residing country?
School I G Sh 4: Yes like the, they treat him especially in Bahrain like a citizen.
Lubna: How?
School I G Sh 4: Because he has citizenship.

It is clear that there was a lot of confusion caused by these newly introduced terms. It is evident that many of the teachers had little understanding of what they meant and as a result that confusion was passed to the students. Also, it can be argued that this confusion was more evident in schools which had Shia teachers, leading to the general views shared in Shia media about naturalised citizens.

School B B 4 (Sh): Enjoys rights and obligations, for example, in Africa you don’t see them having rights, you don’t see them having obligations. These are not considered citizens. There are two types of citizens, a residing original citizen and a citizen who a, who comes from abroad, meaning before naturalisation. They come as human resources for example... they use them and they come as labour workers. That.

On the other hand, a Sunni girl from Muharraq was also confused by the terminology but seemed to have grasped the initial intention by the textbook authors and had a clear pro government position. The confusion of terminology that was introduced in the first lesson between an original homeland and a residing homeland was transferred by most students and some teachers to include the use of the term original citizen and residing citizen which may have created further tensions between Bahraini students and residents/ naturalized Bahraini students as the data suggested. However, challenges in schools extended this terminology confusion of citizens and residents and included a wider range of groups, such as Ajam, Shia, Sunni, Naturalised, etc. Following are some examples of these challenges:

School I B 2 Sh: in Middle school I was in a position… some people from those who hold a citizenship, meaning from the Syrians. There was problems between them and I, about why do you discriminate against us. I told them I don’t discriminate against you. There are other people than me, go to them, I don’t discriminate against you.
Another interesting perspective came from a naturalised boy, when I asked him if democracy is suitable for Bahraini people he answered no. So I asked him why.

School D B 4 N: They occur as a result of the tiniest word uttered; disputes happen. For example, one made fun of someone else the other day, the other one talked back to him, so he called his brothers who were outside the school.

Lubna: Were they fighting because of origins?
School D B 4 N: Yes and they exchange words and they called out for their friends and blood was spelled and everything.
Lubna: Was this in the school or outside the schools’ walls?
School D B 4 N: Inside the school.
Lubna: In your school, do you think the naturalised Bahrainis feel they are Bahrainis or not?
School D B 4 N: Some of them do, some of them don’t, MOST of them don’t.

This is a serious cause of concern as naturalised students as well as non-citizens need to feel welcome and part of the society and confusion of terminology used in the textbook seem to cause further tensions in the classrooms.

Moreover, amongst the citizen’s duties listed in the first lesson was to protect the heritage and history of the country. As discussed in chapter three, communitarians tend to value this concept that is usually emphasised with constant stress of loyalty and belonging to the society and the homeland/country as duties of citizens. At the end of that section in the textbook, there was a three-bullet summary of what the students should have learned followed by some questions. For example bullet point three stated “duties mean the homeland/country’s right over you and rights mean your right over the homeland/country” (student textbook, p13). This play of words also caused some confusion amongst some students. With regard to the questions, two examples were given in the textbook for students to determine whether someone was a Bahraini citizen or not. Example (1): “A Bahraini resides in the United States of America and holds a Bahraini citizenship, is he an American citizen or a Bahraini citizen? Explain your answer” and the second example: “an Arab citizen resides in Bahrain for twenty five years and holds a Bahraini citizenship, is he a Bahraini citizen? Explain your answer” (Student textbook, p14). This example was of great concern to a male Shia teacher (teaching in a Sunni majority area) I interviewed and many others said they would avoid addressing in their lessons.
School G T 1: I try to avoid this section as it caused a lot of sensitivity in the classroom especially amongst naturalised students and so I shift from the usual teaching approach of lecturing and I use a worksheet instead to ‘postpone’ this issue.

Although the above two examples taken from the textbook can be considered official attempts to address issues related to diversity, they could be structured in a better way to avoid controversy in class and cause further unintended damage. Teachers’ reluctance to teach these issues confirms that they were struggling with the same concepts and ideologies, and that whatever training they had to teach this subject was insufficient.

On the other hand, in the second example, labelling an Arab citizen implied that there was an acknowledged Arab citizenship. Although it can be admirable that the textbook had attempted to address such a sensitive issue, granting Bahraini citizenship to other Arabs is a highly controversial issue in Bahrain, especially amongst the political opposition, it could have achieved better impact if it was done more systematically and in a cohesive manner which prepares the students and teachers for such a question. Moreover, in my opinion, the introduction of the concept of ‘original country’ and ‘residing country’ also had been used negatively by the students despite its initial well-intention as envisioned by his Excellency the Minister of Education as quoted by one of the policymakers in the above. Therefore, it can be argued that despite the policy’s attempt to address issues of diversity, its translation into student textbook could have been planned and executed better.

The only reference made in the textbook regarding diversity was covered in the second lesson of the third unit, under democratic rule and its types. After a short section on liberty and human rights, there was a shorter section headed pluralism that defined pluralism as “believing in freedom as an idea and the importance of dialogue between groups, rejection of monopoly of truth and respect others’ opinions” (Student textbook, p 72). This short section was followed by a box which gave a further definition of pluralism from a cultural and political point of view. However, these boxes were not covered in the exams and therefore students did not have to study them or learn them as I was told by a number of students from the sample. Even though this particular
definition of pluralism attempts to encourage dialogue between groups, it had little effect in dealing with diversity, as one teacher said diversity was not covered in the textbook. I then asked if pluralism was covered, he said:

School E T 1: yes but very briefly. If you’re saying that I’m saying that the textbook does not cover this diversity and you redressed and said pluralism, I, the textbook here does not talk about pluralism that is reflected in the school’s reality.

The above representative quotation from the sampled teachers shows that they acknowledge the challenges presented to them in schools related to the diversity of the school demography, yet they are not addressed in the textbook.

Also, in the first lesson of the second unit, the historical development of the state, there was a section that defined the people as “the citizens of the state who hold its citizenship and have rights and duties stipulated by the constitution; whereas a nation, umma, is a group of peoples connected by language, religion, history and tradition ties” (Student textbook, p 51). It also stated that Kingdom of Bahrain was part of the Arab umma/nation and gave the following quote from the constitution of Bahrain “Kingdom of Bahrain is Arabic Muslim... and its territory is part of the big Arab homeland” (Student textbook, p 51). This description did not specify a particular common identity of the Bahraini people, yet it did so when describing Bahrain as part of the Big Arab homeland by language, religion, history and tradition, implying homogeneity in Bahrain and in the big Arab homeland. This is contradicted by an example of other countries where the people are made up of different races and sects such as the United States of America, where the American people are made of European, Asian and African races and different religious sects. A summary was given at the end of the lesson with the following points: “(i) concept of umma is different from the concept of the people, (ii) there are racial and religious diversity in some countries’ people such as the United States of America” (Student textbook, p53). This example claimed that unlike the United States of America with its diverse people, Bahrain’s people were homogeneous and were not diverse, which negates having a strand exclusive for diversity in the policy.

There was also another reference of diversity in lesson four in unit one, human rights and democratic practice in Bahrain. In the fourth section of the lesson, the civil society,
under the characteristics of the civil society there were six points that were required to be taught: “(1) respect the right of difference, recognition of others and respect their views, (2) accept coexistence in society and recognition of other social groups, (3) respect for the law and human rights principles, (4) the practice of dialogue and the abandonment of the idea of conflict and violence as means to resolve conflicts, (5) responsibility and awareness of the consequences of actions and complying with ethical and legal rules, and (6) giving priority to public interest to private interest” (Student textbook, p 41). These guidelines are indirect approach to diversity in the Bahraini society that was addressed from a civil society angle.

Another indirect form of addressing diversity in the textbook was done through the use of photos and drawings. For example, there was a diagram showing the steps to vote in elections using drawings. These drawings showed men dressed in traditional clothes and others in shirts and jeans. Also, it had one woman wearing a head scarf and another wearing trousers without a headscarf therefore sending a message that diversity existed in society and was acceptable in terms of a dress code and that women had the same right of voting as men (Student textbook, p 43). However, the textbook could have more photos of women. Especially that women’s rights and roles were given a section in two pages.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the textbook had a few indirect attempts to reflect the second strand of the policy, cultural diversity in Bahraini society, but it failed to address diversity issues in the society, leading to ignoring discrimination issues and proposing means to counter them.

5.5 Policymakers’ Perceptions

As can be inferred from the previous section that policy whether in the form of the curriculum document or the student textbook had many tensions within its aims. The first learning outcome for the subject listed in the curriculum policy document discusses “the need for students to develop values of belonging to the nation and preserving its achievements and resources and defend them” (CECD 2004, 2008 p 3). Concepts of wattan (homeland/nation), muwattana (citizenship), loyalty and belonging are also addressed in great detail. In fact, the first lesson in the textbook attributes social problems in Arabic societies to a lack of loyalty and belonging in citizens towards the nation. The lesson combined the four concepts (wattan, citizen, loyalty and belonging)
in one lesson. In relation to policymakers’ perceptions of citizenship, when asked what citizenship means to them:

Policymaker 2: citizenship as a concept means to me, the existence of, citizenship I imagine is an important creek to build a human citizen, to be opened to the nation’s issues through participating in it, cares about what’s going on in the community and citizenship means to me, let’s say, if there isn’t any citizenship, can a citizen be built without citizenship education? No I don’t think so. It is unacceptable because education, education on citizenship is one of the main foundations.

Policymaker 2 also agreed with the importance of citizenship and citizenship education in creating an active participative citizen in the community. Whereas policymaker 3, a politically active Shia woman, defined citizenship education as preparation of a good citizen who is aware of his/her rights and obligations.

Policymaker 3: Citizenship is preparation of a good citizen, who knows his rights and obligations, this is it, knows what his rights and obligations are.

Lubna: as a previous teacher of the subject and as a policy maker now, what do you wish students will learn from citizenship education?

Policymaker 3: to be a good citizen, an educated citizen and a constructive citizen. This is what we call…, doesn’t rely on creating problems or taking things by screaming, or that, taking it with scientific means, what is a right and what is a duty and how can I live in a civil society, with multi-views, multi-spectral, how can I create a harmony that a student harmonises with these changes? How can he look in a distinctive image that he is a Bahraini citizen with certain features and certain advantages.

Having left the policymakers’ interviews to the end, I was able to conduct an initial analysis of the teachers’ and students’ conception of citizenship and incorporate their input in my questions to policymakers. For example, policymakers’ interview schedule did not address issues of loyalty and belonging initially, so I adjusted the questions accordingly. As a result, I asked them how belonging and loyalty were reflected in the textbook as I felt it was not addressed.

Policymaker 2: Certainly our textbook addresses loyalty and belonging in more that textbook it addressed loyalty and belonging naturally. Look, first of all there’s a particularity in our society. Our society, or our system our system I mean, our political system is a constitutional monarchy, constitutional monarchy. Of course the ruling is consistent and hereditary, consistent in a certain family, and because we are 100%
a governmental institution, it tries to instil concepts of belonging and loyalty and that’s why it is an important factor in the textbook… We put examples of service ministries in order to really reflect the role of the government and eventually create a form of loyalty.

With regard to diversity as a main strand in policy, it is of interest to find out where policymakers stand in terms of teaching about diversity in citizenship education. To begin with, I asked a former minister of education whether the citizenship education curriculum should reflect the diversity of the Bahraini people.

Former Minister of Education: ABSOLUTELY absolutely, we, I mean unity with diversity is a must EVERYWHERE in the world now they are accepting it. In UK where you are now, you can hear that, acknowledging all the minor and branching cultures, different cultures, in the United States the same thing is being spoken. Even in the language people are not talking about this, schools are talking about Islamic schools, Islamic this Islamic that, in the UK, so acknowledgment of diversity of cultures and identities WITHIN the total identity, MUST be acknowledged and it is not harmful, at all, on the contrary it creates eh acceptance of the other, understanding the other, you see, instead of accepting it but with a lot of suspicion. Take for example you know, in our society, you cannot jump over the fact that we are Sunnites and Shiites and that the Sunni students must know what the Shiites is all about, and vice versa must know and not separating them in saying no we are only teaching the Sunni for example Islam, which is ridiculous really and it can go on with other things, for example you know, we have now, eh in the future we are going to have a LARGE minority from the Arab, other Arab countries. The Bahraini, the original Bahraini between two parentheses, must know some of those habits some of those attitudes in life and so on

From the above, his Excellency’s views could be categorised as pro multicultural education and he referred to diversity of sects in Bahrain and other minorities such as the naturalised Arabs. He emphasised the importance of acknowledging the other to achieve acceptance and coexistence without suspicion.

I asked one of the policymakers who participated in writing the curriculum document and the student textbook, to what extent the policy document highlighted the diversity in the Bahraini society, if at all, and he said:

Policymaker 1: Of course, the document and even books, school textbooks reflected the content of the document, a reference in one way or another to the diversity in society, eh has been noted, for example, we mean, we have diversity in the community, either diversity or diversity of doctrinal race or breed, has been noted in or another means, for example, in the diversity of religious we referred to the role of mosques and the role of funeral halls,
meaning for both sides, both Shiite sect and Sunni Sect. And we what we want of course is to highlight these differences but emphasise on the theme of national unity and the subject of society and the subject homeland, which transcend it all to serve this country with respect for individual privacy. I mean that citizenship protects the privacy of this diversity that exists in the homeland where everyone contribute cooperatively to serve this country. And these are highlighted in one way or another in the textbooks.

In the above quotation, the policymaker was talking in general about all textbooks from grade one to grade 12, and not particularly about the secondary school textbook, also the example he gave was not addressed in the secondary school student textbook. When I asked him if sectarianism in the society had been addressed in the policy document or the textbook, he answered negatively and gave the following explanation:

Policymaker 1: it is not the target of the textbook to deepen particularities and the spectrum of those who are in the community. I mean there are minorities for example, I cannot put these. This will lead to more diversion to the issues the textbook addresses, and this requires longer periods of time, longer time to teach these issues. We emphasise on what is agreed upon, we emphasise the constants, on what is agreed upon, the major issues that matter to the homeland, whereas the partial issues can be addressed somewhere else. For example religious diversity can be dealt with more in Islamic Studies, Muslims and Christians or Sunni and Shia and so on, there are institutes, a Sunni institute and a Jaafferi institute. These issues can be dealt with more there than in citizenship education. When I say citizenship, it is the issues that are shared by everybody and not particular to this individual or this community or this sector that sect.

From the above, it can be concluded that a conscious decision was taken not to acknowledge any of the communities in the Bahraini society to avoid deepening particularities and the differences between those who make up the society. Policymakers believed that other subjects may be more relevant to address these issues than citizenship education. Although, I agree that other subjects may address these issues as an integrated approach, having an independent compulsory subject for citizenship education and a policy document that allocates a main strand for diversity requires that issues of citizenry are included in citizenship education.

Another policymaker, also a co-author of both the textbook and the curriculum policy, reaffirmed the high importance of diversity in the curriculum policy and student textbook but when I asked him to give examples from the textbook he said:
Policymaker 2: We don’t say Shiite or Sunni, Bahri or foreign, and naturalised, in our textbook we don’t say that, but we talk about the two good sects, we talk about pluralism in sects, we say that it exists.

Lubna: Do you think that’s enough?

Policymaker 2: I imagine not, not enough, but after all there are warnings one has to, the curriculum is new, and I imagine there are warnings that require democracy to grow first.

Lubna: Do you think if diversity was explicitly addressed would inflame the situation?

Policymaker 2: No, just mentioning no, personally I imagine not. Because in the local media, it is used explicitly, Sunni, Shia, and naturalised and Baharna (Arab Shia) and I don’t know what, and Ajam (Persian descent) or Jews. This exists I don’t think it causes, but here you’re talking about an educational field which is more sensitive. I mean these are terms that the students will be using later. This is the fear here.

Lubna: There is a strand in the policy document exclusive for diversity; do you think this is reflected in the textbook?

Policymaker 2: No, not that much.

Policymakers’ answers to my questions regarding diversity reflect the findings from analysing the curriculum policy and the student textbook. The policy document placed high importance for diversity in the Bahraini society and acknowledged the importance of diversity, yet the textbook fell short to reflect this importance. The common justification given was a common fear of deepening already existing sectarian divisions and to achieve national unity. This fear is inflamed by the socio-political context in the country as discussed in detail in the contextual chapter.

With regard to national unity, all policymakers agreed that this was an aim of the subject, but when I asked them if this was translated into the textbook, they stated:

Policymaker 3: There is but not intensively, not intense, eh, may be more in middle school, because it is progressive, it did cover difference of opinions, what is civil society, which teaches a human to live in the midst of differences and affiliations.

Despite the emphasis on national unity stressed by the policymakers, in the above quotation, and its importance in the curriculum, like diversity in the Bahraini society, it failed to be reflected in the student textbook. Therefore, in order to understand what identity or identities the curriculum supported, I asked the former minister of education and policymakers if the curriculum addressed identity issues.
Lubna: What identity does the citizenship education module AJA 104 try to develop in the students?
Policymaker 2: I imagine the identity is to principally create a Bahraini citizen, Arab Muslim.
Policymaker 3: A Bahrini identity, that he becomes a person who belongs to his country, loves his country, and respects his leaders.

From their answers, it can be argued that a Bahrini identity was not defined without the influence of regional geographical and historical framework of Bahrain as described in the contextual chapter. As the former minister of education explained below.

Dr: I think, I think in general our curricula support an identity, they support an Arab identity and they support local identities and they try their best to discourage what we call eh branch identities or minor identities, like altaefa (sect), like algabeela (tribe) like al3ayela (family), definitely it is there, but u know it discourages that. But the individual, we come back again to the same thing, As long as the individual does not have that general identity which protect his rights
L: what identity?
Dr: citizenship
L: as a national identity or guttria?
Dr: yes as a national identity, that you are a Bahraini and not Shia not Sunni not gabayli, not family not etc, you see? When the individual start realising that his identity is an Arab Bahraini identity, Arab because culturally you are an Arab

The above conversation with the former minister of education, showed the challenges that a particular identity based on language or ethnicity may cause in a modern state. Especially that historically Bahrain was always a commercial port between South East Asia and the West, as a main trader of pearls. Therefore, a stress of a cultural identity such as language or religion will lead to discrimination or domination one culture over another. However, an identity similar to that of an American based on civic and democratic values may very well be more suitable for Bahrain. I also agree with his Excellency that the Bahraini textbook does not encourage branch identities such as sect, tribal or familial. In fact it does not acknowledge the existence of any of these identities at all. Yet branch identity is a reality and all students are aware of it and continue to identify themselves as such. Banks (2004, p. 7) argues that citizenship education should help students from diverse cultural, racial, ethnic, language, and religious groups to critically understand and examine their cultural identifications and attachments. Unfortunately, from the above, it can be concluded that the main strand dedicated to address such issues in the policy document was not deconstructed into topics that
students can learn in the student textbook. Moreover, topics of national unity and a Bahraini identity were vague in content and failed to translate into learning opportunities.

5.6 Teachers’ Perceptions

From the data gathered from teachers, it is congruent with the findings above with regard to addressing diversity in the student textbook, i.e. the textbook lack coverage of diversity issues. Here are some examples of their answers to my question: does the textbook reflect the groups that make the Bahraini society:

Riffa M T Sh: it comes up but it should be in a positive way, for example when we define the original citizen and the residing citizen or the original homeland and residing homeland, I have to rely on the administrative supervisor, and the administrative supervisor is Egyptian, Egyptian but has received the citizenship. I tell them “Boys, if this citizen, for example, you are a citizen, you have citizenship, are you an original or residing citizen? He says I am an original citizen, I tell them OK, what about the Egyptian teacher Mr X? while reserving the names, they say no, residing citizen. Ok, the supervisor, we have an Egyptian administrative supervisor with citizenship, what is he?” Here there is some embarrassment some confusion in this situation.

I enlist the above quotation to establish that the textbook confusion regarding the ‘original’ citizen versus residing citizen, discussed earlier, included both teachers and students alike. Most teachers found the issue of diversity too controversial to be dealt with in class and believed that it was best not to address it.

School E T Sh: As I belong to a sect the students don’t belong to, what happened in Karzakan for example, the burning of the [police] jeep and killing the officer, one of the students, not Bahraini, Syrian, told me you are terrorists and the mark of terrorists is on us, on me!

In the above incident, the teacher, a male Shia, teaching in a boys’ school, where majority of the students are Sunni and many of whom have parents working in the police force, found the environment particularly challenging to address issues like
diversity due to the profound lack of trust that existed between different parties. Despite such incidents presenting an opportunity to open the debate on diversity issues, opportunities for discussion are generally dismissed with no action taken by the teachers or management. When I asked this teacher if it would be best if the textbook addressed such problems, he said:

School E T Sh: they exist, but I don’t believe that it will be an inverse relationship, meaning if the textbook addresses them the problems will disappear, because these things are rooted, being two opposite groups. It might solve some points but it won’t find a solution.
Lubna: in the meantime is there any treatment?
School E T Sh: There is no treatment and the biggest evidence is that the school management here resorts to the police (laughing)

It can be argued that teachers have very negative views on resolving diversity challenges and they also agree with policymakers that they should not be acknowledged in the curriculum as they believed it will deepen the existing mistrust between different parties. However, Shia teachers seemed to favour acknowledging the two main groups, Shia and Sunni, in an appeal to acknowledge their particular knowledge and experiences in the curriculum so that Sunni students recognize them and acknowledge them. However when it came to “original” and “naturalised” citizens, their position was different.

School C T Sh: there is negativity but I am scared to talk about this, …haha, that the Bahraini citizen in both his halves [Shia and Sunni], is not the one that is impacting, the impact is caused by the new aspect
Lubna: Are you referring to the naturalized citizens?
School C T Sh: the naturalised, that the old ones look at those in a different way, that’s all. Whereas from other aspects, Shia are no problem. We have taught in schools in Om al-Hassam [Sunni area], it’s normal in these things. But the new arrival from a different environment, carrying different ideologies than the ideologies here, those the new comers have different ideas. We have coexisted here for hundreds of years, unlike those who have just come from a different environment with one colour one disposition, there will be difference.

Another Egyptian teacher from the same school confirmed the occurrence of student fights related to diversity and described the textbook as one that deals with citizenship issues in general terms without attempting to address the diversity issues that exist
particularly those relating to ones origin. Yet when I asked him what the consequences were for this approach, he said:

School E T E: it doesn’t show unless there is a fight between a student and another, and it might take an origin dimension, his origins are from Bahrain or from outside of Bahrain.

Most Egyptian teachers in the sample applauded the recognition of residents in the textbook and found this topic relevant and interesting with its newly introduced terms such as residing homeland and realistic loyalty. Whether being residents in Bahrain as expatriate teachers or have been granted citizenship through naturalisation, they felt included in society and acknowledged.

School A T E: What I wanted to deliver to the student so that he is convinced that there is no society in the world that is homogenous 100 percent, to make all people have one religion one sect one origin, there isn’t wherever anywhere in the world. Therefore this diversity is a feature of nature. At the same time the existence of this diversity in this way in Bahrain is considered a big success for Bahrain and recognition for it more than anywhere else. With regard to residents, may be one lesson or two are of concern to him for example lesson one, when it talks about the realistic loyalty and how a residing citizen can have loyalty to the country he is living in.

From the above, teachers’ perceptions and understanding of citizenship is bound to ultimately transfer to students and influence citizenship education outcomes. Therefore, teachers’ views on citizenship education are crucial to analyse the effectiveness of policy and its transferability into practice.

5.7 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter was dedicated to analyse citizenship education policy and identify conceptual tensions within the curriculum policy that was highly influenced by English and American curriculum policies, yet it failed to deconstruct liberal concepts and principles into the formal textbook, which shows there are serious conceptual tensions with regard to the definition of citizenship and citizenship education approach in Bahrain. I argue that those tensions started with policymakers themselves as they identified all the Western liberal and maximalist interpretations of citizenship that was promoted by the Citizenship Foundation team that visited Bahrain and trained policymakers and teachers about active pedagogies that encourage a maximal
interpretation of citizenship education, they were bound by the socio-political structure of Bahrain and as a result, their translation of their interpretations of citizenship were shown in the formal textbook and in the contradictive within the curriculum policy itself.

Drawing from a study of policy enactments in English secondary schools, Maguire, Ball and Braun (2010) argue that even when policy is centrally mandated, it is translated, adjusted and worked on differently by diverse sets of policy actors and consequently policy enactments vary at the different levels of practice within and between similar schools. The examples above showed that the teachers’ focus on issues related to diversity seems to be influenced by their individual cultural and religious identities. Most teachers, however, agreed on the sensitivity of teaching about diversity in the Bahraini society and felt it might increase the tensions between the different groups, nevertheless they unanimously agreed that it was essential that people acknowledge diversity in the society. Yet they all preferred to avoid such issues in the classroom due to lack of means to address them. That citizenship education failing to address the diversity issue is apparent from the interviews, but more importantly, the study also showed that teachers needed basic training in handling such sensitive issues in the classrooms.

Despite a strand dedicated to diversity of Bahraini society, there is clear reluctance to recognise diversity and different community identities that exist in Bahrain. The complete absence of diversity of Bahraini society in the curriculum policy and textbook shows the reluctance of their authors to recognise such communities and identities. Also, the textbook authors’ opening note regarding “an Arab Muslim framework”, explicitly exclude other minorities and gives citizenship education an exclusive definition identical to minimal interpretations of citizenship. Even though one of the four main strands of the citizenship education curriculum policy in Bahrain was dedicated to diversity, I argue this importance was not reflected proportionally in the performance standards or the students’ textbook. Moreover, the research data provided more evidence of the related tensions and challenges that exist in schools with regards to diversity yet the curriculum and schools fail to address these issues or attempt to resolve them. Despite the increase of students’ clashes in schools, there was no clear strategy to reduce these tensions. In these incidents, involved students were taken to the
school administration to be expelled for a period of time or given warning. There were no effective teaching and learning programmes that enabled students from all cultures and communities to accept and respect one another.

As explained in the contextual chapter, the socio-political structure of Bahrain and its relation to the Arab and Muslim world prevails in the curriculum policy and textbook, and the communitarian nature of the society and forbid the introduction and transfer of liberal concepts into the textbook. Although there are attempts to include such concepts in the curriculum policy using English policy references and American standards, these attempts fail to transmit into real learning experiences or even as topics in the textbook when applied to Bahraini context. As a result, there is little exploration of liberal concepts limited to giving a brief definition. As an example, there is one reference to pluralism in the textbook and it ends at giving a short definition. There were no active learning opportunities for students to practice their role as citizens in a democratic society as the fourth strand states and there were no opportunities for discussion of concepts related to citizenship whether in the minimalist or maximalist interpretation. There was no evidence that students examined ideological or political issues related to the political process or their role in a democracy except voting when they become of age.

Being a member of the policymaking committee, I recall the committee depending mostly on the National standards for civics and government by the Centre for Civic Education, USA 1994 when writing these learning objectives and attainment targets. Therefore, most of these learning objectives were derived from American performance standards, which might explain these liberal concepts in the curriculum document. However, these were not reflected adequately in the student textbook. In addition, policymakers are employees at the ministry of education, meaning they are part of the government, and therefore it seems difficult for them to promote liberal concepts as they are taught in Western societies, such as English and American, which were the main references for the attainment targets and learning outcomes that were outlined in the CECD.

In their analysis of French and English citizenship education documentary sources, Osler and Starkey (2004) argue that citizenship education based on liberal values may
be perceived as threatening to the authority structures on certain communities when these are based on hierarchy and tradition (Osler and Starkey, 2004, p 5). It appears policymakers avoided controversial issues that exist in society in relation to Bahrain’s socio-political context which are assumed to oppose to Western liberal conceptions of citizenship. Although, the curriculum policy covers liberal concepts, there is absence of unravelling those concepts into meaningful attainment targets and learning outcomes. The recently introduced term *muwattana* is used to simultaneously mean national in the patriotic sense in Arabic and as a result it adds to the confusion related to its maximalist interpretation as stated in the policy aims.

As described extensively in the contextual chapter, the population in Bahrain is diverse as its indigenous population constitutes Shia and Sunni Muslims of different ethnic backgrounds including non-Arabs as well as other religious groups. Moreover, the cultural characteristics of the foreign labour force, which is bigger than the national labour force (CIO 2006), is different to that of the local culture. This can potentially cause challenges in classrooms, as public schools are open and free for all residents and people generally tend to be influenced by their upbringing and social conventions. The challenges, I argue, are the tensions in the new citizenship education curriculum, both in its policy and practice. In its alleged attempt to develop social cohesion between the two main Muslim sects by stressing a Bahraini identity, yet not stating nor acknowledging the two groups explicitly, the new citizenship education excludes other minorities in schools and the community who are residents. As a result, it creates a division between "original" Bahrainis on the one hand, and naturalised Bahrainis as well as residents on the other without really resolving any of the existing conflicts.

Evidence from the field study was collected in 2008, i.e. before February 2011. This indicated that Bahraini schools were facing challenges with regard to diversity issues and although citizenship education was reintroduced to address these in an attempt to promote national unity, challenges prevailed in schools that need to be resolved especially after the events of February 2011. Inglis (2008, p 39) argues that education has a powerful role in addressing the challenges of diversity in a multi-ethnic and multicultural society as it is a major institution for transmitting and transforming a society’s culture in order to address the national challenges of ensuring social cohesion as a basis for successful nation building, including the establishment of a national
identity and ensuring economic well-being and development. However, the study showed that divisions and mistrust related to diversity exist in Bahraini schools that affect students and teachers alike even though schools are not segregated. Moreover, there is no agreement amongst policymakers and teachers on how to address these challenges. It is also evident that these issues are rooted beyond school walls and need to be addressed nationally as students and teachers bring their own knowledge to school that may differ from other groups in the school. However, fear of addressing these issues before discriminatory incidents happen or after prevents these issues from being resolved even within the framework of what is acceptable and what is not within school walls. This encourages more incidents to happen and at a more serious level that escalated to police intervention.

Confusion at policy level about the importance of teaching diversity in the society and its reflection in student textbook is also guilty of this failure at practice level. Despite the few attempts to acknowledge diversity, newly introduced terms were not transferred accurately to teachers or students to achieve its initial positive intentions. In addition, group interests were also a factor in some of the challenges faced in schools and the lack of recognition of these groups and their interests became principal factors of the problem. Another crucial factor, is lack of teacher training on citizenship education. None of the teachers had initial training on citizenship education knowledge, skills and dispositions. Therefore, they were struggling with their own understandings of what citizenship meant and were influenced mostly with their group political and social interests.

According to Osler (2005) the communitarian approach stresses the benefits of identity conferred by a cultural or ethnic group. She argues that those aspects of citizenship education programmes that stress national identities may be considered communitarian. The limitations of this view are that they may confine individuals within predetermined ethnic or cultural identities with which they do not necessarily feel at ease. It may deny citizens the freedom to determine their own way in the world and develop as cosmopolitan citizens with multiple identities and loyalties. On the other hand, classical and contemporary forms of liberalism intend to lift the individual above the constraints of family or cultural background and therefore education was the device to achieve this goal. According to liberal theory citizenship requires developing autonomy in
individuals to allow them to choose their own paths irrespective of the constraints laid by their families or communities.

In relation to Bahrain, citizenship education aims to promote a national identity through the use of singing national anthem and flag saluting which can be defined as a communitarian approach to citizenship despite an attempt towards liberal values in the form of teaching about Human Rights. Nevertheless, issues of identity and diversity are not discussed or acknowledged in policy nor transferred in practice. As Cantle (2005) describe the ignoring of such issues would give the upper hand to racists. Cantle (2005) explains that “driving such prejudices into the background will not answer them, nor give people the confidence that they can be answered, and will mean that they can be inflamed at any future point” (Cantle 2005, p 124).

According to Osler (2005) nationalist discourses encourage xenophobia because they make a sharp distinction between national citizens and foreigners. Many Bahrainis have strong feelings towards foreign workers and naturalised citizens and feel more entitled to the benefits of society than others because of this shared national culture they belong to. Therefore, glorifying this “national identity” may prove to be problematic in a country where its citizens are less than 62% of the population (CIO 2006). Moreover, if citizenship education in Bahrain is to be a liberal education, it has to adopt a multicultural education that acknowledges all the different communities living in Bahrain, by teaching pupils about each community's culture or else it should not teach about any culture at all.

In their discussions on the role of human rights in teaching about diversity, Osler and Starkey argue (in Ofsted 2006, p 13) that “citizenship education should seek to encourage understanding and acceptance of the core values, principles and procedures that underpin British democracy. It is these principles rather than a narrowly defined sense of national identity that enables social cohesion”. From the gathered data, it is apparent that a Bahraini national identity is very strong amongst the participants even though what is meant by a Bahraini was never explicit in policy or practice. This is due to the fact that it was not linked to a singular race, ethnicity sect, or tribe since the independence of the government, except in the constitution regarding the official
language of the state and religion (Bahrain Constitution 1973, 2002). As Bahraini people, like its Arab Gulf neighbours, have always had tribal religious and ethnic threads that bound it to supranational communities that do not coincide with political borders. Therefore, it has always been a goal of the state to create a national identity and shared history out of the mixed diverse elements in its population so that its nationals think of themselves in the first instance as citizens whose primary loyalty is to the state in which they live rather than as members of a tribe or sect (Holes 2005, p 52). Moreover, as mentioned in the contextual chapter, the Iranian claims on Bahrain backed by some Shia supporters in Bahrain and the continuous coup attempts in the 1980s, 1990s and most recently in 2011, make creating a Bahraini national identity more complex as citizens fail to feel a shared history and destiny especially that many citizens perceive the other as traitors and loyalists to external regimes. Moreover, just like diversity within the Bahraini society was given importance by allocating one of the four main strands in the curriculum policy, yet failed to translate it into the textbooks or practice, building a Bahraini identity seems to have the same fate, being spoken about but with lack of vision to identify what it constitutes. Failing to explicitly define a national identity and incorporate diversity within the definition of citizenship poses a conceptual challenge for citizenship education.

Unlike the call for Britishness by the Labour Party, there are no unique claims attaching a Bahraini identity to certain values or principles that unite its people and therefore it is left to imply a legal status. When I asked the students if there were any features or characteristics that distinguish a Bahraini from other nationalities, their answers were generally negative except for a few that highlighted lineage, physical appearance and accent. Such exceptions commented on local generalisations and particular heritage. On the other hand, naturalised students associated holding a Bahraini citizenship and loyalty as distinctive features of what makes a Bahraini.

We know them from their appearance. A Bahraini is known from his appearance as soon as you see him you know this is not Bahraini. You can tell from everything, his voice, the way he talks, his logic, from everything (School B B 4 Sh)

23 A keynote speech by Gordon Brown at the Fabian Society’s conference entitled Future of Britishness can be found at www.fabian-society.org.uk/press_office/news_latest_all.asp?pressid=520
The above description was referring to naturalised students as the student went further to explain how these “Arab Muslim” are so different from themselves. In another context, language and religion would be more likely to be noted as distinguishing characteristics. Moreover, the textbook does not attempt to associate the Bahraini people with any particular characteristics except for Islamic and Arabic heritage and culture which are similar to other Arab and Muslim countries. Even though the curriculum attempts to develop a national Bahraini identity that is inclusive, at least in policy, as well as recognising diversity within the Bahraini society, this diversity is not deconstructed to explore in any detail what this implies nor are any common characteristics of a Bahraini identity are given. The danger of this lies in students making up their own characteristics that distinguish them from other groups of students based on their background and legal status. Ofsted (2006, p 13) also identified that diversity in the United Kingdom was rarely deconstructed and a fourth strand, entitled Identity and Diversity, was developed to add more conceptual components including ethnicity, religion and race. The new strand was incorporated during a review of the entire secondary curriculum and was taught for the first time in September 2008 and was accompanied by calls for Britishness by the Labour government (Ofsted 2006; Ofsted 2010; Keating et al, 2009; Maylor et al, 2007). This was framed by concerns associated with issues of cultural diversity and social justice where multiple and shifting ethnic, racial and religious allegiances have seen rises in community disharmony, social fragmentation, violence, racism, xenophobia and support for extremist groups (Keddie 2008; Naval et al., 2002; Osler and Starkey, 2002). Thus policy in UK responded to changes and concerns in society and was revised and edited to address these issues.

In contrast, diversity of the Bahraini society strand in the Bahraini citizenship education policy was included by Bahraini policymakers from the beginning of writing the curriculum document as a distinguishing feature from other consulted policies such as English and American policies at the time in 2004. It can be inferred that it was an attempt by Bahraini policymakers to make the curriculum more relevant to Bahrain to avoid local criticism of promoting Western liberal concepts. This was highlighted in national media that accused the Ministry of Education of importing a local topic such as citizenship from the West. Nevertheless, the secondary citizenship education textbook did not reflect or deconstruct that strand into meaningful components to address the issue of diversity. Therefore, it can be questioned whether the curriculum is trying to develop civic patriotism that is advocated by Maurizio Viroli (1997) that
promotes civic patriotism that is stripped of nationalist characteristics as discussed in
the contextual chapter or a type of exclusive citizenship that was promoted by the
Rentier states of the Arab Gulf Oil countries that does not desire to involve its citizens
in running the country to have more authority over them. Recent changes in
naturalisation that granted Arab workers Bahraini citizenship has been questioned by
oppositional groups in Bahrain claiming that naturalisation process has allowed
foreigners similar rights to indigenous citizens, infuriating the indigenous citizens in
the process widening divisions.

Despite the fact that citizenship education in Bahrain teaches about human rights and
democracy, it will not be fully learnt unless liberal principles are fully embedded in
such a curriculum and infused in school practice and classroom environment.
Otherwise, these lessons would be recited by pupils in a rote learning way to pass a
written exam and all forgotten about after that. Moreover, the impact of a government-
backed textbook establishes a hegemonic discourse that is unrelated to reality. In
addition the schools represent cross-section of the society and as such, socio-political
issues need to resolved on a national level and a national reconciliation plan needs to
be agreed and implemented across all sectors as soon as possible, especially post-
February 2011, that has left the society more fragmented than it ever did in history.

There are a number of themes/issues that arose from this chapter. These are related to
the conceptual tensions that were transferred from policy to practice and are related to
identity, diversity, loyalty and belonging. These themes will be discussed in detail in
the next chapters.
Chapter 6: Conceptions of Citizenship

6.1 Introduction
Although many comparative studies have addressed citizenship education in general around the world such as those carried by the IEA, none have investigated the particular challenges for citizenship education in Bahrain due to the political sensitivity of the subject and the obstacles related to conducting such research that might oppose government aims. In addition, it is a new subject that has been introduced in parallel with King Hamad’s Reform Project. In this chapter, conceptions of citizenship are examined and validated using policy documents and textual data collected from interviews with policymakers, teachers and pupils. This chapter assesses the different conceptions of citizenship and how they relate to citizenship education. It also explores where they fit in relation to liberal and communitarian theories of citizenship based on the themes identified in the previous chapter.

The data analysis reveals that the aims of citizenship education in Bahrain seem to be strained between developing a citizen who understands his/her obligations and is aware of his/her rights on the one hand, and a patriotic citizen who has loyalty and strong sense of belonging to the country and its leadership on the other. As mentioned previously, the findings of this research were obtained prior to the events of February 2011. Nevertheless, most of the findings may very well be valid today and possibly more relevant due to the polarisation of the Bahraini society since February/March 2011.

In this chapter the rationale for the “reintroduction” of citizenship education is investigated as part of examining the conceptions of citizenship held by the different stakeholders involved in the study. Before that however an overview of the terminology is given due to its essential link to the conceptions held by the study sample.
6.2 Terminology Tensions
As mentioned in an earlier chapter, citizenship education was introduced in schools in the second semester of the academic year 2005. However, a former subject used to be taught in the 70s and 80s, with a similar title (tarbia wattania). That subject, tarbia wattania, was mostly studied by the teachers in this study who took part when they were pupils themselves and some even taught it. Therefore, as part of the investigation of the conceptions of citizenship, a comparison between the two subjects would give an insight into how the stakeholders understand the changes and also would help analyse teachers’ and policymakers’ conception of the current subject.

In order to help explain the tensions and contradictions within conceptions of citizenship held by the teachers and students interviewed, a teacher summarised one aspect of the confusion caused by the terminology. When asked if there was a difference between national and citizenship in its Arabic terminology, wattania (national) and muwattana (citizenship), both from the same word root wattan (nation), he said:

School C M T: wattania, I am confused, it must go back to linguists. For example even students say “education for muwattana”. They are astonished by it [the terminology], why education for citizenship? We should call it [the textbook] national education, tarbia wattania as before, the previous name is beautiful, that I want to make a good citizen, whereas education for citizenship, as if it is telling you, you student are not yet, not emm, by using this word you are not yet, when you study this thing you will have the definition of citizenship and how to be a citizen. This definition has to be clarified in a better way; linguists have to work on it as I am not specialised in Arabic language.

The section highlighted in bold above regarding students not being citizens, links to wider debates about citizenship-in-the-making as students are not citizens in a constitutional sense and are not yet competent. Osler and Starkey call them ‘citizens-waiting’ (Roche, 1999; Verhellen, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2005). In Britain the concept of citizenship education is explained as follows:

Young people are citizens of today, not citizens in waiting. Education for citizenship is about developing in learners the ability to take up their place in society as responsible, successful, effective and confident citizens both now and in the future.

[http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/]

---

24 Tarbia wattania can be translated into patriotic/national education. Prior to the introduction of the new citizenship education curriculum in 2005, newspapers used the old terminology to cover the topic. See http://www.alwasatnews.com/1200/news/read/507485/1.html
Teachers perceived education for citizenship in its literal translation from its Arabic name, *tarbia lel muwatana*, was a step back from its predecessor *tarbia wattania* (national education) as it emphasised this citizen-in-waiting aspect in students. Another teacher showed that teachers of this subject had little background knowledge about the subject they were expected to teach and that they did not have the opportunity to explore these different terms prior to teaching it:

School E M T 2: The difference between this needs a definition of wattani (patriot) and muwaten (citizen). Because we have *tarbia lel muwattana* and *tarbia wattania*. This if we could define the difference between *muwattana* and *wattania* then we can say the difference. I have no background about this, but here *muwattana* is much wider than *wattania*.

Lubna: What is *wattania* in your opinion?

School E M T 2: it means a connection with a spot or a connection with a ... I would not say with a political system, for example a country, if a citizen can be *wattani* and it’s not a condition for a citizen to be *wattani*. Therefore I suppose *muwattana* is wider than *wattania*, whereas *wattani* a matter that is related to simple aspects. In *wattania* (as a subject), they used to teach about roads and avenues, therefore a citizen’s definition (muwatten) is much wider than this circle.

The evidence collected showed that most teachers could not differentiate *wattani* and *muwattana* (patriotic/national and citizenship). Some viewed the new curriculum as a step back from the previous curriculum because of the change of its title from *tarbia wattania* (patriotic/national education) to the new title *tarbia lel muwattan* (education for citizenship, will be referred to as citizenship education throughout the thesis). They felt that changing the title was the major difference as it implies that citizenship is something to aspire to rather than an acquired right. This could also be attributed to the fact that citizenship as *muwattana* was a word that was not commonly used before in Arabic terminology yet derived from the word root *wattan* (nation) and *muwaten* (citizen). Moreover, teachers’ conceptions of national (*wattania*) did not seem to have the same connotation as in Western terminology, but used more to express patriotism.

Bernard Lewis (1994, p 71) gives examples of the different usages of the term nationality. He explains that in English and French, the word nationality “indicates the country or state of which one is a citizen or subject”, whereas in German and Russian,
“Staatsangehörigkeit-state belonging- is used in this sense, while the term Nationlitat, though etymologically akin to ‘nationality’ is semantically different, with an ethnic rather than a legal-political sense”.

Also, it is important to note that unlike the confusion in the UK between citizenship as a legal status and citizenship as membership of a political community or a state as described by Crick (1999), in Arabic the legal status of holding a passport has a different word altogether from citizen, jenseya. The confusion in interpretation lies in the word wattani that is usually translated to English as national hence the common use for National Education. Nevertheless, it was actually used by my sample to mean patriotic and sometimes associated with nationalistic ideals such as language, race and culture. Al-Sagoot (2007, p 14) distinguishes between wattania and muwattana in the following way:

Wattania means love of country (patriotism), pointing clearly to love sentiments towards a homeland, whereas muwattana (citizenship) is a citizen’s characteristic that defines his/her patriotic rights and duties; and an individual is aware of his rights and performs his/her duties through patriotic education.

Furthermore, Bahrain became a state after its independence from Britain in 1971. Its 1973 constitution was very much written with reference to Western constitutions, mostly English Common Laws. As mentioned in the contextual chapter, the rulers of the Royal Family in Bahrain relied heavily on English advice in modernising the state in terms of establishing municipalities and public laws. Therefore, Bahrain’s constitution was influenced by its former colonist/protector. Although Bahraini society cannot be described as liberal, they depended on English advice because it represented best practices and therefore, they adopted their laws and regulations in running the country, which can explain the reference to liberal principles and concepts. Due to its relative recent independence in 1971, the concept of citizen in itself never really matured in Bahrain, which has, for centuries, been ruled tribally and since the oil discovery in 1932 was more or less a rentier state. The only time where the term national was used was during the Arab Nationalist movement in the 1950s and 60s.

Lewis (1994, p. 71) explains that “patriotism and nationalism are the words that express the normal kind of political loyalty and identity in the modern world. Both are words
of unstable and therefore explosive content and so need to be handled with care”. He also claims that in the Middle East, this new political loyalty first took the form of patriotism as it was inspired mostly by France and England where nationhood and statehood were combined and where patriotism was the loyalty that citizens owed to their country and paid the government when it fell due. However, in the twentieth century Arab nationalism was the dominant ideology and pan-Arabism was a means to unite all existing Arab states. Hence the word national in the Arab word has to be understood in its patriotic context.

Last but not least, it is important to address that most of the confusion in terminology is associated with the word root wattan, which is a term used to convey the idea of a country. In the Arabic dictionary, wattan refers to a person’s place of origin or habitation, usually referring to a town, village, or at most a province (al-Sagoot 2007, Lewis 1994). Bernard Lewis gives an explanation of the different usages of wattan:

A person’s watān could be the object of sentiment, affection, and devotion, as many passages in classical Islamic literature attest, and is associated with family affection, memories of youth, and homesickness. From these it is clear that the classical word watān was the equivalent not of the French patrie, but, rather, of the English word “home” in its broader sense. Like ‘home’, it carried a wealth of sentimental associations, notably in the period of the Crusades when so many homes were lost or threatened; like it again, it had no political content” (Lewis 1994, p. 75).

However, Lewis (1994, p. 76) argues that the use of the word watān in a political sense, from the late eighteenth century, as equivalent to the French patrie or the English ‘country’ or the German Vaterland was the result of European influence and example. Moreover, the term nation in Arab nationalism’ ideology (as mentioned in the historical tradition factor in the contextual chapter) defines nation as the people of one language and culture, i.e. the Arab people whose area of habitation extends from Morocco on the Atlantic to the Yemen on the Indian Ocean. The term ‘nation’ (umma) has throughout the Islamic era referred to the universal Muslim community (Islamic Umma). However, the term umma started to appear in political literature at the end of the nineteenth century in reference to the universal Arab community (Harik
This is evident in Bahrain’s constitution and other formal documentation where references to Arabic and Islamic *Umma* are made.

The Kingdom of Bahrain is a fully sovereign, independent Islamic Arab State whose population is part of the Arab nation and whose territory is part of the great Arab homeland. Its sovereignty may not be assigned or any of its territory abandoned (Bahrain Constitution 2002, Article 1 a).

Harik (1990, p 2) highlights that the term nation (*umma*) is only used to refer to the universal Arab community as a whole and not used to describe the people of a single Arab state. The term *umma* is avoided in states’ constitutions as it is in official usage to refer to the people of this state and instead the name of the state is used or the people. For example, in Bahrain’s constitution (2002) Article 6 [Arab and Islamic Heritage]

> The State safeguards the Arab and Islamic heritage. It contributes to the advancement of human civilisation and strives to strengthen the bonds between the Islamic countries, and to achieve the aspirations of the Arab nation for unity and progress.

In the above two quotations from Bahrain Constitution 2002, Arab nation is translated from *umma* and Arab homeland as *wattan Arabi*. And as Harik argues, the term nation only applies to Arab people whereas the people of Bahrain are referred to as society (*mujtama’*) or just people (*sha’ab*). The above quotation also indicates that an Arab nation is an aspiration of the state, which implies an Arab nationalist ideology with its denial of the legitimacy of the Arab states. Moreover, the translated version of the constitution Article 7b (Bahrain Constitution 2002), the term *wattania* (national) is used to refer to a type of education or instruction that aims to develop a citizen’s personality and pride in his/her Arabism

> The law regulates care for religious and national instruction in the various stages and forms of education, and at all stages is concerned to develop the citizen's personality and his pride in his Arabism (Bahrain Constitution 2002, Article 7b).

In line with the above, the terms used to describe Bahrain and its people as a state, a homeland, a nation, and country are intertwined and used interchangeably, by the sample of this research, as the next sections will show. The word nationality in the Arab world has its origins in the movement of pan-Arabism and has to be understood in that
context. It appeals to the patriotic aspects of citizenship as opposed to just belongingness to a state.

6.3 Rationale for Citizenship Education

To be able to examine the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education among the different stakeholders involved in this research, it was useful to know first what the research sample thought was the aim for introducing citizenship education. Therefore, I looked at three groups: policymakers, teachers and students and compared their understandings of the aims of the policy (curriculum document and student textbook). I asked policymakers and teachers directly why they think this subject, citizenship education, was introduced and to identify the differences, if they believe they exist, between citizenship education and its predecessor, i.e. national education. Students’ understandings were derived from other questions during individual in-depth interviews.

The rationale given for citizenship education by the research sample includes political reforms, addressing loyalty and participation issues, addressing the lack of coverage in other subjects, and in response to global trends. These are closely related to the theoretical framework for this thesis and the contextual factors of Bahrain that were explored in the early chapters. The participants’ answers lacked any reference to liberal concepts such as human rights and individuality and related its introduction to reinforce loyalty to the state and leadership in parallel to political reform in the country. Moreover, they associated topics of human rights to align with global trends that have been promoted by the United Nations and UNESCO to include these liberal concepts into member states’ education systems. This highlights how Bahraini society, mostly policymakers and teachers, is aware of external factors that influence national policies whilst attempting to preserve its particularity as a communitarian society with specific identity characteristics. Each rationale is discussed in detail in the next section.

6.3.1 Political Reforms

One of the reasons for introducing citizenship education was in response to the political reforms led by His Majesty King Hamad. When asked about the reason for reintroducing citizenship education with its new title and content, one of the
policymakers who was involved in writing the textbooks and a senior member of the policymaking committee gave detailed reasons that were identical to those outlined in the curriculum policy and the textbook:

Policymaker 1: of course the reasons for writing the document, as we said His Majesty’s Reform Project, ahhh, there’s of course instruction in the national newspaper from his majesty the King to teach the political system that the Ministry of Education ought to teach the political system in Bahrain to make the students aware of the political system in Bahrain.

The above policymaker affirmed a continuity of the subject from its predecessor but did not necessarily indicate whether there is a substantive difference in content and disposition between the two documents. Moreover, he attributed the necessity for introducing this subject mostly to the political reforms in the country and backed its statuatory status to legal documents such as the constitution, the Education Law and the King’s instruction to teach the subject. The above view was shared by policymaker 2 and one of the textbook’s authors who explained that citizenship education was the result of the political reforms that were taking place in the country. He saw citizenship education as a prerequisite for democracy to flourish, and that its role was to inform students of their rights and responsibilities and to enable them to become participative citizens in the future:

Policymaker 2: It is of course, the citizenship project as a whole came due to the transfer of the Bahraini society from one phase to another more advanced, meaning from a system that does not follow democracy to a democratic system. And for exercising democracy there are important creeks that need to be opened for the citizen, one of them is citizenship, meaning we cannot we cannot say democracy without the existence of citizenship, without the citizen enjoying rights and citizenship, and this citizenship informs the citizen, the student who is a participative citizen in the future, it teaches him, to be an important source by informing him of his rights and responsibilities.

A female Shia policymaker and a former teacher of citizenship education confirmed the link between the political reforms and the introduction of citizenship education:

Policymaker 3: May be because of the reform movement and the changes in Bahrain, radical changes.

The connection between citizenship education and democracy is made clear by policymakers and this can be attributed to their involvement in the policy writing and the English training they had received by the Citizenship Foundation. Moreover, Shia
male teachers attributed this shift of focus between the two subjects as a positive change parallel to political changes in the country. For example:

   School D T M 2: it was introduced as a result of political developments in the country.

On the other hand, most female Sunni teachers saw the change as an educational treatment to ongoing challenges in Bahrain in terms of the continuity of acts of vandalism that were carried out by some Shia youth and that the previous version did not have to address these issues as they did not exist at the time, according to them. Therefore, they conclude that the new version had to teach about the political reforms and promote legal forms of political demands.

   School J F 1: Certainly there’s difference, before it was different than now no, now they focus on the constitution, the charter, things that have come up now. Moreover, the past problems were few compared to now, no comparison between them [problems of the past and the present], before there was no vandalism, no sabotage, no such thing, indeed not, not like this, of course not, now is different, today’s problems are different.

In agreement with the previous quotation, a senior Shia male teacher also identified protecting public property as a focus for changing students’ behaviour in the current curriculum. He also mentioned the geographical factor discussed in Chapter Two, in relation to foreign and regional influence due to Bahrain’s geographical location.

   School D T M 1: tarbia wattania was focusing mainly on behaviour, students’ behaviours that they are expected to do for the wattan (homeland/nation) in order to protect the environment, in order to protect public property, meaning, … now it is mainly introducing different constitutions, introducing the Bahraini history and Bahrain Constitution 1973 and Bahrain Constitution 2002, as well as the geographical aspect, I see there is a geographical aspect, and this of course is good to link geography to citizenship education.

From the example given above, both Sunni and Shia teachers agree that the new citizenship education is different, and that the conception of citizenship in the latter one is less minimalist in its interpretation than its predecessor as it gives multiple views compared to the previous curriculum which was described as ‘superficial’ in comparison to the current one. As they pointed out, the new curriculum covers topics
of human rights, the constitution and political system which were absent in the previous one.

In agreement with Sunni teachers, when asked for the rationale for introducing citizenship education in 2005 as an independent subject with its own textbook, a Shia male teacher described it as a need to correct behaviour in youth:

School D T M 1: You know about the events [referring to political vandalism] and students indeed need behavioural correction and I am from the enthusiasts by the way, from the people who are extremely enthusiastic about correcting students’ behaviours and their understandings of nation, and enriching love of the nation in their hearts. Therefore, indeed there must be an independent textbook.

On the other hand, none of the Shia female teachers associated the subject with correcting behaviour in youth related to vandalism. However, they pointed out that the previous subject was more focused on teaching about responsibilities and duties and the new focusing on politics.

School H F 2 (sh): The same difference between sky and earth, I feel it is political tarbia lel muwattana, it’s political. The other one isn’t, it teaches you traffic rules, to abide by them, whatever it is, abide by it, simple light things, now this one not at all, much higher rank they made it. They want you to leave knowing the constitution, knowing the charter, the changes that happened when the al-Khalifa came, the things they did in Bahrain, the colonisation, therefore, it is something very advanced compared to the previous one, you become enlightened politically.

In general, female Shia teachers seemed to be more motivated to learn and teach about politics than their Sunni counterparts who felt they needed to instil emotions of patriotism rather than knowledge and skills of citizenship. Whether they felt the emphasis should be on rights or responsibilities, all the policymakers and the majority of teachers interviewed highlighted the need for citizenship education to complement the political reforms initiated by the government, however, their understanding of such reforms would locate their perception of citizenship at different points of McLaughlin’s spectrum depending on their community’s values and interests.

It can be argued that both teachers and policymakers link the reintroduction of the subject in its new format to political reforms in the country. Osler and Starkey (2003) explain that interest in citizenship education in some parts of the world such as South
Africa and Latin America to the emergence of democracies in their states and the need to educate their people about democracy and human rights. This applies to Bahrain as citizenship education as a new term was introduced as a response to King Hamad’s Reform Project, especially that the project is based on participation in decision-making through voting for parliamentary elections. Therefore, there is a need for educating the people to become informed citizens to prepare them for more involvement and to avoid possible failure of the reform as happened in the dissolvent of the 1975 parliament.

6.3.2 Loyal versus Participative Citizen

Instilling national identity and loyalty to the nation state was the other rationale given for citizenship education. When asked about the difference of *tarbia wattania* (national/patriotic) and *tarbia lel muwattana* (citizenship education), policymakers distinguished between the two in terms of building loyalties and constructing a participative informed citizenry.

Policymaker 2: I taught *tarbia wattania* but that was building loyalties, it was building belongings more than constructing a participative citizen, an active citizen in the society, this is the difference between them I imagine.

Policymaker 3: *Tarbia wattania* gives you general information, this one does not, it gives you concepts and principles and educates the student on certain principles, and makes him participative, because there are opinion questions, more, and it addresses the legal and constitutional side, a critique that was absent.

Policymakers in Bahrain seemed to favour a similar conception of citizenship adopted in the Crick report with emphasis on citizenship with rights and responsibilities that exclude the building of loyalties and belongings as an aim. This assertion contradicts with policymakers’ view that the current subject “citizenship education in Bahrain is not new, it was called previously national education”. Especially, as the previous subject was never described by any of the research participants as developing participative citizenry. Many teachers, on the other hand, especially Sunni, believed that it was introduced to increase belonging, loyalty and patriotism. This can be attributed to the general assumption held by Sunnis that some Shia do not have loyalty and belonging to Bahrain due to the ongoing acts of vandalism that was carried out in their villages even before February 2011. From policymakers’ answers it shows that
they are influenced by the Western references they have used in developing the curriculum policy and undermine loyalty and belonging as aims that are outdated. On the other hand, teachers’ emphasis on loyalty and belonging reflects the socio-political structure that was discussed in the contextual chapter which relates to tensions that exist in citizenship conceptions.

School H F 2 (s): Maybe, I don’t know may be because Bahrain is a little bit, they saw that what’s happening, I mean the citizens or something that was affecting them, they don’t have belonging, they don’t have loyalty for the nation, I don’t know what the main reason was.

Lubna: Didn’t they tell you at the training workshop why they reintroduced it?

School H F 2 (s): why they reintroduced it again? No, just for belonging and loyalty that’s what we always hear.

Another teacher described the old subject as instilling values by making a direct correlation between different actions, whereas the current one is more informative in nature and only indirectly develops a sense of belonging.

School G F 2 (sh): This just gives you definitions, what’s belonging, what’s loyalty, what’s a resident, what’s I don’t know what…definitions. It doesn’t tell you that for example if you do this, you will achieve belonging except for a few photos only, that if I don’t break things I wouldn’t be breaking laws, if I don’t do that I won’t be breaking that law. Whereas there [Tarbia Wattania] from the beginning of the textbook till the end of it, all it does, instils and instils through things that a person can do by himself, like this, this is what I feel. I feel this has nothing to do with Tarbia Wattania.

On the other hand, a Sunni teacher gave the opposite comparison as she claimed that tarbia wattania was mostly information, and tarbia lel muwattana aims to instil belonging and love of nation.

School H F 1: I don’t know. I feel tarbia wattania they gave them information about Bahrain, simple things about Bahrain, general information about Bahrain, its archaeological sites, from what I saw in the textbooks, but here I feel in tarbia lel muwattana I feel it’s not the same, they want to implant belonging and the citizen’s love for his nation.

When asked the difference between tarbia wattania and tarbia lel muwattana, a naturalised female teacher who was born and bred in Bahrain said:
School H T 2: I’m not sure but may be if you hear the word, *muwattana* may be related to Bahrain itself, as I told you, I feel this is when you say I develop *muwattana* from within a human, from the inside, this feeling is from within, he has a responsibility towards the nation, whereas *tarbia wattania* is only just information.

From the above quotations, it could be concluded that teachers were guided, through training, to focus on developing belonging and loyalty in students whereas the textbook which seems to be the main written source of reference for teachers seems to focus less on that. From her answer, it confirms what was said earlier in this chapter, that policymakers’ are not clear on the aims of citizenship education. Their conception of citizenship is torn between Western approaches to citizenship education that aim for maximalist interpretation and a local need to uphold the status quo whilst avoiding socio-political tensions. Although Shia teachers from the sample acknowledged tendency in the training towards identifying loyalty and belonging as aims of the subject transferred to them by policymakers/trainers, they seemed more excited about teaching the political aspects that were included in the textbook. Leading to conceptual tensions that are translated into a wider gap between policy and practice.

The confusion may refer to the political rationale for introducing the two subjects within a three decade period. As mentioned earlier, Bahrain became an independent state in 1971 and *tarbia wattania* was introduced in 1977. This was after independence yet also two years after the dissolving of the National Assembly in 1975 and the issuance of the security law (see chapter 2). During that period, democratic life was frozen and any political activity was driven underground. This was reflected in the curricula as well. Education focused in creating obedient grateful subjects rather than participative active informed citizens.

However, citizenship education of 2005 was introduced after political reforms and was aimed to reflect the political achievements of the government and educate youth about the reformed political system and its advantages. At the same time, the government aims through the new curriculum to reclaim loyalty and belonging to the state and political leadership as well as to abide by its commitment to ratified international treaties of human rights to teach about these rights and principles.
Citizens today have easy access to international media. Therefore, it can be argued the reinter state is less able to control its citizens by forms of entitlements as citizens have become more aware of their roles as participative citizens, especially with the decline of rentier resources in Bahrain and the rapid increase of economic challenges faced. Although it can be argued that the Shia opposition’s demand for more power has been acknowledged in designating a main strand to this aim in policy, the role of the citizen, which focuses on developing a participative and active citizen, I argue that this aspect of policy was influenced by internal and external factors. The reliance on English and American citizenship education curriculum policies to write the Bahraini policy acknowledges a global trend towards democracy and teaching about human rights that are encouraged by UNESCO and United Nations on the one hand, and a local socio-political situation that requires addressing such issues in education affirmed by His Majesty the King’s instructions and the parliament’s demand. However, a sincere intention to empower citizens to change the status quo is yet to be achieved as policy struggles with conceptual tensions as discussed in the policy chapter, supported by evidence from the student textbook which states responsibilities of citizens towards the state rather than promote active and participative citizenry. Although citizenship education in Bahrain was highly influenced by English policy, the rationale for introducing it in Bahrain differs to that in England, where alleged political apathy in young people and their disengagement from formal politics were reasons to promote active and participative citizenry (Lister et al. 2005). Therefore, the gap between policy and practice seems to be huge and practice reflects the contextual factors in Bahrain rather than Western conceptions of citizenship.

6.3.3 Lack of Coverage in Other Subjects
A Sunni male teacher’s rationale for the introduction of the subject was the lack of coverage and integrated approach and cited as an example that there was no other subject that addresses Bahrain exclusively in secondary curriculum, whether in geography or history modules. He highlighted the importance of history in citizenship education, and its coverage of the political system in Bahrain.
If we look at AJA 2216 which is 210\textsuperscript{25} now, it talks about Gulf geography and its history, if we look at AJA 210 which is 101, it talks about the Arabic Nation as a whole which we are part of, if we also look at Gulf Geography 221, it talks about the Gulf countries as a whole which we are part of, there is no module that talks about Bahrain. Therefore we must have a module that talks about our country geographically and historically in order, in order for students to be informed about their fathers’ and grandfathers’ history, their agonies and needs, so it will be a modern history, old, etc. Therefore citizenship[referring to it as a module] is the only one that talks about ministries, it’s alright, look, we only talk about state ministries okay, and types of states, and the constitution and of course the charter and types of powers, and then we have in unit 4 history, and this is not exactly citizenship education it is history, an extension for History 201, unit 4 is history\textsuperscript{26}, whereas here political systems are important to know and know about the state is important and types of powers.

Many teachers agreed with the above quotation that the political system of Bahrain had to be addressed as an independent subject, where students learn about Bahrain’s political system which was not covered in other curriculum subjects.

6.3.4 Global Trend and Curricula Development
At the end of the twentieth century citizenship education became a global trend and was introduced in many countries around the world, including the United Kingdom when it became a statutory subject in 2002. As mentioned earlier, citizenship education in its current form was introduced in Bahrain as a result of cooperation with the British Council in Bahrain in 2002 and was informed by other Western countries’ curriculum policies. Despite the particularity of Bahraini context as described in the contextual chapter and the other reasons mentioned above for its reintroduction, the timing of global interest in the subject could not have gone unnoticed even though its aims differ from country to country. As some countries were concerned with the subject’s role in the revival of interest in democracy, immigration or terrorism and it was believed that an education to address these issues was required (Kerr 1999).

\textsuperscript{25} Modules in secondary education in Bahrain are usually identified and referred to by an alphabetical and numerical system that groups modules of similar subjects together. Thus AJA is only used for social studies modules, and therefore to differentiate between the different social studies modules have numbers. This indicates that citizenship education is part of the social studies modules including geography and history. However, the name of the module and its alphabetical/numerical labels are used interchangeably.

\textsuperscript{26} Unit four in the citizenship education student textbook is titled the political system in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Lesson one and two are about the political and administrative system in Bahrain before and after independence of Britain. The third and last lesson is about Bahrain’s foreign policy.
School D T M 2: in the mean time it became, especially from an educational perspective, the subject of *tarbiya wattania* (patriotic education) has become a necessity, especially if the final goal is to establish a generation for the state and the people are the state’s people. Especially that many countries leaned towards introducing such subjects, such as citizenship education and developing love of nation. Therefore, it has become a necessity.

When asked about the two subjects, *tarbia wattania* and *tarbia lel muwattana*, the above teacher referred to them as being the same in meaning except for the change of title. However, he also discussed how the new subject explored areas like the political system and rights and responsibilities to a greater depth in a way its predecessor did not.

School A T M 1: It’s almost the same thing, only the title changed. In the old days as you can notice, it was a small booklet and some people wrote it, two wrote it about family and, what I remember is that it had things far, but this is wider wider and it gives us a lot of things, it talks about the state ministries, talks about development of the, the political system, and it brings us legal citizenship (*muwattana*) and it brings us national (*wattani*) awareness, human rights.

Some viewed the difference of the two subjects as being restricted to the content as part of routine curricula development. For example:

School J F 2: Probably the difference is just in the content.
Lubna: Elaborate please
School J F 2: aaaa its just, aaaa, their goals are the same but now as you know curricula develops. They develop curricula. Therefore, they have to change some things, just that. They added democracy.

In line with the above quotation, many countries around the world started to have an interest in teaching citizenship education around the same time, as part of the democratisation wave that occurred after the cold war. International comparative research was conducted to study this phenomenon, such as the IEA study (Toreny-Purta 1999). Indeed Bahrain’s interest in citizenship education was supported by British interest in citizenship education in 2002 through the British Council in Bahrain. Another rationale focused on the development of curriculum in terms of providing different perspectives to students rather than a single disposition of the government/curriculum writers.
School C M teacher: obviously there is difference, previously the subject was, for example with regards to rights and responsibilities, I don’t recall them giving us in this concept, the definition of a citizen not in this concept, for example, even nation here there are thousand definitions, beautiful, this is beautiful, putting one thousand definitions, there, there’s only one definition, meaning, I always say to students, here in those definitions, they express the perspective of the thinker, because this [the textbook] is mostly put by thinkers, there [national/patriotic education] they adopted one thinking only I swear, here [this textbook] no, there are different perspectives for example in belonging and loyalty.

The above rationale for teaching citizenship education showed that citizenship education locally was affected by a liberal and democratic education, as the textbook provided different definitions for concepts; which was not the norm in the previous version. This could be explained by the influence of British and American versions of citizenship education consulted and/or as a coping mechanism to recent advanced technology and accessibility to global information that was not possible in the past such as the World Wide Web. In other words, students today have easy access to sources other than the textbooks provided by the state and could challenge these if they tried to impose or state certain ideologies. This was not possible in the past especially during the Security Law period between 1975 and 2000 that controlled the written and spoken word with a tight grip.

In summary, the rationale for citizenship education given by the stakeholders was consistent with the main broad contextual factors identified in chapter two, consisting mainly of political, social and global trends. The confusion in terminology seems to stem from the participants’ understanding of the rationale for citizenship education. Female teachers tend to associate the subject with patriotic education more than their male counterparts and identified a lack of belonging among their students. Also, Egyptian male teachers seemed to agree with the female teachers in terms of their rationale and understanding of citizenship education as patriotic education that aims to develop love of country, loyalty and belonging. However, male teachers seemed to be more politically aware than their female counterparts and explained the introduction of the subject as a natural result of local political reforms. Conceptions of citizenship are explored in the next section.
6.4 Conceptions of Citizenship

In this section, I will explore what citizenship means to policymakers, teachers and students and followed by their understanding of what makes a citizen. In the large IEA international citizenship education study, citizenship as a concept was investigated to find out what it means to teachers and students (Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Kerr et al. 2002). The IEA study intended to find out what civic or citizenship education meant in many countries and was carried out in two phases, in the first phase each participating country completed a national case study of civic education, the second was a quantitative test and survey. As there is no definition of citizenship in the student textbook or the citizenship education curriculum document, as explained above, the textbook provides four definitions of a citizen that will be explored in the next section.

6.4.1 Citizenship as Informed Participative Citizenry

When I asked policymakers of their definitions for citizenship, these were their answers.

Policymaker 1: naturally there is no particular definition for citizenship. But there are many definitions for citizenship. There are definitions that assert that citizenship is a group of information, knowledge and values that students achieve to interact with the society and its issues in order to become good citizens. This is one of the definitions. Other definitions assert the importance of instilling citizenship values that acknowledge rights and obligations of the citizen and interaction with society’s issues and contributing to its solutions. Most definitions if we notice, I mean from these definitions, most of the definitions emphasise the topic of rights and obligations, emphasise the healthy social upbringing, emphasise the interaction with community’s issues and emphasise contribution in solving community’s issues. These are the broad lines that most definitions of citizenship concept emphasise.

In the above quotation, the policymaker emphasised: rights and responsibilities, healthy social upbringing, interaction with society’s issues and contributing in solving them implying a participative form of citizenship in the community. Therefore, the emphasis on community is quite evident. However, none of the teachers and students associated the concept citizenship to active participation.
6.4.2 Citizenship as Belonging and Loyalty

The majority of teachers in my sample associated citizenship education with a feeling of belonging and loyalty, especially female teachers and their students. All Egyptian teachers from the sample highlighted the importance of love of country as a definition for citizenship and its causal relation to being a good citizen. This can be attributed to Egyptian education they had received in Egypt. Their answers revolved around love of country and sacrifice their lives for it.

School E M E 1: citizenship is to be prepared to sacrifice in the first place, that Bahrain is my first priority, or to a Bahraini citizen which is his principal country, that this is his only country that he has no other refuge. Therefore, the existence of the state and the existence of its system mean his existence. If the state falls under an aggressor or something, it means that his life is over. And we gave an example before [in classroom] what happened in Kuwait, that the people could not defend their country, so they had to flee it. So this is an example we do not wish to reoccur at any country in the world.

Most of the students in the sample associated citizenship with belonging and loyalty and love of country. The majority of students associated citizenship with patriotic sentiments such as love of country, and loyalty and belonging to the country which validate teachers’ understanding of citizenship as they understood it from the textbook. Only five out of the forty students associated citizenship with rights and responsibilities and only two related it to language and religion.

6.4.3 Citizenship as Patriotism

Most of the Egyptian teachers answers connected citizenship as a concept to patriotic feelings of love, loyalty and belonging which the teachers believed was also the emphasis of the National Education in Egypt. They discussed the importance of accepting (loving) one’s situation and preserving the status quo.

There were some variations among the Shia male teachers group. Although they associated citizenship with patriotic feelings, rights and responsibilities some of them perceived it as a means to creating a good citizen.

School D M 1: it means creating a good citizen, aware of the responsibilities he needs to do and the rights he has.
Most teachers linked citizenship to general patriotic feelings and made remarks about the diversity of customs, traditions and conventions of more than one group of people that live on the land.

School C M: citizenship for me, it divides into different sections, we say this is a citizen, first he loves this nation as we say his soul is in this nation, as we say, the land of our fathers and grandfathers, this is it for me and then it divides into other sections and then comes the political, the cultural, the economic and social aspects. When they say this is the nation of this person, then the other person immediately thinks that this is the country he was born in and his fathers and grandfathers, for example, where are you from?

As mentioned in the previous chapter, my background was of importance to Shia participants as it seemed for example that the above teacher was trying to establish if I were naturalised, Shia or Sunni, as areas in Bahrain can indicate such associations as discussed in the contextual chapter, which could also be influenced by my appearance. This gave an indication of the implications and challenges teachers face in teaching these topics to students from different backgrounds to their own.

The only Sunni male teacher in the sample, a politically enthused one, emphasised having faith in his community’s issues, yet did not indicate a form of participation.

School A M 2: Citizenship means, it is related to create a good citizen, who believes in his community’s issues and, this is citizenship.

Shia female teachers also saw citizenship as patriotism, pointing to the significance of the flag. She also touched upon naturalisation and implied that naturalised citizens do not deserve the Bahraini citizenship as their loyalty lies to their original citizenship.

School G F 1: emm, my belonging, my feeling, the feeling that I can never sacrifice for any other feeling, I always tell them [students], every love can be replaced but the nation’s is impossible, even for example, I take another citizenship and they tell me you are a citizen I’ll tell them, a simple example was given to me by a student, about that athlete who carried the flag of his country when he won and he has a Bahraini citizenship, I mean this is the most difficult thing, I think he is Brazilian and he carried Brazil’s flag although he has a Bahraini citizenship and was playing with the Bahraini team. It was difficult. I
feel he took something he doesn’t deserve. It is this feeling that I cannot sacrifice or replace.

Another Shia female teacher claimed there are many conditions required to qualify as a citizen that go beyond having a passport and/or supporting a particular political side. She claimed that citizenship was an all-around concept: socially, economic and cultural. To her citizenship was belonging, loyalty and love of country.

School G F 2: It means belonging and loyalty, it is not conditional that I have it just because I have the name Bahraini (female Bahraini). There are many conditions that you have to believe in them all together in order to be a muwattena (female citizen). It is not a matter of I carry a passport and I become a citizen, or that I take a particular political side to be a citizen, no. Citizenship is an all around concept, social, economic, cultural, when you study now and excel, this is love of nation. What’s your goal? To become an excellent Bahraini.

All Sunni female teachers unanimously identified love of country, belonging and loyalty as a definition for citizenship.

School J F 2: citizenship of course is a huge concept. If we take it from the connection between the citizen and his nation aspect, his loyalty to it, his belonging to it, it covers the meaning what is the value of a citizen or a human being without a nation, meaning a nation means everything to a human being everything. As we say, if we get the fish out of the water it dies, a human being is just the same. If he doesn’t have loyalty and belonging to his nation, what is the value of a human being?

From the above, it could be concluded that citizenship means patriotism to the majority of the teachers and students in this study. This was possibly related to the training the teachers had prior to teaching the subject which identified belonging and loyalty as main aims of the subject as reported by many of the teachers and was consciously transferred to the students. This can also confirm the nature of Bahraini society and their inclination to communitarian conceptions of citizenship. Although this influential aspect of citizenship was not emphasised by policymakers in the interviews, it seemed very much the main goal as identified by teachers and was reflected in students’ answers. In the next two sections, Teachers’ and students’ conceptions of a citizen will be analysed to better understand their perceptions of citizenship.
6.5 Teachers’ Conception of a Citizen

To highlight the complexity of the concept, a female teacher when asked about the most difficult questions she was asked by her students identified the definition of a citizen as a dilemma:

School G F 1: the concept of a citizen. “Do we consider a citizen who holds the citizenship but not originally Bahraini, a citizen?”

She pointed out that the determining factor whether someone is a citizen or not, is his/her place of birth along with loyalty and belonging. This factor was also shared by most of the teachers in the study. Most teachers identified with the definitions given in the textbook whilst emphasising belonging and loyalty and love of country. Association of birth place is also strong amongst the sample. The first quotation below summarises the different definitions of a citizen as given in the textbook, yet the teacher identified with knowing rights and obligations and having love of country.

School C T M: Ouch (laugh) a Bahraini citizen, there are differences. If you look, there is a political perspective, social perspective. Social scientists disagree. For example, here in the textbook in the first topic, one of its beauties is that it gives many definitions. Some say a citizen is someone who has loyalty to the [political] system, another says no he has to have loyalty to the community, another says someone who knows his rights and obligations. I define it in my perspective someone who has rights and obligations and has implanted in his heart love of land, love of country.

The following teacher embraced the intentions of the textbook and defined a citizen as one who is also pro-political leadership.

School B T M 2: a citizen is an individual who is loyal to his nation, who belongs to his nation, who is pro-political leadership, sincere as I mentioned in his work, this is a good citizen.

An interesting point that corresponds with students’ answers was raised by a teacher who used the word original to identify a Bahraini citizen, which might be the result of using that word to refer to an original wattan and a residency wattan. Thus causing confusion and giving a new label to differentiate between citizens.

School D T M 1: a Bahraini citizen is the original Bahraini who holds a citizenship and who lived in this land for a long time and whose grandfathers and fathers lived in for a long time and is really sincere in his love of the nation and especially during crisis. This is how a Bahraini citizen should be, I mean may be there are those who claim to
be Bahraini citizens, but during crisis you don’t see them standing by the nation.

Another teacher who found this a controversial topic to discuss with students admitted that it was teachers’ duty to escape answering students about who a Bahraini is. According to his students birth place is a determining factor.

School D T M 2 a Bahraini citizen according to the textbook is everyone who lives on this nation’s land and has citizenship and has rights and obligations… Even students touch on this topic who is a Bahraini and who is not, and our duty as teachers is to escape this question. But as I see from their point of view, from their conversations that they indeed have a certain disposition, for example that only those born on this nation’s land are Bahrainis and those who weren’t born aren’t Bahrainis. Although the textbook put in the picture to them that even those not born on this land as long as they have…[citizenship]. Fundamentally, in the textbook a citizen is someone who has a citizenship and has rights and obligations.

For an Egyptian teacher, who resides in Bahrain for work, a citizen was someone who defended and served his/her nation and had love of country. The example he gave revealed implicitly the challenges his situation has on this topic and corresponded with the example given in the textbook regarding an Arab citizen residing in Bahrain and has Bahraini citizenship.

School E T E: I believe a Bahraini citizen is a citizen who is prepared to defend his nation, military defence, and serve his nation is the first and main measurement. For example one can live all his life in Bahrain but hasn’t belonging to the country, and another lives in it for ten years or worked in it for ten or fifteen years and has belonging and love to the country and of course love, belonging and defence does not show except at times of crisis and difficulties, whereas with words its truth cannot be seen.

A female teacher identified a citizen to have love and belonging to Bahrain irrespective of his nationality. This might be a positive outcome of identifying residents as citizens. This is most likely linked to the textbook identifying two types of wattan: an original wattan and a residing wattan as mentioned earlier.

School H T F 1: a citizen to me is everyone who has belonging and love for Bahrain and wants its best and tries to develop it. This is a citizen, irrespective of his nationality [jensya] or origins, or, everyone who loves
Bahrain will try to make it peaceful and its politics good and its economy, tries to develop it, this is a Bahraini citizen

Last but not least, loyalty and belonging seem to be the recurring theme and the most important factor to determining a citizen as the following teacher said:

School H T F 2 (n): is a person who belongs to Bahrain, knows his rights and obligations to the country, is born in the country, of course has citizenship of this country. Most important thing is that he has belonging and loyalty and of course follows the law and follows the constitution, respect the state he lives in.

Unlike the conceptions of citizenship, which did not have a clear definition in the textbook, conception of a citizen revolved around the four definitions of a citizen given in the textbook. However, birth place and ancestry seemed to be at the top of teachers’ understandings of what makes a citizen. Role of a citizen in a democracy was almost inexistent in their answers.

Teachers’ understandings of citizenship concepts seem to be influenced by the student textbook more than curriculum objectives. In the UNESCO collaborative study in Lebanon, Frayha (2004) explains that textbook content has more impact than curriculum objectives at school for both students and teachers as they deal with textbooks on a daily basis. This shows that although citizenship education curriculum policy was influenced by Western liberal concepts, this influence did not transfer to the student textbook which is the primary and only source for both teachers and students in Bahrain. As some of the policymakers were also the authors of the formal textbook, it shows that there are fears of applying those concepts. This could be associated to factors related to society’s rejection of Western liberal concepts or it could be related to preserving the status quo. In the next section, students’ conceptions of a citizen will be explored.
6.6 Students’ Conceptions of a Citizen

Students’ conceptions of what makes a citizen also revolved around the four definitions given in the textbook. Their answers consisted of rights, responsibilities (mainly military service and defence), having the citizenship/passport, and patriotism and loyalty, and birth place and ancestry.

6.6.1 Citizen as a Legal Status

This group selected the fourth definition of a citizen [holds his country’s citizenship and obligated by the duties listed in the constitution in exchange for housing, social care, health care, education and others] given in the textbook as to what makes a citizen.

School H G 1 (S): A Bahraini citizen is someone who holds the citizenship, and, someone who gives services to people and has loyalty to the country but mostly is someone who holds the Bahraini citizenship is a Bahraini citizen.

School J G 3 (S): a citizen is someone who lives in a country and holds its citizenship and is faithful to her and has belonging and loyalty to her.

This group consisted mainly of Sunni girls who associated holding a passport and having belonging and loyalty to the country.

6.6.2 Rights and Responsibilities

In the textbook, only the fourth definition of a citizen mentioned the word obligations. However, in the following summary of the four definitions, the textbook concluded that “a citizen who has most of the characteristics identified in the previous definitions, especially identifying his obligations and rights in his/her relationship with the community and the homeland that he/she owes loyalty and belonging” (Student textbook, p 13).

School C B 4 (Sh): A citizen is someone who lives in a country with his family and has rights provided by the state and obligations he must execute, this is a citizen.

School D B 4 (N): a citizen… not important to perform military service, honour OK, honour no disagreement but it is not important, and has rights and obligation. He performs the obligations in the constitution and takes his rights.
From the data gathered, most naturalised/non-citizen students opted for this definition of a citizen and away from birth place or ancestry conditions. Also, this group consisted mainly of Shia boy students and almost no Sunni at all except for the naturalised/non-citizens. Also notably, this group was almost exclusive to boys.

6.6.3 Patriotism, Loyalty and Belonging

It is evident from the sample, that the majority of students had strong patriotic sentiments, which can be explained by the textbook’s emphasis on belonging, loyalty and defending the nation as principal obligations of a citizen, as well as the teachers’ emphasis on them.

Sunni students identified loyalty to the ruling family as prerequisite to being a citizen. They also identified the third definition given in the textbook [political loyalty to the state] and to the people as their definition of a citizen.

School E B 1 (S): a citizen is someone no matter what his origins are, his loyalty must be to the al-Khalifa, not like some boys we have in the classroom, Bashar al-Asad, I don’t know who, these people they are giving us a headache with. There are boys who talk like that. And there are boys who come to us, they hold passports [Bahraini passport] and they come to us with wrist bands of their countries. This really affects the psychology of Bahrainis in the classroom.

Lubna: Who is a citizen?
School E B 1 (S): a citizen is someone whose political loyalty to the state, offers services to the people, meaning his loyalty is to the people, for example [imagine someone] living in this country and his loyalty is to Iran or his loyalty to another country.

The above comment was made by a Sunni boy before 2011 events. As mentioned in chapter two, sectarian tensions within Bahraini society between Sunni and Shia and the geographical factor related to regional influences have increased the polarisation of Bahraini society especially after the 2011 unrest.

School B 4 (Sh): A citizen is a sincere Bahraini to the nation, someone who loves his country, who doesn’t vandalise it.

The last quotation came from a boy whose school had been vandalised few times for political reasons. Therefore, this school might have focused more on this aspect of a
citizen’s role than others. From the above, it shows that the impact of the current citizenship education is minimal as it fails to address the real tensions in citizenship associated with the socio-political context. Especially, that it avoids any reference to diversity in society and does not promote critical thinking amongst teachers or students. It is more or less a minimalist interpretation of citizenship education as described by McLaughlin.

6.6.4 By Ancestry and Birth Place
A large number of students identified birth place and ancestry as conditions to being a citizen in addition to the factors given in the student textbook. Most of those were Shia students and a few Sunni who lived in areas with a high population of other Arab nationals, possibly naturalised citizens who go to the same school. This factor was also seen amongst Shia students who attend homogeneous schools with majority Shia and had little contact with other Arab national students or naturalised Bahrainis. For example, one Shia girl in a Shia village identified ancestry as the only legitimate requirement to be a citizen, dismissing the other definitions given in the textbook.

School G G 1 (Sh): (laugh) At least four grandfathers were buried here, something like that.

School G 4 (sh): is someone, whose country is this, his foundations are here, his family are here, and his place of birth and death.

The study data confirms that opposition media’s coverage of what is claimed to be a political naturalisation process run by the government has had a direct influence on Shia students against other Arab nationals who may or may not have been naturalised. Moreover, some Sunni students who live in areas that are inhabited by other Arab nationals also have negative feelings towards them.

6.6.5 Citizen as Participant
One boy associated rights, responsibilities and interaction with the community as to what makes a citizen. By doing so, he was the only one who identified participation and its connection to citizenship, despite the role of the citizen being one of the main cores of the policy and addressing civil society in human rights in Bahrain topic. This is an
interesting finding as it confirms that participation of citizens is not a main goal of citizenship education, yet policy and policymakers claim that participating citizens are the goal.

School D B 2: Fusion with them meaning he joins some societies, some institutions, some activities, meaning participation.
Lubna: Is this what you learned from the module?
School D B 2: Other things too; in some lessons there’s more about belonging and loyalty, what’s loyalty and how loyalty differs from belonging.

From the above, it can be claimed that students were influenced to an extent by the definitions of citizen given in the textbook as most of them identified one or two depending on what they could remember from the textbook. It can be inferred that their memorisation of certain definitions rather than others was related to their group affiliation. However, the fact that almost all of them mentioned belonging and loyalty during the interviews indicate that a lot of emphasis was put on these two concepts during the module possibly through their teachers and/or the school ethos and overall policy. Nevertheless, they did not all agree on what it was to belong to or be loyal to, which was also the case with their teachers.

6.7 Discussion and Conclusion

Conceptions of citizenship as understood by most teachers and students in the study were strongly connected to belonging and loyalty. This was also confirmed in the rationale given by the teachers for the introduction and purpose of citizenship education as an enforcer of loyalty and belonging especially amongst Sunni female teachers and Egyptian male teachers. Shia teachers although identifying loyalty and belonging, also regarded citizenship education and citizenship as a parallel step of the political reforms in the country, and thus consisted of rights and responsibilities. Although conceptions of citizenship, as the data showed, rarely explicitly used direct emphasis on language, religion or culture as prerequisites of national identity, emphasis on belonging and loyalty was evident in both teachers and students and were seen as synonyms with citizenship. Furthermore, patriotic practices in schools such as the daily flag salute, the singing of the national anthem and continuous national celebrations at school and national level may justly be reasons for the heightened patriotic sentiments shown by teachers and students.
It can be concluded that the majority of teachers perceived citizenship as synonymous with patriotism. This understanding of citizenship amongst teachers is bound to ultimately transfer to students and influence citizenship education outcomes as the data revealed. Therefore, teachers’ views on citizenship education are crucial to analyse the effectiveness of policy and its transferability into practice. However, it must be noted that students build their understanding from all the different mediums they interact with, such as family, friends, religious institutions, media and school. Leenders et al, (2008, p 156) argued for a need for empirical research into teachers’ pedagogical actions, their motives, their knowledge and beliefs and the way they reflect on their practice. They explained that “teachers demonstrate values through the material they choose, subject content, examples and their coaching of students”.

Unlike Maths and Language, Citizenship education as a political and social concept cannot be restricted to propositional knowledge and skills. It is heavily value-laden and dispositional. Teachers’ political and social dispositions are consciously or sometimes unconsciously passed to students through their pedagogical actions and examples they give to their students. Bahraini teachers rely mainly on the student textbook for their teaching. Therefore, there is little autonomy in selecting materials. However, I agree with Leenders et al, that citizenship education is heavily value-laden and dispositional as this research findings concur that different groups perceived citizenship concepts differently in line with their group interests. Keddie (2008, p.173) claims that the extent to which the main intentions within citizenship curriculum are mobilised, will be shaped by teachers’ conceptions of what constitutes the ‘common good’ and that “the transformative agenda of the curriculum in relation to addressing issues of discrimination and cultural diversity will, then, be framed by teachers’ judgments about what, how and why particular issues are presented and the ways in which students might be invited to engage with such issues”.

As a result, no matter how carefully textbooks are written and revised to deliver certain outcomes promoted by the state, teachers’ views and dispositions are more influential than textbooks in such a subject. In addition, what is understood to be the common good in Bahrain differs by community, as the Shia community’s interests are different from those of the Sunni community. For example, when the government tried to pass legislation for Family Law instead of the Sharia Law, the Shia community were called
by their religious leaders to go out in demonstrations to protect the authority that the Shia religious leaders have on community and family matters even though the new legislation was written to give women more rights, whereas the Sunni part of the legislation was passed smoothly.

Almost all teachers of citizenship education in secondary Bahraini state schools hope that their students will become patriots as an outcome of studying this module. This may be explained by the socio-political development in Bahrain which is in the process of state building (see contextual chapter and theoretical framework). Moreover, the conceptions of citizenship discussed above reassert the teachers’ perceptions of patriotism as the focus of citizenship education. In contrast, Davies, Gregory and Riley (1999, p 54) found out in their quantitative and qualitative research with over 700 teachers in England that “patriotism, however interpreted, does not figure very prominently in the interview data”. According to their findings there were only two references to patriotism and both had negative connotations, for example: “I abhor all the kind of flag waving, national anthems, monarchy, all that kind of thing” (Davies, et al 1999, p 54). Davies, et al. (1999, p 54) suspect that “the strongly negative view taken of patriotism, as revealed in the questionnaire findings – it was the lowest ranked of all the possible characteristics of the good citizen and the one with the highest negative attitude towards it – reflects the equally negative connotations of patriotism given expression in the quotations just given”. Although, this research did not generate quantitative data, evidence from the interview data suggests that teachers in Bahrain identify patriotism, loyalty and belonging at the highest rank of the characteristics of a good citizen.

In his book for Love of Country, Viroli (1995) advocates a conception of patriotism and political virtue that conforms to the common liberty. Although he acknowledges that other types of patriotism are inevitably bound to produce bigotry, intolerance, and militarism, he argues that this does not apply to patriotism of liberty. He claims that to grow the right sort of patriotism, “we need not to strengthen homogeneity and oneness but work to strengthen the practice and the culture of citizenship” (Viroli 1995, p 184). He explains further “Bigotry, intolerance, and war are the products of another love; that is, love or longing for oneness and uniqueness” (Viroli 1995, p 185).
We do not need more citizens attending national festivals with great fervour; nor do we need more citizens willing to offer their lives to protect their country’s religious or ethnic or cultural identity. We need, instead, more citizens willing and capable of mobilising when one or more citizens are victims of injustice or discrimination, when unfair laws are passed or constitutional principles are violated (Viroli 1995, p 185).

From the above quotation, Viroli (1995) warns against a patriotism that aims to strengthen homogeneity and oneness and instead offers another type of patriotism that does not identify with religion, language and culture but identifies with values of liberty and civic virtue. Feelings of uniqueness and attempts to unify the people of Bahrain as a homogeneous group were clearly observed in both teachers and students of this study.

As mentioned in the contextual chapter and theoretical framework, Bahraini society can be described as communitarian in the sense of its particular groups that construct it whether Shia, Sunni or ethnic groups: Arab, non-Arabs and so on. Yet, when they spoke of society they described it as a homogenous group which does not reflect the curriculum policy that dedicated a whole strand of four to the diversity of the Bahraini society. This is another shortcoming of the policy, as it was not translated into the textbook nor the teacher training. Also, the implications of developing such feelings in students will be explored in the next chapter.

It can be argued that Bahrain’s conception of citizenship is liberal as it provided its citizens with welfare rights and demanded nothing in return except loyalty and allegiance whilst the state barely interfered with its citizens’ private lives. This can be deduced from dependency on English influence in state’s laws and constitution. Yet democracy seems to be problematic when the ruling family does not intend to give away its authority whilst a growing citizenry demands of broader participation increase. On the other hand, a communitarian form of citizenship also fails to flourish in Bahrain due to its cosmopolitan population and related to legitimacy issues as well. This is due to its Shia, Sunni indigenous population and the reality that the ruling family did not acquire rule on religious grounds and thus opted for secular law except for family matters.

While these chiefs were Muslims, they did not enjoy or claim religious attributes which set them apart from the rest of society. Moreover, they showed no particular religion zeal nor did they mix religion with politics.
Even in the case of the implementation of justice, they resorted to secular law in addition to religious law, a practice common among the tribes (Harik 1990, p 13)

Also, communitarian citizenship demands more participation of citizens built on communal identity. A majority of religious Shia citizens also creates a challenge for a Sunni ruling family due to theocratic legitimacy and raises issues of loyalty to external religious figures that interfere with local political matters. Also a growing religious Sunni movement that might have a long term agenda of an Islamic state presents another cause of concern. Due to the fact that the al-Khalifa’s ruled Bahrain after the expulsion of the Iranian rule in Bahrain was formed on an Arab identity rather a religious one, it can be identified with the emphasis of Arabism rather than an Islamic state. This is reflected in the constitution and formal speeches as well and can be traced to the announcement of the state in 1971: “Shaykh Isa ibn Salman al-Khalifa’s proclamation of independence in 1971 did not speak of Islam as the source of rule but instead declared fidelity to more modern and immediate causes: Arabism and Palestine” (Hudson 1977, p193).

In conclusion, the recent citizenship education in Bahrain is less minimalist on McLaughlin’s spectrum compared to the 1977 version, as the current citizenship education provides students with more than one conception of a citizen. However, the emphasis seemed to be biased towards promoting patriotic citizens with sentiments of loyalty, belonging and preserving the status quo as opposed to reflecting the stated policy aims which include creating informed active participative citizens. This as explained by policymaker 2, reflected the political leadership’s interests. Therefore, creating participative citizens is not a priority to the political leadership. As Hudson (1977, p 193) points out that “education and political awareness have also accentuated the Khalifa family’s legitimacy problem”. This was in the form of street demonstrations, violent labour unrest with political overtones in the 1950s, 60s, and 1975, which all indicated the demand for broader political participation. Therefore, Bahrainis have always demanded broader political participation which usually threatens the continuation of the political leadership. Thus political participation of citizens, if at all favoured, has to come second to loyalty to the political leadership, which seems difficult to achieve whilst trying to maintain a participative democratic
conception of citizenship at least theoretically, because active informative participative citizens will eventually demand full democratic rights in ruling and being ruled. In conclusion, the perceptions of teachers and students of citizenship and citizenship education in practice seem in contrast to policy in terms of its identified aims, which was reflected in the data analysis given. In the next chapter, the challenges of implementation will be discussed from the teachers’ perspective.
Chapter 7: Challenges of Implementation

7.1 Introduction
This chapter will examine the challenges facing the implementation of citizenship education, primarily, from the perceptions of teachers of citizenship education. As can be established from the policy tensions chapter and the conceptions of citizenship chapter, no consensus has been reached amongst the different stakeholders of the study. Perceptions of citizenship and what to include and exclude in citizenship education are not congruent and as a result, challenges are bound to be reflected in practice. This chapter focuses on the challenges identified by teachers themselves. Teachers identified the following themes as challenges to achieve the goals for the subject: lack of pupil interest, a content-based curriculum, the available teaching methods and resources, and finally disagreement about how to tackle controversial issues. In the next section, the challenges of implementing citizenship education will be discussed.

7.2 Challenges Identified by Teachers
There were many challenges identified by teachers in teaching the citizenship education module in secondary school. These are closely related to the contextual factors discussed in chapter two as well as the detailed factors related to the education system and structure. However, most of these challenges were linked directly to the teachers and how well prepared they were to teach the subject. This included their confidence in the subject matter, their skills to deal with controversial issues and their own attitudes about citizenship issues. Therefore, it can be argued that the success of citizenship education is conditional on the teachers’ abilities to achieve its aims. However, when there are tensions of the aims within the policy and in its transmission to practice, the success of this new subject becomes even harder. The former minister of education described the role of the teacher as the key:

The key to this whole thing is the teacher. I’ve advocated always for the professionalism of teachers from 1982, and I believe very firmly that if teachers are prepared very well and I mean very well… And when I have it as a profession, they will put the code of practice of this, and when I prepare a teacher for seven years, I’ll give him a very solid background of general education, liberal education if you want to call it, and make him a person committed to society, who considers himself as an agent of change
and not as an agent of just passing knowledge, etc. Now such a teacher will
give them all the freedom to talk about, they will raise some issues and they
will say “but we don’t see this”, and he will say “yes”. But if he is a teacher
who is narrow-minded, he will tell them to “shut up you’re talking about
things you don’t understand”, and all of this. That’s why I said if the school
practices democracy within its walls and within its classes, then you’re
teaching democracy.

The former minister of education in Bahrain described above the teachers’ role in
delivering citizenship education being crucial to the success of its implementation.
However, teachers teaching citizenship education in Bahraini secondary schools were
not specialized in citizenship education and had either a Geography or History degree.
Some of them did not have a teacher training qualification. Nevertheless, all teachers
in the sample attended one training workshop for a day to help them teach the module
by curriculum specialists/textbook authors.

One of the challenges teachers face in delivering citizenship education is the lack of
interest from students. The study found that, in general, boys lacked interest in the
subject or any other political issues with the exception of school B, where students were
older than the rest of the boys’ sample as they were in their last year in school. This
was evident from the teacher's perceptions as well as the students.

For example if I take you now to one of the classrooms and I asked the
students if anybody has any information about the Family Law that is
expected to be passed. I can guess the answer without even, impossible
that one of them has any knowledge. The problem is that we need to push
our kids to follow current events. I wish there were questions that ask
about current events, for example about the latest events. Frankly, there
is shortcoming from the Bahraini students in general. Therefore, I wish
that the textbook ignites motivation. (School A M T E).

Although the above school student demography is diverse, the majority of students are
Sunni, which supports the argument that Sunni boys are less interested in politics than
Shia boys due to historical implications as discussed in Chapter Two. On the other hand
girls were more interested and were given more opportunities to speak out their mind
in general except for one of the schools where they were discouraged to speak up
(School I: Shia majority). For example one female teacher described how she engaged
her students with current events:

I tell them to watch the news, so they come and present, for example, they
see laws in the newspaper, [they say] teacher this parliamentary bloc
suggested this law, is it constitutional or not? For example they question a
minister, teacher can they remove him? Is it within their power to remove a minister? I feel they always say you said that, where is it? [Laughing] (School G F T 1 Sh).

This lack of general interest amongst students can be attributed to the overall reluctance to engage in politics that is passed from their parents who lived during the period between the two constitutions of 1973 and 2002. As mentioned in the Context and Background Chapter, after the dissolvent of the National Assembly in 1975 and the enactment of the Public Security Law, people were scared to speak about politics as it had severe consequences. This lack of interest in politics is also shared by teachers as none of them expressed being a member of a political society and only few male teachers participated in local charity or voluntary social work. None of the Egyptian male teachers had political or voluntary work and this was also true about all female teachers. Most said they would have liked to do voluntary work but did not have the time to do it. On the other hand, boys’ from school B who came from Karzakan, a village known for its oppositional stance to the government, seemed the most politically aware, when I asked him what he did not like about the subject:

Everything. If you talk about politics you have no rights, you’re one of those out of luck (School B B 4 Sh).

Another possible reason for lack of interest may be related to the content of the textbook as few Shia boys and girls students expressed their rejection of the content of the module and described it as false information (for example: School I G 1 Sh, School B B 4 Sh).

Growing youth apathy and cynicism towards engagement in political and civic life was seen as reasons for introducing citizenship education in the UK (for example Kerr, MaCarthy & Smith, 2002; Osler & Starkey 2002). In the Bahraini context, political apathy is coupled with sectarian divisions as Shia school youngsters were involved in the 1990s riots in schools and continue to clash with national security police in their villages by burning rubber car tires in the streets. Moreover, after the 2002 events, Shia boys younger than 15 years old were involved in throwing Molotov Cocktails in the streets and at policemen.

In line with the lack of interest, some male teachers who taught the module to older students when it was introduced in 2005 felt uneasy to teach it as they perceived this
age group more challenging and the lack of proper training meant that they were not equipped to meet the challenges. This was described by one of those teachers below.

When I first taught it I didn’t like it, but this year I love it. When I first taught it, I taught the third level (last year students) and third level is third year of secondary. May be it’s the type of students that made me hate the module. As you know to an extent they have a political maturity, to an extent. But after I got experience in teaching it I started to love it and I was able to manage situations…and I personally love the historical aspects that are in the textbook (School D T M Sh).

However, as the years have passed since it was introduced, all students should be taking this citizenship education module in their first year of secondary school, whether at the first semester or the second. Therefore, this problem should exist no longer but lack of interest may persist. Students should be more knowledgeable as they would have taken citizenship education in all their previous years of schooling and as police reports identify boys younger than 15 years old involved in violent acts make it more challenging for teachers to teach the subject. Also, I assume Sunni boys and girls as well as Sunni teachers are much more interested now than they used to prior to February 2014 as they are more politically active now in social media.

7.3 Content-based Curriculum

As mentioned in the previous section, most students studied citizenship in Intermediate School and repetition of content was identified by many students as making the module boring. When I asked what the topics students liked least in the module, a boy said:

I feel that Human Rights is not that great because we studied it before (School D B 1 S).

Also, some teachers addressed the repetition of content from previous school years and this was supported by many students as mentioned above.

[Content of] lessons should be progressive from primary school. I mean lessons shouldn’t be repeated. Intermediate school the same as secondary school. I feel they have to change things in them (School G F T 1 Sh).

Therefore, careful review has to be made to ensure progression in citizenship education throughout the school years as students would have studied citizenship textbooks from year one in primary school till first year in secondary school.
In addition, most teachers explicitly or implicitly implied that the main purpose of the curriculum was to inform the students rather than develop skills or attitudes related to citizenship. Most of them pointed out that students mainly learn from the textbook topics such as the political system in Bahrain and some historical aspects about the country. Few teachers even commented on the negative impact of just passing knowledge to students rather than encouraging change of attitudes.

It is not only about reading the whole textbook and sitting an exam. Move the student, make him think, move his emotional side, don’t dismiss it, this is citizenship education. Don’t be limited to the knowledge aspect, how many ministries and how many provinces and how many so on. Discuss what this province is about, move his emotional side to achieve citizenship. Because citizenship is not only knowledge but it is knowledge and emotions (School A T M S).

Moreover, some teachers felt that the textbook was crammed with content and was as a result “filing” as a few described it. Filling is usually used by teachers and students in Bahrain to describe a curriculum that is full of information to be memorized and which is perceived as having little use.

In my opinion the textbook has a filling aspect and there is also a feeling aspect especially in rights and responsibilities, it sensitizes. But it has a filling aspect. And the external circumstances in the country are what make it loveable or hated; one of those (School C T M).

This aspect of content-led curriculum is unjustifiable in an information age, even though some governments across the world still favour it, especially with a heightened call for electronic learning in Bahrain supported by his Majesty the King. As noted by some students, having access to the internet provided teachers and students alike with a lot of information and sources that were beyond the textbook and sometimes contradicted it. Therefore, teachers can no longer rely on textbooks as the only source of passing information to the students and their role must extend from passing knowledge, to assumingly empty vessels, to developing skills that enable them to analyse critically information and media sources. The former minister of Bahrain also commented on content in the following quotation:

I am an advocator that, nowadays to learn facts and information, it’s all there, what we need to teach students are two very fundamental things, one is how to use their mind, in looking at knowledge and information and so on, to be able in other words to be critical creative analytic mind, if we can’t teach students to use those faculties, to me this is much more important than
anything else. Second thing, is to put within their hearts and minds, the love of continuing to learn all their lives. Those two things, if we can do that, then this is education. This business of teaching them a lot of facts, I’m very much against it.

This “filling” of information was also seen by teachers as reasons why they did not have time to use more active learning as they were expected to cover all the textbook content that the students would examine.

We don’t really have time to discuss activities because we are always lecturing, we deliver the information. This textbook is filled with subject matter that has to be delivered to the student. If you don’t say it and you focused on these things and allowed discussions and the bell rang and you couldn’t cover the content and it was presented in the [national] exam, you have to know then that tomorrow they will say the teacher did not teach us that. It is so common that they complain against you and say that you didn’t say (School J F T 1).

Another said:

The problem lies in the content of the module. It has to as I see it, if they want real citizenship and belonging and loyalty, I see it has to be practical that they go on field trips, for example places in Bahrain. That is better than if it were just studying, because studying does not create this feeling (School H T F N).

On the other hand, students complained that the module was all about reciting information and writing down what the teacher wrote on the board. When I asked what they would change in the textbook mostly male students complained about the heavy content and that they would erase the whole textbook.

School A B 1: I would erase it all
Lubna: Why?
School A B 1: Because it is full of reciting and writing

This matter of content-based curriculum is therefore associated with written exams that require students to memorise information rather than understand it and causes challenges for both teachers and students alike.

Even though teachers’ commented on the high percentage of passing and high grades acquired by most students, teachers and students were mostly concerned with learning for national exams, which limited active forms of learning to take place. Moreover, teachers also commented that exam questions consisted of students giving their
opinions on real life issues, yet their teaching lacked that aspect as it was not covered in the textbook.

I aspire that my students achieve these goals but the problem is that the module. You know how our system is, that you are examined on the things you studied, so you have to memorize. For example the student has to memorize for example the characteristics of the society such as the characteristics of the political systems, constitutional republic. Okay, the student graduates having memorized these things, but does he/she have belonging? No. (Marefa T F N).

After that you go back to the textbook and study, you will be examined on this and that. It is assessment. The problem is in assessment. Currently we are dealing that the textbook is like any other textbook. In the end, everybody wants to recite (School A M T E)

From the above quotation, some teachers seemed to use exams as an excuse for not using active methods of teaching as exams in Bahrain usually reflect the content of the textbooks rather than assess skills of critical thinking and communication. However, a few of them acknowledged that unlike other subjects they taught, citizenship education exams did not focus on the knowledge component of the curriculum only but rather asked students for their opinions. Therefore, exams do not seem to be the problem and teachers’ practice must reflect the new pattern and use more active learning methods to enable their students with the skills to become informed critical active citizens as the policy states. Leenders et al., (2008, p. 157) state that there are three different types of citizenship: adapting citizenship, individualistic citizenship and critical democratic citizenship. These three types have different combinations of clusters of pedagogical goals: discipline, autonomy and social involvement. The adaptive type combines discipline in social involvement, the individualizing type combines autonomy and discipline, and the critical democratic type autonomy and social involvement. From the study, the type practiced by Bahraini teachers tended to lean towards the first category of adapting citizenship where the educational goal was value transmission with a focus on values- virtues such as discipline, obedience, hard work, integrity, respect and responsibility. Leenders et al argue that in the first category, the teacher attempts to “transmit knowledge and fixed values, i.e. give the ‘right’ message. Self-regulation of the learning process by the student is not really encouraged, and neither is autonomous identity development of the student” (Leenders et al., 2008, p 157). This type of

27 For further information about the three categories of citizenship see Leenders et al., 2008 and Leenders & Veugelers, 2006.

171
citizenship strives for discipline and social commitment rather than critical thinking or autonomy. This educational goal is in line with the perceived goal of the state to produce obedient disciplined “subjects” rather than active informed participating citizens as mentioned earlier.

7.4 Teaching Methods and Resources

It is natural that teachers would have different conceptions of citizenship as Torney-Purta et al., (2005, p 37) found out from the IEA study that across and within cultural contexts it was apparent that teachers constructed multiple models of citizenship. They explained that in some cases, teachers’ conceptions were inconsistent with models laid out by social studies researchers, national associations, education ministries, or community groups. In other cases, teachers’ conceptions closely reflected the national political discourse on citizenship.

Most teachers admitted to using the textbook only to transfer the knowledge as outlined. However, some of them, especially female teachers, allowed students to discuss issues, express their opinion and have a dialogue, although, as described by the students, participation was limited to a few outspoken students rather than a whole class or group discussions. Whereas in boys’ schools comments were thrown out by students and dismissed by teachers especially if they entailed political annotations.

It depends on the lesson. Some lessons’ nature dictates that I give and take, and there are lessons that I present electronically, for example they demand photos, national anthems, the constitution and the charter. These have to be electronically because I will take them to the constitution website and the charter and the constitutional court. I play the national songs to them during the voting of the charter. I feel they love it (School G T F 1 Sh).

Most teachers followed the textbook line by line and used a traditional method of teaching. However, electronic classrooms were used in a few schools including the boys’ schools even though they were limited to using power point slides that summerised the textbook content. In other words, what the teachers used to write on the board was written in advance on the power point slides. Nevertheless, there were some exceptions where teachers used other resources in the electronic classroom such
as playing the national anthem, displaying photos related to the lessons and, according to one student, using more creative ideas.

I really liked what our teacher did. He made an electronic presentation. He brought a cartoon, one named Adnan and the other was Abdulla. Adnan says, in the electronic presentation, “do you know what happened at the representative assembly?” One of them was supposed to be crack from those old people who know nothing, so he replies “I have no idea about it” so they started talking by giving examples. After that he showed us a video from real life, from the actual representative assembly in Bahrain. Like that. Not one student, go and ask about the representative assembly would forget. I mean every student would remember this (School A B 4 Sh).

On the other hand, a few male and female teachers demanded extra resources such as a booklet that goes with the textbook to engage the students more. Those seemed to be teachers who were teaching the other non-compulsory (enriching) citizenship education module that was adapted from the American Project Citizen, labelled 93128.

I actually like that there are some questions, I don’t say all of it. Some exams frankly, they are addressing issues and such. Therefore, these issues should be covered in an accompanied booklet. There is a booklet which is 931. This would be amazing if was added here. I suggested that these two modules are joined together. At least this way I have a practical lesson. This is two hours and this an hour. And then we can organize field trips and so on (School A T M S).

As other teachers pointed out, this other practical module complemented the compulsory module and provided the students with the other two strands identified in the National Curriculum of the UK of developing skills of enquiry and communication as well as participation and responsible action. However, this module is not compulsory and therefore not all students take it, which leaves those students who did not take it with no experience of practicing the skills covered by the UK curriculum.

Moreover, the centrality of the education system in Bahrain as mentioned in chapter two limits the teachers’ flexibility in planning field trips that were identified by a large number of teachers as useful alternative sources of learning. Of all the teachers in my

28 This module is structured as a four step guide to changing policy. Therefore, it is content-free and builds on topics chosen by the students in a democratic manner and using research methods to identify a problem, a current policy if existed, generating data and recommending a new policy.
sample, only one Egyptian teacher stated that he took his students on a trip to the Representatives Council where they had a look at the building and talked to the staff.

We didn’t attend a session. It was just looking at the building and the staff and we talked a bit to them. There was no session at the time (School B M T E).

In addition, teachers described as many difficulties in inviting speakers to their classrooms as going on field trips.

I wish there is practical learning. For example since the subject was introduced I asked for a field visit to the representative council. I requested for a visit and I was faced by weird routine obstacles ‘send us the names [of students], and then send us this and send us that, and then the response and then I don’t know what and letters and phone calls and of course you might even have to need contacts and things like that.

Teachers’ concerns about the obstacles they faced related to diversifying their teaching methods including field trips to parliament or inviting speakers to their classrooms were consistent with the centrality of the education system in Bahrain.

### 7.5 Controversial Issues

Almost all teachers said they found it difficult when students asked them about controversial issues whether they were part of the lessons or raised by the students. Some felt the textbook raised topics that would encourage students to challenge the ruling system and that the teachers did not wish to discuss. An example was given by a Sunni pro-government female teacher:

When we talk about the ruling systems, the girls were making comments that Bahrain is a monarchy for example, and here they compare a lot to republic states, “why is Bahrain this way?” Of course these are questions. I told them this is a state system and for us it is difficult. What bothers me is when the girls get into the political ruling systems, this is not nice. I feel this encouraged them to… “Why don’t we become a republic?” This I feel is wrong especially that in the textbook for example it talks about the republic system, eh it gives us a comparison and then they ask the student which is better? So all the girls say the republic, almost all of them and then they start giving me examples. That for example this country has this but I always tell them and, it is the truth, that a monarch system is always developing and improving (School H T F N).

From the above quotation, it is apparent that the teacher feels uncomfortable answering questions that contradict her own views. This is a conflict between influencing students’
opinions and/or allowing them to form their own, even if it goes against what you perceive to be the aim of citizenship education. It is impossible for an educator to maintain neutrality but could try and achieve a balance by giving equal credence to views from every angle. Moderating heated debates that incorporate discussions of current, local and international affairs can help prepare students for political participation that includes addressing issues of diversity in the case of Bahrain. The teacher’s approach, in terms of disclosing their personal views to their students, is important in order to keep a balanced debate and encourage multiple perspectives. It was evident from the study, however, that most teachers have adopted an avoidance approach where they do not engage issues they deem to be controversial for a number of reasons, some out of loyalty to the ruling class as the example above, and others for fear of opening the sectarian gap in the Bahraini society even further.

On the other hand, the other type of teachers, mostly Shia, used the above example to spark discussions that would allow them to make comparisons with other ruling systems and provide opportunity to discuss alternatives. For example, a Shia female teacher expressed a similar experience with her students which was triggered by the textbook content:

In one of the lessons I had a chaos in the classroom, in the first lessons about the National Guard that only citizens work there except in essential situations. “This they have to know that they don’t defend” and the classroom turned into chaos. “What citizens”, [I said] listen to me we are not talking from a political aspect, we are talking about basic matters in the state, what’s there what isn’t there, you don’t get into that, it’s not your business. So this is what we face.. We are learning about the state of Bahrain, whether you support the system or against it, this is none of our business. You are studying about the state of Bahrain. This is your country no matter what. I love Bahrain I support Bahrain even if I were in opposition. This is my country (School G F T Sh).

Despite teachers and students using the word discussion to describe incidents where comments were made by individual students in the classroom or a number of questions shouted out to the teacher, evidence from teachers’ and students’ interviews showed that discussion as a structured activity did not really take place in citizenship education classrooms but, rather, was avoided by teachers. Structured planned discussions are claimed to “help students develop an understanding and commitment to democratic values, increase their willingness to engage in political life, and positively influence
content understanding, critical thinking ability, and interpersonal skills (Hess, 2002). McCully (2005, p3) makes a distinction between Hess’s (2002) controversial public issues such as nuclear disarmament and controversial issues emanating from within a divided society.

Nurturing critical objective reasoning in young people to help them work through difficult material is important but there is a danger of placing an undue emphasis on the capacity of individuals to think rationally and constructively in emotionally charged situations when the issues under consideration go to the heart of students’ sense of ethnic or cultural identity (McCully 2005, p 3).

McCully’s above quotation is crucial with regard to the Bahraini context as issues of sectarianism and naturalisation are emotionally charged topics whether historically for the former or ignited by oppositional media agenda by the latter. Only some Sunni participants talked to me about sectarianism (possibly because they knew I was Sunni). With regard to naturalisation, discrimination against naturalised students was a common theme in the interview data in the study. Although the issue was more evident in some schools than others it was one of the main challenges faced by almost all teachers and was one of the most common answers I got when I asked about the most difficult questions teachers faced when teaching the subject.

The concept of a citizen, [the students ask] do we consider a citizen who holds the citizenship who is not originally Bahraini as Bahraini? (School G F T 1 Sh)
Lubna: How do you answer them?
I tell them as a concept he is a citizen as long as he holds the citizenship. [They ask] Does he hold the same loyalty and belonging? I feel it is difficult (School G F T 1 Sh).

When I asked teachers whether the curriculum should explicitly acknowledge the diversity of the Bahraini society, the larger number of teachers was against it and believed it might increase the tensions between different sects.

Acknowledgment of diversity of cultures and identities WITHIN the total identity MUST be acknowledged and it is not harmful, at all, on the contrary it creates ehhh acceptance of the other, understanding the other, you see, instead of accepting it but with a lot of suspicion. Take for example u know, in our society, u cannot jump over the fact that we are Sunnis and Shia and the Sunni students must know what the Shiites is all about, and the vice versa must know and not separating them, ehh in the future we are going to have a LARGE minority from the Arab, other Arab countries. The Bahraini, the original Bahraini between two parentheses, must know some of those habits some of those attitudes in life and so on (Former Minister of Education).
McCully (2005) argues that in discussing controversial issues, participants are likely to retreat into defensive, “tribal” positions if emotion dominates. By contrast, if discussion is thoroughly rational there is a danger that “politeness” prevents real opinions being expressed and more contentious engagement is avoided (Arlow 2004, p.264; Eyben et al. 2002, pp. 15-16).

Therefore, an appropriate pedagogy is required that balances the rational and emotional, the cognitive and affective, if practitioners are to successfully engage young people in educational activity that widens their understanding and encourages them to clarify their thinking on a range of contentious issues (McCully 2003). McCully suggests early contact between teachers from different backgrounds as an essential pre-requisite for effective practice. He argues that teachers must first work through the issues themselves, experience uncertainty and discomfort and clarify their own thinking, before introducing issues to young people. From the sampled teachers, it seemed most of them have not had a chance to work through these issues themselves as most of them were originally teachers of Geography or History and have not had enough training prior to teaching the subject.

Unlike the Northern Ireland experience, there are no segregated schools in Bahrain. Teachers and students in Bahrain are usually in contact with colleagues of other backgrounds especially in secondary schools where students come from different areas except for a few secondary schools, from the study sample, that are located in isolated villages such as School I, School J and school E. Nevertheless, contact does not necessitate understanding and clarification of thinking as described by McCully, as sectarian issues often tend to be avoided. Some teachers’ backgrounds were on their own challenges to teaching the subject. In my sample, Egyptian teachers in boys’ school expressed that difficulty. For example, when I asked what were the most difficult questions they faced, one Egyptian teacher said:

Especially that I am a foreigner I get asked such questions, very embarrassing but with our experience we can answer them. I don’t I don’t for example say that this question is prohibited, of course not, that would be wrong. I have to answer him (School B M T E).

Also, as mentioned in the previous chapter, a Shia male teacher (School E M T Sh) in a school with Sunni majority students was insulted by a student and accused because
of his sect. Another teacher did express a similar political stance to her students because she was from the same sect (School G F T Sh).

A naturalised Sunni female teacher also expressed anxiety when she taught students from other backgrounds than hers.

At the beginning I was very upset to an extent that when they first appointed me in [a school] Isa Town, considering as I told you I didn’t know what it is to be the second sect and such. I stayed at home at the beginning I refused to go [to the school]. But after that I said enough. Thank God I have the ability to adapt (School H F T N).

This uneasiness and discomfort expressed by teachers confirms McCully’s assertion that teachers need to work through their own issues and beliefs before they attempt to teach them to their students. This may be achieved through initial teacher training programmes and professional development courses designed to address these issues and provide them with methods to deal with such issues in the classrooms.

From the teachers’ and students’ comments, a clear anti-discrimination/anti-social behaviour policy was non-existent in the schools and if such a policy existed in the Bahraini Education Law guidelines, it was not effective and not well known to citizenship education teachers or students.

Frankly, this goes directly to the school administration. Especially if problems such as these occur, you rarely see them in the classrooms. In the classrooms you see them sitting together in groups, rarely that it explodes in the classroom, most of the time during lunch break. During break time they shout out warning “Come out and we will show you what we will do to you outside”. So it’s mostly during break time therefore it is not the teacher’s responsibility, it is the responsibility of the school administration. So you see all the problems go to the administration (School G F T 2 Sh).

There is no treatment and the biggest evidence for that is that the school administration seeks the police [laughs] (School E M T Sh).

Another example given to me during the study was related to a daughter of a local MP in a school who was involved in a physical fight against a group of naturalised students that resulted in ambulance coming to the school. When I asked her if the teacher dealt with the incident, she answered that none of the teachers talked about what happened. She said:
The administration just said that they would transfer the issue to the school [social] guide and that’s it. And they brought our guardians and the issue was over (School J G 4 S).

Similar stories were repeated in boys’ schools with similar consequences. This antisocial behaviour reflects an absence of policy that is committed to tackling such behaviour with strict effective strategies to see it through. Although the occurrence of these discriminatory incidents was linked to external factors such family influence, the community and the media, citizenship education as a new subject was arguably introduced to promote national unity and explore the diversity of the Bahraini society and therefore should specifically tackle discriminatory and antisocial behaviour. Citizenship education teachers must establish a respectful environment where all students feel safe.

7.6 Challenges in Schools

From the above, it is obvious that there are challenges currently facing students and teachers in schools in Bahrain, some are more than other depending on the demography of the school population and the geographical area of the school. There is a lot of data to support that there are lots of tensions in schools related to the diversity of the Bahraini society, that range from selective contact (refusing to “walk” with the other), and verbal and physical abuse between different groups and individuals. The level of discrimination varies between schools based on gender and location. However, one boys’ school was an exception to the rule. As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, it was the same school the students’ advisor shouted at me when I mentioned that the students selected for the interview were mostly from one group and gave me a key to lock myself in the room for safety reasons.

Although, most students and teachers acknowledged there was a problem in their schools in relation to the diversity of their student demography, their responses varied in terms whether to address this problem in the textbook or not. Most felt, addressing it would increase the problem and would cause embarrassment to some of the students. A girl (School F4) was eager that this topic should be discussed in citizenship education even though as she put it “will cause some ‘noise’ in the first two or three years but after that it will be normal, and then girls will not lose marks because of sectarianism”.

179
Some of the teachers, especially the male Shia ones were reserved in their answers and were more concerned with the recording of the interview such as School (E T Sh), School (B T Sh) and School (C T Sh). As discussed in the Methodology chapter, this may be related to my dialect that revealed my Sunni background. As a result their answers concerning Shia/Sunni conflict were more reserved than others and focused mostly on naturalised/Bahraini conflict. On the other hand, a naturalised Sunni female teacher from Yemen felt easier talking about Sunni/Shia challenges rather than naturalised/Bahraini challenges.

School H T N: The same, when we talked about types of rule, one girl supports Bahrain 100 percent, and another one opposes. The one that opposes says, as I told you, why Iran, considering may be that it is the sect for Shia, and and, so it becomes some sort of ehhh personal, the issue turns into something personal. This girl defends strongly and the other defends strongly.
Lubna: Are there residents involved in the discussion?
School H T N: between the two sects mostly
Lubna: Is it because there are few of them in the classroom?
School H T N: few and also I feel they don’t get involved in political things like the Sunni and Shia.

Another example she gave from a teacher friend of hers in a more diverse school:

School H T N: she says sometimes they fight, there is physical fight. She says that sometimes Sunni girls take the ehhh the naturalised side if they were Arab naturalised against the Shii, and sometimes when the naturalised are not Arabs, both Sunni and Shii are against the naturalised, if they were Pakistanis for example or even Shami (North Arabs, eg Syrian, Jordanians, etc)

Being of Yemeni origins, it is understandable that this teacher felt easier to talk to a Sunni researcher about Shia/Sunni challenges in schools or even challenges between Bahrainis and naturalised Bahrainis of non-Arab origins. She then excluded other naturalised Arabs if they were originally from the North of Arabia except for her own category that is of South Arabia, even though I did not know of her background during the interview.

However, a male Shia teacher (School C T Sh) teaching in the same geographical area as the previous teacher was describing, denied any challenges between Sunni/Shia students in the school. Instead he gave an example to support that Shia/ Sunni relations
are very positive, and emphasised the naturalised group as a source of challenges amongst the three groups.

Another female Shia teacher (School G T 2 Sh) also shared the previous views that Shia and Sunni were living in harmony in schools and that there were no disputes between them, however she believed diversity should not be explicitly addressed in the curriculum.

Lubna: Are there any disputes between students in terms of sects or even Bahrainis and naturalized Bahrainis?
School G T 2 Sh: what I saw..I just came from a school in Riffa, but what I have seen, Ok, that until now since I started teaching till this moment, I haven’t seen a dispute or a fight between students based on their sect, I didn’t see it ever. On the contrary you see them friends that you even get surprised I mean. But ehhh all ehh that happens are between Bahrainis and those who got citizenship. This is what I saw.
Lubna: what are the reasons for disputes?
School G T 2 Sh: Reasons, first of all one of the reasons I heard from one of the schools about why there was a fight between the girls, a girl told another that we will ehh take your men and we will marry them and you will be left unmarried, with no men. The Bahraini got fired up and stepped on her, hahaha, like that, OK. And the last time I heard there was a fight before that. I heard that the Syrian girl was the one who attacked. But this time it was the Bahraini girl, she is the one who stepped in her stomach and she was the winner in Riffa school. I heard they had to bring in an ambulance.

It can be inferred from her words above that Sunni/Shia friendships were unusual than normal, which supports my assumption that teachers were not comfortable talking to me about Shia/Sunni disputes as discussed in the methodology chapter.

7.7 Discussion and Conclusion

From the evidence above, it was clear that challenges in schools were not limited to boys’ schools but is also increasing in girls’ schools. Secondary schools in Bahrain face challenges related to the diversity of its student demography and the extent of these challenges varies from one school to another. Although, this study was conducted prior to February 2011 unrest, its findings are indicators of the challenges secondary schools in Bahrain face. It can be assumed taking into account how schools were highly involved in the unrest as mentioned in the contextual chapter, that these challenges have intensified since then especially with the increase of vandal acts on school properties.
since. Thirty six acts of vandalism that involved, arson, breaking into schools at night, throwing of Molotov Cocktails were reported between 2006 and 2010, i.e before 2011 unrest began (Ministry of Education, 2012).

The UNESCO International Bureau of Education coordinated a project ‘Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected societies during 2002-2003. The project covered seven studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Guatemala, Lebanon, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, and Sri Lanka. These studies focused on processes of curriculum policy change in the wake of civil strife and provided a more nuanced understanding of the relationships between schooling, social divisions and political violence (Tawil & Harley, 2004). The conclusion from the seven studies was that how social cohesion is defined with regard to educational policymaking in the wake of violent political conflict is largely linked to the way in which goals of schooling are conceptualised. Unlike Northern Ireland for example, schools in Bahrain are not segregated and the demography of schools is dictated by its location. As discussed in the contextual chapter, for a very long time Shia concentrated in in-land villages whilst Sunni inhabited villages by the sea as their professions required. As a result, in some of those concentrated areas, the majority of students would be either Sunni or Shia. Most Arab nationals inhabit Sunni areas, thus their contact is more likely in these areas. However, schools in the capital and big cities tend to have a mix of backgrounds. As a result the extent of the challenges in schools vary according to these factors.

On the other hand, Giroux (2003, p. 6) argues that across a wide range of ideological positions, both conservatives and many left-wing progressives, shared the same assumption that schools were neither sites of conflict nor institutions that could link learning to social change. He claims that “within these perspectives, teachers and students lost their capacities to become critical agents, serving either as ideological gatekeepers or as spineless lackeys for the state”. Although Giroux’s view is quite strong, it very much tackles some of the main challenges facing citizenship education in Bahrain, as teachers are employees of the state and therefore perceive their role as preserving the status quo even if they held different views. This was revealed in the interviews by some of the Shia teachers in particular, where it was clear that although they disagreed with the government, their direct answers were congruent with the textbook. Whether it is the teacher’s inner beliefs or the letter of the text book that gets
transferred to the students will largely depend on how strongly the teacher feels about the issue. Giroux (2003) advocates for an “oppositional intellectual” teacher rather than the “dutiful technician or deskilled corporate drone” as he calls them.

[The oppositional intellectual teacher] did not reject authority but engaged it critically in order to develop pedagogical principles aimed at encouraging students to learn how to govern rather than be governed, while assuming the role of active and critical citizens in shaping the most basic and fundamental institutional structures of a vibrant and inclusive democracy (Giroux 2003, p 7).

The above type of teacher described by Giroux needs proper preparation, autonomy and support from the school system and society to succeed in his/her mission, whereas in a highly centralised national curriculum with extensive monitoring system of assessment and lack of trust between the system and teachers, the oppositional intellectual teacher cannot thrive, especially that the Bahraini society is divided into communities that perceive their common good differently. For example, one “oppositional” Sunni male teacher (School A M T S) said to me that he was prevented from teaching the citizenship education module after teaching it when citizenship education was first introduced and was replaced with an Egyptian teacher even though he requested it from his Shia head of department. He implied that his denial of the request to teach the subject was related to his ideological stance and pedagogical approach.

Keddie (2008) explored issues of cultural diversity and social justice in an ethnographic study of citizenship education teacher in London, Mr C. Keddie (2008, p 177) highlights the methods used by Mr C to create a respectful classroom that is ‘completely safe’ for students to express a diversity of opinions by stipulating clearly language and behaviour that is and is not appropriate. She explained that Mr C took the time to establish and respect rules that would ensure a socially just environment such as taking extended time with his class to look at sexist, racist and homophobic language and to examine why such a language is offensive and why it will be addressed as a very serious transgression in his classroom. Moreover, Keddie noted that Mr C addressed discriminatory behaviours in ways that moved beyond simple punishment to supporting a valuing of difference and an understanding of minority groups. In these matters, he dealt with issues of racism through having the offending students give something back to society through for example personal research and presentation projects that are related to their offence.
Such sanctions moved beyond punishment to stimulating learning and critical awareness of social justice issues. He also used questioning strategies based on John Rawls’ veil of ignorance philosophy that provoked his students to think from the perspective of marginalised groups to promote empathy for others by having students imagine that they cannot see anything about their identities. There are many other successful and meaningful approaches used by Mr C and other teachers of citizenship education to promote a socially just and safe environment for their students that they can enlighten their students with inequalities in their societies and to empower them to make a difference in the future.

Evidence from the study showed that citizenship education in Bahrain fails to deliver its own aims for educating students on values of justice and fairness, mainly due to avoidance of controversial issues. Failing to provide a general clear anti-discrimination ethos in schools has also made it becomes part of the problem. This may be a legacy of a “nationalist” identity that preceded the current citizenship education. As Starkey and Osler (2005, p. 20) argue that nationalist communitarian discourses “encourage xenophobia because they make a sharp distinction between national citizens and foreigners”. Therefore, a more liberal progressive conception of citizenship is needed to prepare teachers first to process and challenge their own preconceived conceptions in order to have the confidence and the skills to teach their students about citizenship, cultural diversity and social justice.

Much of the communitarian debate on citizenship has not addressed diversity. Even in Britain and America, until about the late 1980s, multiculturalism and citizenship performed quite different functions. Citizenship on the whole pertained to the national citizenship of an established polity and was generally defined by birth while multicultural policies served to manage in-coming migrant groups (Delanty, 2002). Today this distinction is non-existent. Migrants have become more and more a part of the mainstream population and cannot be so easily contained by multicultural policies. In the case of Bahrain, addressing diversity should be about pro-actively integrating foreign residents and acceptance of multi-cultural citizenship rather than a mere response to sectarian divisions.
In conclusion, challenges of implementing citizenship education in Bahrain can be attributed to the identified policy tensions that are discussed in the policy chapter and the differing perceptions of citizenship held by different groups in the Bahraini society related to the contextual factors. Conceptual challenges are associated with conceptions of citizenship amongst teachers and how they affected the messages transferred to students that are often in contrast to policymakers’ intentions and how different groups interpret the common good in a way that promotes their own interests that may not necessarily align with the state’s intentions. This can widen the gap between groups, making the building of a shared Bahraini identity more difficult to establish. On the other hand, teachers identified pedagogical challenges in teaching citizenship education that are related to lack of proper preparation of subject knowledge as well as teaching methods. These consisted of lack of interest, content-based curriculum, teaching methods and resources and finally controversial issues. Most of these themes required a proper preparation of citizenship education teachers to enable them to teach the subject and that a more liberal progressive conception of citizenship is needed to allow teachers to challenge their preconceived conceptions in order to help their students do the same.

In the next chapter, a summary of this thesis will be given and the main arguments made will be reviewed. Moreover, some general recommendations will be listed and possible areas for further research will be identified.
Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction
Citizenship education in Bahrain was introduced in schools in 2005 with a new rationale to accommodate for the socio-political changes the country was undergoing at the time as well as a global trend towards the teaching of citizenship and human rights. It was acknowledged that the political reform, as discussed in chapter two, required a patriotic/national education to unite the people again under the ruling leadership. The teaching of patriotic/national education was clearly stated in the 1973 and 2002 constitution of Bahrain. Moreover, education was also influenced by global educational trends such as the teaching of citizenship and human rights. Therefore, the purpose of teaching citizenship education in Bahrain had at least two distinctive objectives. One was to respond to the internal socio-political changes the country was undergoing and to reinforce loyalty and belonging as patriotic virtues in its citizens to the country and its ruling leadership and the second was to maintain its international commitment to the teaching of human rights. The curriculum document was written in 2004 by local curriculum specialists with reference to mostly American civic education standards and the English citizenship education framework, the implications of which are discussed in the next section.

In drawing together themes from the previous chapters, this chapter considers the tensions in policy and practice of citizenship education in secondary schools in Bahrain. First it considers the evidence about the conceptions of citizenship held by teachers and students and their compatibility with the curriculum document and the student textbook. Also evidence from the study shows that although the textbook does not offer a definition of citizenship, it favours a conception of rights and responsibilities with a strong emphasis on patriotic duties of belonging, loyalty and love of country and its ruling leadership. The study also showed that there was a lot of confusion amongst teachers and students in relation to terminology and language used. The rationale given

29 After Bahrain’s independence of Great Britain in 1971 and the referendum that was carried by the United Nation rejected Iran’s claim over Bahrain and affirmed Bahrain’s people Arabness and their allegiance to the ruling Al Khalifa family, a subject called national/patriotic education was created to accommodate for that period. National education was implemented in 1977.
by the teachers for reintroducing citizenship education and the comparison between the 1977 patriotic/national education and the 2005 citizenship education was somehow concurrent with their conception of citizenship.

Although the study focused on liberal and communitarian theories of citizenship, evidence from the study shows that a combination of the two and elements from multiculturalist theories may be more relevant to explain the conceptions of citizenship held in Bahrain as well as the need for a more localized literature that is based on the contextual factors of Bahrain and the region. A normative neutrality by the state centred around protecting rights that all share while at the same time fostering the common good. The second part of the chapter focuses on diversity in citizenship education. It argues that although the citizenship education curriculum document allocated one of the four strands to diversity in the Bahraini society, it doesn’t give it the coverage and emphasis to reflect its importance in the student textbook and teachers’ training. Finally the last part examines the challenges identified by teachers and highlights how discrimination incidents in the classrooms and schools in general are treated and makes recommendations.

8.2 Conceptions of Citizenship

The citizenship education curriculum document in Bahrain was written with reference to its American and British counterparts. The liberal values of these countries would have influenced the Bahraini curriculum. Applying the teaching of liberal ideals that emphasise the importance of rights and freedoms in helping individuals to develop their potential by escaping the limits of social status in a country mainly based on communitarian traditions, however, poses its own challenges. Individual liberty is in a direct conflict with the Islamic communal beliefs of shared values and way of life. The attempt to introduce concepts such as democracy and human rights into civic textbooks and curricula are by in large divorced from political realities. Muhammad Faour (2012) argues that Arab countries have paid lip service to the goals of education reform and education for citizenship; they have taken very few steps to make these goals a reality and to prepare young people for a political and economic order that is rapidly shifting. Based on analysing the citizenship education curriculum document, the formal textbook and interviews with all the stakeholders, it can be concluded that due to pressure from
international organisations such as UNESCO, which monitors periodically member states’ national policies with regard to teaching about human rights and citizenship education, this can explain why the policy has liberal conceptions of citizenship. Nevertheless, policy aims fail to be translated into the formal textbook in a meaningful and interactive manner that ensures active learning. Before addressing issues pertaining to political participation and civic rights, however, these countries need to formulate conceptions that are in touch with their realities, conceptions that balance between the common good and civic rights of the individual that incorporate Islamic traditions rather than a whole sale import of Western liberal values.

The citizenship education textbook is used as a central government tool to preserve the status quo and ensure loyalty and belonging to the country and the ruling leadership whilst informing the students of the political system in Bahrain and its achievements. Also, the early signs of fragmentation in the society within the indigenous people, the naturalized citizens and residents were also reflected in an unprecedented acknowledgement of diversity as a strand in the curriculum document even though the authors of the textbook failed to translate that strand in a descriptive mode in the textbook.

This section explores the terminology confusion and the tensions within the conceptions of citizenship and citizen in policy and practice. It also assesses how the tensions affect the achievement of the curriculum outcomes. For the past ten years, there has been a surge of literature and research on citizenship education. Most of the study tried to examine the conceptions of citizenship education with regard to liberal and communitarian theories of citizenship. I argue that there are contradictions and tensions within the conceptions of citizenship amongst policymakers that were translated into the curriculum policy, student textbook and teacher training. These tensions adversely affected the transition of the curriculum aims as enlisted in the policy document into the textbook and teachers’ understandings of the aims of citizenship education. When analysing Bahraini citizenship education curriculum aims with reference to citizenship theories, they are more concurrent with liberal conceptions, yet Bahraini student textbook is more reflective of what Kerr (2002) identified as civic education that reflects a minimal understanding of citizenship. It doesn’t define citizenship in its broad sense by addressing diversity issues, encouraging political
participation, developing a shared democratic culture along with rights, responsibilities and patriotic aspects of being a citizen. The evidence from the study suggests that, in practice, citizenship education in Bahrain aims to develop a sense of loyalty and belonging rather than informed active citizens as the policy states.

8.2.1 Explanation for Subject and Terminology Confusion
The CECD lists three reasons for the teaching of citizenship education that are closely linked to the contextual factors described in chapter two. These were: a national necessity to develop feelings of belonging, a social necessity to develop knowledge, abilities, values, dispositions and participation in community service and knowledge of rights and obligations, and an international necessity to prepare a citizen according to international changes (CECD 2008, p5). Moreover, international organisations such as the UNESCO in their annual meetings require member countries to abide by signed treaties and inclusion of human rights, women rights and children rights in their curriculum. As a result, the rationale for the introduction of the subject in its new form was a result of external and internal factors.

Although policymakers differentiated between the old citizenship education and the new in terms of the former’s aim to build loyalties and belongings and the latter’s aim to construct a participative citizen, most teachers interviewed as part of this research identified building loyalties and belongings as the main aims for teaching the subject. Evidence from the study affirms that the rationale for reintroducing the subject is linked to the socio-political factor in Bahrain as described in chapter two. Moreover, terminology confusion was also evident in the sample, as most interviewed used the two terms, patriotic and citizenship simultaneously. However, Shia teachers identified rights in general and human rights as a new focus for the new subject in addition to developing loyalty and belonging as the rest of the sample. As with the English example, citizenship education was introduced in England for lack of interest in conventional political participation in the future amongst the youth beyond voting and according to Cleaver et, al (2005, iv) evidence from their study shows that students continue to report low levels of intention to participate beyond voting. However, Cleaver et, al. (2005) argue that there is a growing conceptualization of citizenship in schools as comprising three interrelated aspects, curriculum, culture and community. With
regard to understandings of the concept citizenship, students in England prioritized six items (belonging to your local, national or international community, people’s responsibilities and obeying the law, making sure everyone is treated fairly, working together to make things better, people’s rights, being a good citizen), whereas voting, politics and government was the least selected definition (Cleaver, et al, 2005, p 15). Interestingly, Bahraini students in the sample (same age group) shared similar views with some exceptions. As Bahraini students were asked for their views rather than select from a list, obeying the law was not mentioned and instead defending the country was a common answer amongst them that was not in the list given to English students as will be discussed further in the following section.

8.2.2 Patriots Rather than Active and Participative Citizens

Although the curriculum document and policymakers claimed that the new subject aims to produce active participative citizens, most teachers hoped that their students would be patriots by the end of the module and almost none of them identified participation of citizens as an aim of the subject. All Sunni teachers interviewed emphasised the loyalty and belonging aspect of citizenship as the main aim of the subject and that it was their role to turn their students to patriots. On the other hand, some Shia teachers identified learning about rights as an addition of the new subject. This may be a reflection of the fact that most Shias identify themselves with the opposition to the establishment and that citizen’s rights, linked to their religious particularity, is one of the issues they believe needs addressing. This can be linked to the political context that divided the people of Bahrain into two groups, Sunnis loyal to the regime and Shia loyal to foreign religious clerks. Therefore, the differences between the conceptions of citizenship between different groups in the school community can be explained through religious background.

The level of interest in politics among the students was also split along the lines of religious background. Unlike most Sunni boys in the study who had no interest in politics, some Shia boys were extremely knowledgeable and involved in the political life in Bahrain, especially the four boys from one school as they were older than the rest of the sample and their school was vandalized more than once by students for political reasons. The reason for the difference in level of political knowledge and
interest was not confined to religious background. Claire and Holden (2006) argue that research shows that boys tend to know more about the political system than girls and be more interested, most girls interviewed were excited about the subject as it was one that provided them with an opportunity to express their opinion even to a small extent. The reason for this can be associated with the fact that girls volunteered to participate in the research, whereas boys were selected by the school administration which explains the difference of enthusiasm about the subject between the two groups. Claire and Holden (2006) argue that pupils will not respond to the content of a citizenship curriculum in identical ways, because they are themselves ‘gendered’ in experience and attitudes and that different approaches for different content and contexts are required. Moreover, female teachers seemed to allow their students more opportunities to express their opinions whereas male teachers appeared to find it difficult to allow boys to express their opinion in a controlled and safe environment. This may be attributed to the cultural habits of the Bahraini society as girls are more obedient and well-behaved than boys who can be more aggressive and loud. Therefore, female teachers are less challenged by their classrooms than male teachers.

In summary, although the new Bahraini citizenship education policy was built on the British Citizenship Education curriculum and guidance that was based on the Crick Report 1998, which promoted a civic republican conception of citizenship, conceptions of citizenship in the Bahraini citizenship education were restricted to a minimal understanding of citizenship and a tendency towards developing loyalty and belonging and the preservation of the status quo. The acclaimed aim by policymakers and in policy to develop engaged active participative citizens, was not reflected by the students and teachers understanding of the aims as evidenced from the study. None of the teachers or the students identified that to be the aim of the subject whether directly or indirectly.

A revision of the teaching material is necessary with regard to the definition of citizenship and citizenship education that reflects the policy aims of the subject, whether it be a liberal conception of citizenship that is based on rights and individuality which is in line with Western values that are promoted by the UNESCO, a tendency towards a communitarian conceptions that is encouraged in the new citizenship education curriculum of England, or an implicit nationalist understanding of citizenship that was witnessed in this study. Moreover, it is essential to state that there are many
factors and influences that shape teachers and students’ understanding of citizenship that are beyond citizenship education curriculum. Some of these are identified by Cleaver et al. (2005) to include contextual characteristics or factors such as age, gender, ethnicity and family characteristics, the different contexts or ‘sites’ of citizenship education including the school, the family, peer groups, and students’ local and wider communities, and the various actors that take part in the (formal and informal) educational processes at these different ‘sites’. In the next section, diversity in citizenship education is discussed.

8.3 Diversity in Citizenship Education

This section looks at the challenges related to diversity both in policy and in practice. Although there were three strands for citizenship education introduced by the Crick Report and embraced by Bahraini policymakers, a fourth strand was added in the Bahraini curriculum policy (2004) the diversity of the Bahraini society, as it was seen imperative to cover the cultural and religious diversity due to the tensions between groups in society. Interestingly, in 2006 the Department for Education and Skills established the Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review Group. The research was carried out between June and December 2006 and focused on the provision of a diverse curriculum in primary and secondary schools in England and the potential for adding a fourth dimension to the citizenship education curriculum. Moreover, from September 2007 all schools in England were under a new duty to promote community cohesion which was linked to the new fourth strand of citizenship education, Identity and Diversity: Living together in the UK. Therefore, although Bahraini citizenship education curriculum policy identified diversity in the Bahraini Society as a strand before the English curriculum added its fourth strand, the translation of this strand in the Bahraini citizenship education in student textbook and teacher training was almost non-existent. The need for that strand was acknowledged as early as 2004 in Bahrain, yet the means to translate it into learning outcomes and resources was missing. The reasons behind that can be attributed to the sensitivity of addressing this topic and fear amongst educators that it will increase divisions between groups as many of the subjects explained. Moreover, the incident that occurred to me in one of the schools when I mentioned to one of the management staff about wishing to interview students from different backgrounds, was another evidence how sensitive people in Bahrain are about
such issues and that was prior to February 2011. In addition, as policymakers were also involved in writing the student textbook, I recommend that student textbooks are written by specialized writers in citizenship education with the support of policymakers. This whole revision of citizenship education has to be made in relation to the contextual factors identified in chapter two, the detailed factors have to be also developed and adjusted to accommodate for this change, especially with regard to the recent socio-political developments that followed February 2011.

8.3.1 Diversity in Policy

As mentioned above one of the four strands in the citizenship education curriculum document in Bahrain is devoted for diversity in the Bahraini society. Allocating a strand for diversity is a positive addition to the new citizenship education curriculum as it acknowledges diversity in society and offers an approach to addressing diversity issues in schools. However, this strand is written vaguely and does not deliver the intended learning outcomes or content in the textbook, except for a few scattered unfulfilled attempts as pointed out in chapter (5). For example, in its attempt to generalize the textbook and make it inclusive to all students in Bahrain including private school students, where the majority of students are residents, the textbook introduced a concept of an original homeland and a residing homeland to accommodate for non-citizens in an attempt to include them. However, this attempt to include foreign residents was misunderstood by the majority of teachers and students as homeland was switched to citizen and thus was associated with negative media terminology used to distinguish between citizens and naturalized citizens using words such as original and naturalized. The only exception to this finding was in a girls’ Sunni majority school where a girl described the positive intended outcome of the textbook as described by policymakers.

Despite a few students challenging the textbook content’s integrity, the majority of students I interviewed quoted the textbook’s content word for word as they also had to study the contents to pass their exams and the majority of them were high achievers. Therefore, it is crucial that textbooks are written with extra care and clarity to avoid misinterpretation. Moreover, it seems that the teachers had the same use of words which may be the source of the confusion being transferred to their students. Therefore, teachers need to be better trained and their conceptions better aligned to the policy aims.
of citizenship education and the terminology used needs to be consistent. For example, the textbook did not include a definition for citizenship, yet it provided four definitions for a citizen. These definitions for a citizen were used by students to describe citizenship. Depending on their memory, some students listed all four definitions, while others identified one or two of the definitions. Their memory might have been influenced on what their teachers emphasised during the module or it can be associated to other factors as mentioned earlier from the English study. As a result, further research is needed to investigate other factors and possibly develop policy beyond the classroom and the school such as the English example.

8.3.2 Diversity in Practice

State schools in Bahrain are not segregated except for gender. As education is free any child can enrol in a school near his residence. However, depending on the location of the school the demography of its students is determined. As some schools are made up of mixed backgrounds including residents and others are more restricted to one sect of citizens especially in villages. Nevertheless, this is less obvious in secondary schools as there are fewer in number but bigger in size than primary or intermediate schools, which means secondary students come from different areas except for highly populated areas. Therefore, the chances of schools with diversified student populations are most likely with the exceptions of a few schools that this study sample included. Also, teachers in my sample were diversified as Shia teachers taught in a majority Sunni student population schools and vice versa. Also, in boys’ schools some teachers were Egyptians. Therefore, diversity existed in most schools in one way or another. This has implications during times of socio-political tensions such as the recent years. With sectarianism on one side between the indigenous population and heightened claims of naturalization of Arabs by the political opposition, this situation has become agitated to an extent that it has invaded schools and classrooms. As a result, the commonly used approach of denial of diversity cannot be continued any longer and differences need to be addressed and celebrated not only between the two indigenous sects but also to include all forms of groups such as Ajam, Arabs and other groups in the population. These need to be acknowledged firstly and appreciated for their efforts in the development process of the country. Unfortunately, with recent socio-political developments post February 2011, national reconciliation efforts have still not
succeeded as some groups still use violence in their protests and continue to refuse getting into national dialogue with other parties. As a result, that puts further strains on education in general and citizenship education in particular. These violent acts have reached vandalizing many schools in villages in a direct attempt to target education and scare children from going to schools. Therefore, serious initiatives have to be implemented to cater for students in general and specifically those in those targeted schools. Next section is on the challenges of implementation.

8.3.3 Multiculturalism and Integration
The multiplication of cultures and ethnic groups within the gulf Arab nation-states is largely the result of cross-border migrations after the oil boom. Economic growth sustainability meant that there was an influx of a large number of migrant workers. The economic growth fuelled by migrant workers, however, has come at a huge social cost, whereby the citizens of the states in the gulf are becoming a minority in their own countries. This has created tensions and raised legitimate concerns regarding the concept of citizenship and national identity. In addition to fostering cohesion between the different religious sects that exist within the indigenous population, integrating naturalised citizens into the general Bahraini society poses a different challenge. Even in developed liberal countries, there exists a distinction on how diversity and multiculturalism is managed. In America, you have ethnically neutral policy where there is no privileged majority or exceptional minorities. Naturalised citizens are expected to subscribe to the American ideals of liberal values. The definition of Americanism does not have an ethnic or nationalistic notion. On the other hand, you have European countries whose governments take an interest in the cultural survival of the majority nation where the migrants are expected to assimilate to the dominant culture, like in Germany. This is aimed at protecting the way of life of the indigenous population. In the UK, a multicultural approach was adopted by the last Labour government which aimed at welcoming migrants and publicly recognising cultural diversity. In the wake of the events of 9/11, the lack of integration by the second generation British Muslims into the wider British society was highlighted and was attributed to the multicultural policies. Multiculturalism was widely associated with phenomena such as the ghettoisation of the society, polarised ethnic relations, disloyalty to the destination society, and the cultivation of hostile differences.
In the case of Bahrain, there is no clearly defined and adopted model to integrate migrants that is reflected in the citizenship education. The definition of a Bahraini citizen as an Arab, Muslim in itself has an exclusive tone. Like in Europe, there is a temptation of protecting the way of life of the indigenous population, but defining citizenship on ethnic and religious lines is exclusive and doesn’t help integration or assimilation. Naturally, social existence of an immigrant becomes shaped by practices and cultural identities that supersede or co-exist with national ones. In Bahrain acknowledgement of diverse cultures and re-definition of what means to be a Bahraini that appeals to all Bahrainis irrespective of their background is needed. This has to strike a balance between keeping the indigenous population’s way of life on the one hand, and acknowledgement of other cultures to encourage integration, on the other. This management of a delicate balance also needs to be translated into policies and citizenship education programmes to produce the intended results.

8.4 Challenges of Implementation

In this section, challenges identified by teachers of citizenship education are identified and evidence from literature will be given. I argue that teachers need to be fully trained prior to teaching the subject and equipped with the required knowledge and skills to perform active methods of learning and teaching. They need to be trained on dealing with controversial issues especially. They also need school support in developing and enforcing clear policies that are targeted to eliminate discrimination in schools.

8.4.1 Teaching Challenges

From the study, none of the teachers interviewed had citizenship education in their initial teacher training but almost all of them had one training workshop run by policymakers from the Directorate of Curricula on using the textbook. Therefore, it is expected that those teachers would rely heavily on the student textbook for their own knowledge as most of them had Geography as their background subject of specialty. Like their counterpart, teachers in England, due to this lack of training, Bahraini teachers lacked in confidence to teach controversial issues, especially if they were raised by the students themselves. Also, as mentioned in chapter two, the contextual
factors are also very influential on how teachers felt about teaching the subject, with regard to the demography of the school in particular. Unlike, England, there is still no citizenship education training in Bahrain Teachers’ College that trains young teachers. A pressing recommendation therefore would be to include citizenship education as a subject in initial teacher training subject as well as offer it as a post graduate degree. Moreover, continuous professional development must allocate courses for the teaching of citizenship education for all teachers and specifically for citizenship education teachers.

In addition to the lack of training, the nature of the job dictates that there will be a limit to the freedom teachers have in terms of how they teach, what they can say, and how they deliver the education material. While it is bestowed on them to transfer knowledge to their students, that authority comes with responsibilities and restrictions. They can’t indoctrinate their impressionable students with their personal beliefs. Teachers will naturally have their own political, social, cultural, and religious beliefs and opinions, especially in a diverse and divided society like Bahrain. Controversial issues need therefore be handled in a balanced way by giving the same platform even to views one doesn’t necessarily agree with. The study, however, showed that teachers mainly opted to avoid controversial topics altogether. The self-censorship and avoidance approach the teachers exhibited, which was evident from the study, is a reflection of the division and suspicion that exists between different sects in the Bahraini society. The exact issue the political reform, which gave birth to the citizenship education, was aiming to address. While teachers are limited by the curriculum, they should be empowered to affect the subject matter and the manner in which that subject matter is taught. It is difficult to achieve the desired teaching outcome without a fully engaged teacher or one that doesn’t necessary embrace the contents of the material.

As discussed above, the citizenship education in Bahrain overly emphasises on loyalty and belonging – loyalty to the country as well as the ruling class. This in itself is likely to meet resistance from the Shias who believe their rights are not respected. Even though not put explicitly, the Shia teachers interviewed in the study were wrestling with the conflict of teaching their students to be loyal to the ruling class, on the one hand, and their political views, which contradict that, on the other. This conflict manifested itself in the fact that more Shia teachers than their Sunni counterparts linked citizenship
education with citizens’ rights. This conflict will exist as long as teachers harbour strong political views that don’t necessarily conform with policy aims. A better balance between teachers’ views and policy aims can, however, be achieved by moving the emphasis of the citizenship education from political to moral aspects of the civic society. The definition of citizenship in the Bahraini context is a bit narrow, in that it mainly appeals to the patriotic elements of being a citizen. That definition needs to be broadened to include the social and cultural aspects and even to the level of people’s interpersonal interactions with each other. Teachers from any political persuasion or religious background can relate to the moral aspects to create harmony between different sects of the society.

8.5 Limitations of the Study
I conclude this section by drawing attention to the limitations of the study both from the point of view of a general social science factors and the design or methodology that impacted or influenced the application or interpretation of the data. A social study is more likely to lead to useful ideas and increasingly firm factual bases for further study, rather than clear-cut answers to major policy questions. The constraints that can impact the findings including sample size, previous research study and cultural and religious factors are discussed in this section.

8.5.1. Sample Size and Methodology
It is often difficult to draw definitive conclusions from a qualitative study and generalise the findings to larger groups because of the small scale of the method and the quite unrepresentative samples that are often used. Subjectivity in data collected from an interview, questioner, or focus group arrangement is also unavoidable. The other aspect of limitation in this study was in its focus on the Bahrainis main religious sects of Sunni and Shia only, as was reflected in the sample. Even though there were also foreign residents interviewed in the study, they were mainly Egyptian who can identify themselves with the ethnic and religious identity of a Bahraini citizen – Arab Muslims. Non-Muslims who make up 30% of the Bahraini residents including Christians, Jewish and South East Asians, were not represented in the study. This is equivalent to a non-
sampling error where eligible sample unit fails to participate in the survey, the effect of which can be a large bias in study focus.

8.5.2 Lack of Prior Research Studies
Countries have their own unique political, social and cultural make up. The need for citizenship education in each country is different as they attempt to address different social problems. In Europe, for example, the general drivers are related to political apathy, but in Bahrain, in addition to the global definitions of a citizenship related to rights and political participation, there are social issues stemming from disproportionate migration and religious tensions influenced by geo-political factors that the citizenship education aims to address. Even though there is a lot of literature on citizenship education in different countries, there is lack of prior work related to the unique social and cultural make-up of the Middle East in general and Bahrain in particular. The lack of literature in relation to the unique nature of the Bahraini demography, geo-political factors and history meant that it was difficult to establish theoretical framework and methodological focus for the study.

8.5.3 Cultural and Religious Bias
Even though the sample is carefully prepared to reflect the cross section of the society to eliminate bias, lack of political openness and prevailing suspicion means that there is a potential for the interviewees to present a false front or impression, especially when realising the researcher belongs to a religious sect different to theirs. Due to existing political tension and lack of freedom of speech, whether actual or perceived, self-censorship is prevalent in Bahrain where interviewees might not necessarily convey their inner thoughts. This was apparent from the lack of direct criticism of the ruling class in relation to rights and political participation, during the interviews, which doesn’t reflect the general political mood among some sections of the population. Even among those from the sect that are generally believed to be supporters of the regime, there could be a tendency for a political and social desirability bias, where the subjects interviewed would answer in a manner that would be viewed favourably by the ruling class.
8.6 Future Research

The limitations discussed above should form a basis for future work to look into the conceptions of citizenship in relation to the non-Arab, non-Muslim population of Bahrain. Multicultural and diversity management issues in relation to the sizeable migrants from South East Asia is another area a future study can look into to better understand where these groups fit into the wider Bahraini population vis-à-vis the definition of citizenship and identity.

In Bahrain, lessons in education tend to be didactic and teacher directed. Citizenship education, in particular, is largely limited to rote instruction that only tends to promote official political and religious views. Learning methods and practices, pertaining to citizenship education, can be studied in future research in relation to integrated methods employed in the liberal developed countries.

Finally, a thorough analysis of the curriculum policy has to be conducted in relation to the findings of this research which was conducted prior to 2011 events. There are many shortcomings of policy and it requires a national debate to agree on a conception of citizenship that is relevant to the socio-political structure of Bahrain. This would also require a political leadership commitment to such conception that should lead to a maximal interpretation of citizenship education.
References


Bahrain Constitution (1973) [online] Available:

Bahrain Constitution (2002) [online] Available:


Publications.


Appendix 1
(February/March 2011 Unrest)
Narrative from BICI Report

February/March 2011
Soon after the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt which led to the ousting of Presidents Zin El Abidine and Hosni Mubark, calls for demonstrations in Bahrain started on a number of online forums. A Facebook page called “February 14th Revolution in Bahrain” was established and gained popularity. The date chosen for the demonstrations coincided with both the tenth anniversary of the referendum on the National Action Charter and the ninth anniversary of the day on which the current Constitution was promulgated (BICI 2011, p 65). On Saturday, 12 February 2011, several incidents of unrest were reported in various parts of Bahrain which included an attack against a police patrol, a fire and an assault on a private vehicle in a majority Sunni city (BICI 2011, p 67). On the 14th of February, demonstrations erupted in Shia villages without any applications made for permission as required by Emiri Decree Law No. 18 of 1973 on the Organisation of Public Meetings, Rallies and Assemblies (BICI 2011, p 68). Throughout the day, riot police confronted unauthorised demonstrations and attempted to disperse them especially those that involved throwing rocks and other objects at police vehicles and personnel. At around 20:00, an unauthorised demonstration of around 800 people, attacked a police patrol of eight police officers, using rocks and rod metals. According to the Ministry of Interior, when the demonstrators came within a few meters of the police unit, which had exhausted its supply of tear gas and rubber bullets, police resorted to firing one shotgun round and struck Mr Almeshaimah in the back which resulted in his death at Salmaniya Medical Complex (BICI 2011, p 69). Demonstrators started gathering in the car park adjacent to the Emergency Section of Salmaniya Medical Complex (SMC) where they took photographs and held live interviews on TV channels. The funeral procession of Mr Almeshaimah was held the next morning as people started gathering at the SMC morgue and headed towards a cemetery. During that procession, some of the mourners attacked two police patrol cars parked on the side as one had broken down while the second had been dispatched to secure the location while police prepared the first vehicle to be towed away. As the mourners of around 400 started to approach and attack the police with rocks and metal rods, police used sound bombs, tear gas and rubber bullets. And as the mourners became
more aggressive and managed to seize and destroy one of the police’s tear gas launchers, police reported to have fired two shotgun rounds at the mourners which resulted in one of the mourners to be struck in the back at a very close range, estimated to be one meter and he was pronounced dead at SMC (BICI 2011, p70).

The second death further increased public anger and by nightfall thousands of demonstrators gathered at the GCC roundabout (commonly known as Pearl Roundabout) and began to set up tents. Police in the area neither engaged nor attempted to disperse them as King Hamad had ordered in a televised address that members of the funeral procession be allowed to occupy the GCC roundabout to express their sadness and he expressed his condolences for the two deaths and announced the establishment of a committee headed by Deputy Prime Minister Jawad Al Orayed, a Shia, to identify the reasons for the events of the previous two days. Same night Al Wefaq members of the Council of Representatives, 18 members, announced that they would suspend their participation in the Council’s sessions, and the General Federation of Bahrain Trade Unions, who are mostly affiliated with Al Wefaq, announced calls for a general strike on 17 February. SMS messages from unidentified senders were circulated to encourage people to join the strike (BICI 2011, p 71). Next day both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice gave separate press conferences in which they expressed regret for the two deaths and reaffirmed that Bahrain was governed by the rule of law. They also emphasised that dialogue was the solution to the unrest and that such dialogue should happen in the National Assembly. Meanwhile, the number of protesters at the GCC roundabout increased and reached 6000 and that many opposition political figures gave statements and made speeches there. At the same time a meeting between the Crown Prince and representatives of Al Wefaq lasted for three hours to discuss their demands and suggested that demonstrators move to another location. That evening the Secretary General of Al Wefaq visited the roundabout for the first time and the numbers of protestors doubled to 12000 (BICI 2011, p71).

On February 17th: orders were issued at 3:00 to police to regain control of the GCC Roundabout and clear the area of all demonstrators, who were estimated to number 1500 individuals who had stayed in the tents overnight. The operation began with instructions broadcasted for a period of five minutes on a megaphone ordering demonstrators to leave. These forces also removed all the tents that had been placed in the roundabout, two roads were left open to provide an exit for people leaving the
roundabout. Some protestors refused to leave and began resisting and assaulting the police, using stones, rocks, metal rods, swords and other sharp objects as well as some attempts to run over police officers with their cars. The police responded by firing tear gas rubber bullets and shotgun rounds. It all lasted 20-30 minutes. Later on it was discovered that the police had fatally shot three individuals by sustaining wounds caused by shotgun pellets fired at close range in self-defence. Investigations revealed that over 50 demonstrators had sustained various injuries, while 47 police were wounded, some severely, during the confrontations. Post-operation searches of the roundabout found four pistols and bullets as well as large quantities of knives, daggers, swords and other sharp objects. Many police officers were injured by sharp objects similar to those found at the roundabout as others sustained wounds when protestors attempted to run them over with their vehicles. An hour later a group of protestors began marching towards the GCC Roundabout which was then under the control of government security forces and assaulted a security patrol on duty by throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails at the patrol and attempted to seize a weapon carried by one of its personnel. The police fired at the protestors leading to the sixth death by a shotgun round fired at his head from very close proximity. Al Wefaq members of the Council of Representatives announced their withdrawal from the council that night and numerous incidents of violence and fires were reported (BICI 2011, p 74).

As schools were closed for Spring Holiday until the 19th of February, the Bahrain Teachers’ Society30 issued a call to teachers to participate in a strike outside school premises on 20 February (BICI 2011, p 75).

On Friday, 18 February: leading Shia cleric, Sheikh Issa Qassim, gave his Friday prayer sermon and condemned the operation to clear the roundabout describing it as a premeditated massacre. Crown Prince continued his attempts to establish dialogue with Al Wefaq. Nonetheless, demonstrators began confronting the police units to re-enter the GCC Roundabout. That night the Crown Prince gave a spontaneous interview on national television in which he discussed recent developments and called for a national dialogue. Later that evening, HM King Hamad asked HRH the Crown Prince to initiate a dialogue with all political parties in Bahrain and a statement released by the Royal

30 Bahrain Teacher Society board members were all Shia teachers who had affiliations with Al Wefaq National Islamic Society
Palace announces that HM the King had granted HRH the Crown Prince “all the powers to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of all the gracious citizens of Bahrain” In line with his continuous attempts for dialogue, the Crown Prince agreed to Al Wefaq representative’s request to allow demonstrators to return to the GCC Roundabout in exchange for Al Wefaq agreeing to enter into a dialogue with the government of Bahrain. Despite the decision to reopen the roundabout to demonstrators, at 04:00 HRH the Crown Prince was informed that Al Wefaq General Secretary had retired for the night and therefore would not meet with him (BICI 2011, p 79).

On Saturday, 19 February: demonstrators returned to the GCC Roundabout as security forces were ordered to withdraw. By noon there were approximately 15000 demonstrators and the mood there was celebratory as they considered the reopening of the roundabout to be a victory for the protest movement. On the other hand, HRH the Crown Prince assembled a negotiation team, in which he was careful to include Shia, Sunnis and a member of the ruling family. Later the Crown Prince gave an interview on CNN where he noted that the steps taken earlier that day, such as the withdrawal of military units and reopening the GCC Roundabout for demonstrators, had been intended to establish trust and confidence between all parties. He also stated that he considered those protestors to be “a very significant proportion of our society”, but that there were also other forces in society and it would be necessary to build trust between the moderates in order to transcend this crisis (BICI 2011, p 83).

On Sunday, 20 February, first day of the week in Bahrain, witnessed widespread strikes and demonstrations organised by employers in both the public and private sectors. First of these were recorded in schools throughout the country as mostly ‘Shia’ teachers refused to go to work and gathered in front of their school gates. The number of schools reported strikes varied in the different governorates depending on the demography of the schools (BICI 2011, p 85).

On Monday, 21 February: groups of protestors that rejected the demands of the GCC Roundabout that called for the overthrowing of the regime, gathered at the Al-Fateh Mosque in a massive rally that exceeded 100,000 and according to Ministry of Interior and some media reached 400,000 people mostly Sunnis and other residents of Bahrain.
which led to the establishment of an unofficial group called “The gathering of National Unity” (BICI 2011, p 86).

On Tuesday, 22 February: a mass rally dubbed the “Martyrs’ March” in honour of the victims who had lost their lives in the protests reached a number of 100,000 people. During the demonstrations, many protestors chanted, “the people demand the removal of the regime”. Following the Martyrs’ March it was estimated that the number of protestors at the GCC Roundabout reached its highest of an estimate of 150,000. HRH the Crown Prince held political discussions including the meeting with Kuwaiti figures who were considered to be possible mediators because of their experience in dealing with the Shia opposition in Kuwait as well as with various cabinet ministers and Members of Parliament. He also made recommendations to HM the King to pardon a group of high profile Shia leaders who had been accused of attempting to overthrow the regime in 2010 and that a number of cabinet ministers be replaced. However, when asked to reciprocate these gestures of goodwill made towards the opposition, Al-Wefaq’s leadership declined to make any political concessions. Later that night, HM the King had pardoned 308 individuals who had been convicted of various crimes relating to state security (BICI 2011, p89).

On Wednesday 23 February: many of the political opposition leaders who had been released by royal pardon went to the roundabout and gave speeches in which they outlines their positions and views against the regime such as “the people demand the removal of the regime”, “Step down Hamad”, and some stated that if political societies entered into a dialogue with the government of Bahrain, it would undermine the existing “revolutionary momentum”

On Saturday 26 February: a prominent Shia opposition figure and Secretary General of the unregistered Haq Movement returned from London after stopping in Beirut and according to government reports the purpose of his visit to Beirut was to consult with the Hezbollah leadership in Lebanon about the situation in Bahrain (BICI 2011, p 94).

On Sunday 27 February: large numbers of Shia school students participated in protests and demonstrations using a convoy of trucks on one of the main highways of the capital as well as others in the vicinity of their schools, many included high school girls from
Shia villages and continued to participate in protests the next day by leaving their schools. Many teachers also protested the hiring of temporary teachers during the strike that had been called for by the Bahrain Teachers’ Society as most of the volunteers were Sunni due to Shia teachers refusing to teach Sunni students who did not participate in the strike. Another development was that demonstrators used the GCC Roundabout which is at the heart of the capital of Bahrain as a headquarter for their gatherings and from there organised demonstrations to other parts of the country that included the National Assembly and Ministers Council. Student demonstrations continued to get larger across the country for the whole week and organised marches in their school neighbourhood as well as heading to other GCC Roundabout (BICI 2011, p 94-103).

On Thursday 3 March: Bahrain witnessed the first major sectarian clashes between Shia and Sunnis in Hamad Town, which has a mixed population of both sects. The spark for the confrontation was a fight that broke out between Shia students who had been participating in demonstrations during the day and teenagers from naturalised Sunni families residing in Hamad Town as a street battle broke out between Shia and Sunnis wielding sticks, knives, swords and metal rods. Eleven people, including three police were injured during these clashes (BICI 2011, p 108).

Sunday 6 March: school students again participated in demonstrations inside and outside their schools. And demonstrations continued across the country whilst having the GCC roundabout as an operation/camping site. Later that day protestors began moving from the GCC Roundabout towards the Financial Harbour and started setting up tents there to block the area. Crown Prince gave an interview on Bahrain Television in which he reiterated his call to all political societies to engage and dialogue and that the entire country agreed on 70-80% of the demands presented by the parties. He also warned against escalating tensions in the country (BICI 2011, p114).

Monday 7 March: most significant development was the establishment of a coalition by Haq and other groups who reside in London to create a republic in Bahrain and disrupting work in an important economic district such as the Financial Harbour by the protestors as they interfered with traffic and the creation of a checkpoint by protestors that was stopping vehicles in which there were signs or posters expressing support for the political leadership of Bahrain and the ruling family. A Sunni woman was blocked and her car was surrounded by demonstrators who began pounding her can and chanting
anti-government slogans. Fearing for her safety, some police officers intervened to push back the demonstrators and some space was cleared for the woman to drive away. As it gained speed the car struck and injured one of the protestors who was subsequently hospitalised and eventually causing anger amongst the demonstrators who vowed to retaliate against the woman and her family. The woman’s address was circulated via SMS and on internet social media and there were calls for people to attack her residence. In response hundreds of Sunni men wielding swords, knives and sticks assembled at the woman’s house to protect her and her family from any possible assault by Shia groups (BICI 2011, p 114).

Thursday 10 March: most significant development that day were the large demonstrations of school students who demonstrated in many neighbourhoods and villages across Bahrain and the clashes that occurred between supporters of the government and anti-government protestors. Some marched towards the GCC Roundabout. The total number of absent students was estimated to have exceeded 3,000. Others marched towards the Ministry of Education joined by members of the Bahrain Teachers’ Society and others gathered at the residence of the Minister of Education. Moreover that day another clash happened in at a girls’ high school in a Shia village between student protestors and other students that evolved to involve families and threats made to the Sunni headmistress who did not allow the students to leave the school during the school hours. Riot police were requested to control the situation as well as community leaders. It was decided after eight students were injured and received medical care to suspend classes at the school indefinitely. Other schools including primary schools reported incidents of violence and suspended classes (BICI 2011, p 121).

Friday 11 March: protestors began marching toward the Royal Palace in Riffa and reached the barricade that the Ministry of Interior had set up there. Despite multiple attempts by police officers to convince demonstrators to turn back failed by explaining that large numbers of predominantly Sunni residents of Riffa had gathered behind the barricade, and therefore allowing them through would lead to violent confrontations. Demonstrators were chanting the slogan “the people demand the removal of the

---

31 Riffa is a town of majority Sunni and residence for many of the royal family
regime”, which was provocative for those on the other side of the barricade. The President of the Council of Representative attempted to convince protestors to depart. Total number of people on both sides of the barricade was estimated to exceed 8,000. When all failed and many of the protestors managed to break through the barricade, police began dispersing them using tear gas (BICI 2011, p 122).

Saturday 12 March: protests were organised at locations directly affiliated with the Royal Palace calling for the removal of the regime and many criticised the King and repeated the slogan “ Down… Down Hamad”. By then many of the protestors started wearing white garments as a symbol of their preparedness to die. Umeraous incidents of vandalism were reported across the country and the breakdown of law and order in the country as people who were not involved in the demonstrations being threatened. Many attacks were reported against expatriates, especially those of Asian decent by protestors (BICI 2011, p 124).

Sunday 13 March: this was an important turning point in the sequence of events in Bahrain. The general level of security and law and order deteriorated significantly throughout the country. As sectarian confrontations increased especially with the University of Bahrain violent clashes between Shia and Sunnis and many Sunni naturalised students were hospitalised. Moreover, more expatriates Sunni workers of Asian descent were violently attacked that night. One Pakistani man was beaten to death as others sustained severe injuries including deep lacerations of his tongue. Youtube videos also showed that when some of these Asian workers were taken to Salmaniya Hospital they were verbally and physically abused and called mercenaries by some of the protestors gathered at the car park adjacent to the emergency department and by some medical staff. Many of those individuals were later transferred to the Bahrain Defence Hospital for treatment. Meanwhile the Crown Prince continued with his efforts to reach agreement to enter dialogue with the opposition without much success. A group of independent members of the Council of Representatives issued a statement calling on HM King Hamad to declare a state of Martial Law and to order the intervention of the Bahrain Defence Force to maintain security and stability in Bahrain, protect private and public property and confront any illegal acts that incite violence, terrorism, harassment of individuals, sectarianism disruption of social order, harming the national economy or threatening the national interest of Bahrain. It also urged the King to
intervene “at this critical juncture after the opposition rejected the calls to maintain calm and the invitations to enter into dialogue, and instead resorted to escalation and sectarian incitement, which threatened the breakdown of security” (BICI 2011, p 131). That night HM the King concluded that Bahrain required the assistance of military forces from neighbouring GCC countries. The government of Bahrain considered that the presence of these GCC forces would deter against what it believed could be possible intervention in the internal affairs by the Islamic Republic of Iran (BICI 2011, p 132).

March 14: the state of security continued to deteriorate and assaults were made on private and public properties as groups of vandals were reported across the country and more sectarian clashes were reported as fear spread amongst the Sunni population they started to set up checkpoints near their residences to protect their neighbourhoods from the protestors. Moreover 109 inmates in a detention centre managed to escape from prison which exacerbated an already heightened sense of insecurity among Bahrainis and foreign nationals. That day the GCC Jazeera Shield Forces arrived from Saudi followed by units from the United Arab of Emirates and Qatar. These forces were ordered to assist in the defence of Bahrain against any foreign intervention as well as the protection of vital installations and sites particularly the oil fields. Meanwhile it was reported that the Al-Wefaq Secretary General reacted to the news by saying that he would request Iranian assistance (BICI 2011, p134).

Tuesday 15 March: starting in the early hours and continuing roadblocks were set up by protestors in many areas in the capital and other cities. As a result of a group blocking traffic and searching vehicles in Sitra, police were ordered to disperse them. As a result police officers were run over by cars causing one officer to die and others severely injured another clash led to the death of one of the protestors as he was driving a vehicle and attempting to run over a police officer deployed in the area. Many isolated incidents of violence and disruption of the daily lives of those not involved in the demonstrations continued as an example a female owner of a store was assaulted and later an Arab expatriate resident was assaulted and robbed in a Shia village. Another police officer was killed and 16 injured during the day bringing the total number of injured police to 19 as police patrol were being targeted by demonstrators. Sunni mosques were attacked that day and as in previous days a number of expatriate workers most of whom were of South Asian origin were attacked and harassed by groups of demonstrators. A
Bangladeshi national was killed when he was run over by a car in Sitra whilst three others injured in that incident. As a result of the general deterioration of the security situation HM King Hamad issued Royal Decree No 18 of 2011 declaring a State of national Security for three months throughout the territory of the Kingdom of Bahrain. According to this decree, Bahraini authorities and law enforcement agencies began to adopt a more forceful approach towards both demonstrators and individuals partaking in acts of vandalism or causing disorder (BICI 2011, p. 139). Meanwhile, in Tehran, the Official Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated, “The presence of foreign forces and the interference in Bahrain’s internal affairs is unacceptable, and will further complicate the issue… The people of Bahrain have demands that are legitimate and are being expressed peacefully” (BICI 2011, p142).

The next day Bahrain took active steps to address the general state of insecurity and the breakdown of law and order that had existed. The second clearing of the GCC Roundabout and the clearing of protestors from both the Bahrain Financial Harbour and Salmaniya Medical Complex.

Life started to go back to normal and non-protestors started to feel safe again to go back to their usual lives. Students and teachers went back to schools. After three months, the State of National Security was lifted and HM the King called for a National Dialogue which included representative from Al Wefaq and other opposition societies. The Dialogue began on 2nd of July 2011 but mid-through opposition members decided to withdraw from the political section of the dialogue which ended a week after their withdrawal. In February 2013, HM King Hamad issued a Royal Directive inviting all political parties and independents from all sections of Bahrain society to continue the dialogue in the political theme and build upon previous achievements. However, after a few sessions opposition members suspended their participation for the second time.

---

32 Sitra is an island inhabited mostly by Shia  
33 Bahrain National Dialogue official website [www.nd.bh](http://www.nd.bh)
Appendix 2
(Interview with Ex Minister of Education)

L: Do u have any questions for me?
Dr: You are writing a dissertation on citizenship education in Bahrain or citizenship in general?
L: In Bahrain, I am looking at policy and practice of citizenship education in Bahrain

Dr: You are particularly writing a dissertation on citizenship in the curriculum of Bahrain, I see, that’s all, and not whether it is practised in society? I will give you first what I consider essential in this whole matter, that teaching students, is really, if you wanted to be an effective teacher, that will remain with them that will convince them, and students by the way are very clever, and they know what’s going on in this world. Then u teach them citizenship by exemplary and not as the other day you saw, by giving them lectures, lectures I mean enter one side of the head and goes out the other side, forgotten. And this is exactly what’s happening everywhere in the Arab world, everywhere, there is a, a, a complete gap, a huge gap, between what we teach students and what they see in society. And I gave all kind of examples, students u tell them that citizenship is equality for all, but then when he wants to go to university, if he doesn’t have wassata or name, or whatever u call it, he may not get a place there, or because his family is not rich enough he can not get inside. Coz after all citizenship means also reasonable justice for all citizens. So you can see this is very essential point in this topic, to make them in the morning stand fee taboor elmadrassa and have little music, and have the flag up, these are all symbols, they are nice but

L: What do you think about all this? Do you disagree with these practices?
Dr: No I don’t disagree but I think this should be part of a parcel, its not the only thing. The parcel is that u should make them know and feel, and they know it in their daily world, that what u r teaching them is there, its not something imaginary, its not a myth, u see? Because after all, if you talk to them and its not in the society it’s a myth, ur telling them a story, definitely. And stories are fine, very amusing but they don’t lead to any where.

L: At ur time, it used to be tarbia wattania, now it is muwattana. What were the objectives and goals for tarbia wattania to you at that time?
Dr: to me it was more comprehensive, ok. Tarbia wattania, it includes elmuwattana but it also speaks of aa ya3ny the love of the country, sacrifice for the country, ba3dain e7na we were always including the pan Arab view, eno, ur wattan is not only ur little country that u r in but is actually the whole Arab world, aa ba3dain we we included some politics, the the factor of independence, the factor that to refuse imperialism and domination by foreign countries, extra, all of these, to be included so that the person becomes sensitive to these things u see, if u want to speak about citizenship, it is basically ur talking to him as an individual. Ur no more talking to him as an individual and also as an individual in society, whereby the whole society also should be looked at. May be some people think that el tarbia elwattania will lead to certain aspects, I
don’t agree, and personally I am for teaching politics in schools. Schools have to be aware, politics dominate everything in their lives and to run away from that and to say that they are too young, this is none sense. And the most unfortunate thing, is that we do not, all governments, frankly, try through the system of education to, re recreate the same culture, u see, and there are many studies in Europe, whereby there are lots of criticism, about their schools and about their curriculum, whereby thinkers, know that the school is not telling the students that there are means of change in the society, that they are means of living in harmony in the society. And if you want to live in harmony whether be it at home or in the society it means that u accept it as it is, u don’t try to change it you dont try to challenge the wrong things in it.

L: Tarbia wattania in the 70s had its own rationale for introducing it then, whereas in 2002 tarbia lel muwattana it had its own reasons. What are ur comments about that?
Dr: My comment is very simple, I mean, u can teach al muwattan and through it u can emphasise so much the responsibilities and reduce so much the rights, you have to leave ur 7ay (neighbourhood) clean, u have to abide by the law, u have to be peaceful, u have to be this, this , this , and suddenly the student is being told in other words to be really a good boy, or be a good girl, u see, but he is not being told what rights of his, that r very fundamental and are as important as his responsibilities, and which rights he is not getting in society. This is a big issue. I mean it’s not just education, its education, political social and economic and so on, but I am always afraid of the manchette, without paying attention to the content. The manchette I teach u, I mean in England, just only six or seven years ago introduced citizenship education, at that time they introduced it because they felt that they have to teach their students about citizenship.

L: For them, the rationale was quite different than ours, as they were more concerned with their students less interested in politics……etc
Dr: The reasons are different no doubt about it. After all I mean citizenship there has been practised for years now, I mean ok not complete, not always in fairness, we all know this, our people not getting the same facilities same rights, housing and all, but in general citizenship as such since the French revolution has become established in the life of Europe, here we have always spoken of al ra3ya, and al ra3ya as u know is completely different. And until today, the word ra3ya is the one which is more dominant . its only in the past ten years really, since the beginning of the huge talk about the need for democracy in the area and that almuwattana became . That’s why the dealing with citizenship in our part of the world needs to be refined , needs to be thought about very carefully, after all, I mean I always say that citizenship has to be thought that it is a process, like democracy, like liberty. It has minimum requirements but there is no end or ceiling for it, where it can expand. This has to be put in the minds of students, because once they know , then they realise that it’s a process that has to be fought for continuously, themselves and the future generation and generation and generations and so on.

L: u were talking earlier about responsibilities and rights, as you know the East differs from the West in their stress of rights and individualism….., where do you think Bahrain is in this spectrum?
Dr: Bahrain is an Arab country and an Islamic country, whatever you find through the Arab world and Islamic world, u’ll find it here n Bahrain . eeh, the whole idea of balance between rights and responsibilities was never put so strongly in the past, as u said it was always emphasis on responsibilities, although I mean as a reader of Islam I can
assure you that Islam really does not do that. Islam emphasises both, very much so. Because a religion that calls itself the religion of justice, deen al7ag, can not be just when it emphasises one wing and leaves the other one. That is unjust. So really where do we stand, we are we are, we stand in where we are struggling for our freedoms for democracy for fairness for justice of distribution of wealth and political power, and so on. And it is just part of our struggle, it is not the whole struggle, its part of the struggle, now there are certain things in the west where we object, personally I object. For example, the tremendous emphasis on individual freedom, and individuality, individual independence, now this is wrong, really there has to be a balance between individual freedom and independence and so on and societal also freedom and societal responsibility, responsibility to the society. Now this balance even in Europe now they are beginning to pay attention, they are beginning to realise that they have pushed the individual so much to care only for himself to the point that he started damaging the society, damaging the environment, damaging the the values, the family, all kinds of institutions really. Now we on the other hand, we have emphasised so much the society, that we forgot the individual, that he also has to have a space of his own, u see, this reflected itself in our families in where children are suppressed all the time in the name of the family, and of course it reflected itself in our society where we never really had a democratic political system.
Appendix 3
Screenshots of NVivo Tables