Citizenship, community and national identity:
young people perceptions in a Bahraini context

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ABSTRACT

Preparing young people to be active citizens has to be a core value of schools and higher education institutions. Thus, education for citizenship is important because every society needs people who can contribute effectively to the future health of their communities locally, nationally and globally.

The field of citizenship education is one that encompasses an abundance of topics and issues (Cohen, 2010). In an attempt to bring some much needed clarity to this field, this paper presents the theoretical and conceptual background for a field study that intends to examine whether young people graduating from high school in Bahrain are equipped with the civic knowledge and understanding necessary to participate effectively as citizens. It also provides young people's conception of citizenship, their perception of their identity, and their concern about their community issues.

Drawing on quantitative and qualitative data, this paper analyses the ways in which young Bahrainis perceive their identity and citizenship status. In this mixed methods approach, a questionnaire was administered to 460 final year secondary school students, followed by in-depth interviews with a stratified sample of 22 young people who had participated in the questionnaire survey.

The findings provide valuable insights into the problems encountered by young Bahrainis as they engage in the process of learning about citizenship. This helps the educators, curriculum designers and policy makers to build upon what Bahraini young people already know and understand, and revise the content and types of activities that should be introduced if effective learning is to take place.

Keywords: Citizenship Education, Citizenship, Young people, Community, Civic knowledge, Identity.

INTRODUCTION

A priority toward creating "active" citizens has been a feature of curricula reforms in many nations in recent years. However, the normative, one-size-fits-all conceptions of citizenship often presented within such curricula obscure the significant differences in how some young people experience and express citizenship (Wood, 2014a).

In the last two decades, there has been a great deal of attention directed towards citizenship education all over the world. We are living in the decade of citizenship Dahrendorf (1997). The current revival of interest in citizenship has been brought about by significant social and economic change, specifically in relation to the means of communication, population growth and movement, and the environment.

'Good citizens are made not born' (Callahan and Ronald 1990: 338), accordingly helping children develop their full potential as citizens should be an important priority of families, communities and schools. (Alqatam *et al*., 2002) note that the school has an obligation to educate for informed, rational citizen who participate in, and contribute to society.

Civic knowledge is one of the main civic competences. The literature suggests that knowledge is the necessary foundation of civic participation and that 'knowledge is a valuable civic outcome' (Carnegie Corporation and CIRCLE, 2003: 23). It consists of fundamental ideas and information that learners must know and use to become effective and responsible citizens.

Researchers such as Patrick (1999), Cogan and Derricott (2000) and Wood (2014) note that developing citizenship in schools is important for young people, as they can learn to make responsible decisions, care about others, contribute to society, be successful in school, respect the law, be aware of their rights and be tolerant and respectful of diversity. Furthermore, they can develop their social and personal skills, such as reflective problem solving, developing tolerance a variety of perspectives, setting and attaining goals; and developing a core set of common values.

A key part of education for citizenship is helping young people to foster a number of personal qualities and dispositions rooted in values of respect and care for self, for others and for the environment (LT Scotland Review Group, 2001). In addition, they can also promote a sense of social responsibility. Being fair-minded in making decisions and being inclined to exercise responsibility are essential qualities of a responsible citizen (www.ltscotland.org.uk).

Branson (2003: 7) states that 'traits of private character such as moral responsibility, self-discipline, and respect for the worth and human dignity of every individual are imperative … to democracy's success'. This specific approach to moral or values education is found in 'character education', which is consistently linked with citizenship education and seeks to meet the needs of the new economy, and promote democratic participation through school-based education (Arthur, 2005).

Hence, good citizens can be counted on having such traits of character as civility, sociability, honesty, self-restraint, tolerance, trust, compassion, a sense of duty, a sense of political efficacy, capacity for cooperation, loyalty, courage, respect for the worth and dignity of each person, concern for the common good, and other core citizenship values (Patrick 1999; Arthur 2005). Osler and Starkey (1999) note that citizens need to be able to reflect on and be comfortable with a range of personal identities. This implies, in their view, a learning environment where feelings and choices about identity are explored and developed. They believe that:

The feeling of belonging to a community is essential for citizenship and a primary task of education is to enable learners to develop new identities to add to those that they bring to the learning process (p.201).

Fostering active and responsible citizens contributes to the process of developing a healthy culture of democratic participation. Arnot (2006) looks at the learner as citizen in view of the fact that citizenship education courses often prepare learners for a divided world.

This study seeks to ensure that the benefits to students, teachers, school principals, curriculum developers, schools, and society, of citizenship teaching in schools are realized. In particular, the benefits of the study include increased clarity for curriculum developers about what they should put into such a curriculum, a better foundation for schools to co-ordinate existing teaching approaches and learning opportunities, and to relate positively to the local community. Additionally, this study will help reflect on the students' lives and practices, and I may offer myself as an educational researcher and as a member of a committee for developing citizenship .education in Bahraini schools. Over time, it is hoped that the study will improve the understanding of citizenship for those interested in creating a healthy school climate and preparing good citizens.

Finally yet importantly, this study offers an invaluable baseline for the future conduct of the study and provides continuity with the existing research literature on citizenship education. When considering the value of this research, I believe that in any changing society it is important to gain an insight into the concept of citizenship through research. Feedback to the community could then be given to help with the management of such changes.

BACKGROUND

In recent years, increasing attention has been given to the subject of citizenship by political theorists, educators and philosophers. Some have approached it directly, examining the strengths and weaknesses of current conceptions of citizenship, its present practice, and its historical development (See for example, QCA 1998; Osler 2003; Banks 2004). Lawton *et al*. (2000) point out that:
Citizenship is a recent concept as part of the modern nation state because, in ancient and medieval societies (where monarchies, empires and chiefdoms existed), people were referred to as subjects and not citizens (p.17).

Many scholars including Riesenberg (1992), Banks (2004) and Wood (2014) point out the complexity of the topic of citizenship. Wood (2014b) research study reveals the diverse, complex and contested understandings of citizenship that young people were forming in the context of day-to-day social and spatial interactions. It seems that citizenship is a 'contested' concept that does not have a specific meaning. Riesenberg (1992) argues that:

It is very difficult to define citizenship in a few words. Although it is one of the oldest institutions in Western political thought and practice, it is not one of the easiest to grasp in a single comprehensive thought (p.xvi).

Preuss (2003) believes that the reason for this may be that over the centuries the idea of citizenship has offered an attractive and non-trivial element for the construction of political communities.

The significance of having a clear definition of the citizenship concept is that agreement over such a concept not only provides common ground for citizens in terms of their loyalty, identity, attitudes and behaviour, but also helps provide a secure, social, and

political environment for countries (Alqatam *et al*., 2002). This means that agreement over such a concept is essential for citizens' social and personal relations and for their political discipline.

Concepts of 'Citizenship'

Citizenship has evolved historically and can be most simply expressed in terms of the relationship of the individual to the state. Sinclair (2001: 243) defines it as 'the particular nationality that someone has and the official status, rights, and duties that any citizen has because of it'. In the same vein, the Commission on Citizenship (1990: 64) defines citizenship as 'the reflection of the legal relationship that applies within the boundaries of the State concerned'. Heater (1992) goes on to say that, "It is the State that confers the status and that can withdraw it. …It is in the context of the State that citizens exercise their rights and perform their duties" (p. 23).

Absent from these definitions is the meaning of citizenship in a democratic society in which citizens work for the betterment of the whole society. This is found in Huddleston and Kerr (2006) when citizenship is defined as:

Being a member of a particular political community or state… [It] brings with it certain rights and responsibilities that are defined in law… It is sometimes referred to as nationality … and used to refer to involvement in public life and affairs (p.2).

It can be observed that this definition is extended to include belonging to a community, where citizens are not only individuals but also members of particular religious, ethnic, cultural and regional communities. This membership in a community is defined in terms of rights and guarantees and involves recognition of the meaning of citizenship in a democratic society. Thus, in literature, Democratic Citizenship is defined as the social and legal link between individuals and their democratic political community. Multiple relationships reinforce this link and citizens' awareness of these relationships can enhance their sense of belonging and their capacity to rule (Parekh 2000). In this sense, Starkey (2002) notes that Citizenship is always a matter of belonging to a community, which entails politics and rights. Citizenship is based on respect for justice, human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law. In addition, these relationships include a citizen's relationship to him- or herself, to other citizens, to the community, to governmental institutions and political system, and to the world. Therefore, Democratic Citizenship is a lifelong learning experience aimed at making young people and adults better equipped to participate actively in democratic life by assuming and exercising their rights and responsibilities in society.

Whatever the conceptual definitions of citizenship, a practical definition is 'being a member of a nation-state'. The citizen here, as Cogan and Derricott (2000) point out, is 'a constituent member of society' and citizenship, moreover, can be seen to be 'a set of characteristics of being a citizen, given and agreed upon by a panel of experts, including educational, political, socio-cultural and economic dimensions at the local, national and international levels' (p.14). The realization of this concept depends upon the fulfilment of two basic conditions: First, a national government with the subsequent creation of a civil society that is based upon a willingness by its members to live and work together within this civil society; second, a democratic system with the necessary political structures to ensure a balance between rights and duties.

Citizenship and Identity

The meanings of citizenship are often framed by discussions of identity. In other words, different perspectives on citizenship define different relationships between citizenship and identity. For liberal thinkers, for example, citizenship denotes formal membership of a nation-state, an identity, which is universally defined in order to promote formal equality in rights and obligations for all. For civic republican thinkers, in contrast, citizenship is an overarching civic identity produced by, and productive of, a sense of belonging to a particular nation-state (Miller, 1995). Central to much civic republican writing is the idea that citizenship should be understood as a common civic identity, shaped by a common public culture. Miller (1995), for example, notes that a conceptualisation of citizenship merges the classical communitarian emphasis on belonging with the recognition that modern societies are likely to contain a far greater diversity of interest than their classical forbears. He, thus, proposes that citizenship, as a civic identity, can work to unite citizens so long as this identity is stronger than their separate identities as members of different groups such as ethnic, religious and so forth.

Despite their fundamentally different foundations, both schools of thought see citizenship as universal, and individual/group identity as particular, and both conceptualise citizenship at the level of the nation-state. The difficulty in both conceptualisations arises from the problematic conception of identity as noted by Isin and Wood (1999). They argue that:

> Defining citizenship as universal and identity as particular not only creates an artificial separation between citizenship and identity, but assumes that each individual and group understands experiences and practises citizenship in the same way (p.14).

Many writers, thus, argue that the problem lies in the need of the individual to affirm his or her identity. Osler and Starkey (1999) maintain that citizenship is an identity and practice that is likely to differ across the spaces in which people's lives are played out from the home to personal relations, in local and national politics, to the global arena.

Moreover, citizenship is an ensemble of different forms of group identity (belonging) such as gendered, ethnic, ecological, or national citizenship. Isin and Wood (1999) argue that to make identities irrelevant to citizenship is to ignore their relatively durable institutionalisation in discourse and practice. In the same vein, Osler and Starkey (2003: 252) note that 'citizenship requires a sense of belonging … to neglect the personal and cultural aspects of citizenship is to ignore the issue of belonging'. In addition, Parekh (2000) notes that national identity has remained strong in the modern era because its emphasis on the importance of people provides a source of dignity to all individuals, whatever their class, while a community gives its members a sense of belonging, identity and dignity. To Kymlicka (2001) it is a constitutive aspect of one's identity which affects one's sense of status and self-respect.

Furthermore, Basit (1997) argues that identities are labels, names and categories through which persons address each other and themselves, and that ethnicity, language and religion are pertinent criteria in shaping a person's identity. Discussing the identity of young people, she notes that:
Through socialisation and contact with a variety of influences within the home, the school, and the wider world, the teenager is constantly determining her/his identity in order to make sense of the universe (p.25).

Citizenship, thus, becomes a differentiated relationship of belonging, action and accountability between citizens and the many different institutions that have influence over their lives.

All the above scholars seem to suggest that different people have different identities and interests, therefore, citizenship should be seen as an institution for reducing inequalities, and acknowledging the multiple and differentiated reality of citizenship. Thus, drawing on this conceptualisation of identity, not only is citizenship differentiated across individuals, but also each individual may experience and express different forms of citizenship.

The Emergence of 'Multiple Citizenship'

The emerging theory of 'Multiple Citizenship' equates with developing ideas on citizenship in the global context (Heater, 1992). A major recurring debate is centred on the influence that global forces are having in national and international contexts (Habermas 1998; Cogan and Derricott 2000; Osler and Starkey 2003; Preuss 2003). Cogan and Derricot (2000: xiii) note that 'globalization has impacted on the meaning of the term Citizen and Citizenship'. In this sense, citizenship takes on new meaning and, of necessity becomes 'multidimensional' in that one must hold multiple identities. Osler (2003) explains the causes behind the emergence of Multiple Citizenship:

Global migration, both of specialised labour and of individuals and groups displaced by war, political instability or dire economic conditions, has produced cosmopolitan societies across the world …Migration requires individuals and groups to develop multiple loyalties and identities (p. 244).

Due to the effects of globalization on citizens in nations throughout the world, as well as the number of citizens in the world who are spending parts of their lives in different nation-states and have commitments to multiple places, a global cosmopolitan society is emerging which is being carried along by a mixture of economic, technological and cultural imperatives. Alqatam *et al.* (2002) notes that through global citizenship, generations can engage in interactive relations with members of the human race, which were not possible previously, and can become aware of their common interest. This can make people more tolerant of ethnic and cultural differences between each other. Baylis and Smith (1997: 9-11) note that 'more global homogeneity engenders fierce reactions that strengthen local identities, be they religious, ethnic or national'. While there is still adherence to the traditional idea of loyalty to the state, there is also the emerging theory of the global dimension and multiple nature of citizenship. Habermas (1998) argues that:

Today, as the nation-state finds itself challenged from within by the explosive potential of multiculturalism and from without by the pressure of globalization, the question arises of whether there exists a functional equivalent for the fusion of the nation of citizens with the ethnic nation (p.117).

Similarly, Osler and Starkey (2003: 244) argue that 'the political movements based on ethnic, religious, and narrowly nationalist ideologies threaten democracy and challenge existing political and social structures'. These movements call into question the idea of citizenship as having a unique focus of loyalty to a particular nation-state.

According to Kymlicka (2001), 'the nature of ethnic and national identities is changing in a world of free trade and global communications, but the challenge of multiculturalism is here to stay' (p.9). Kymlicka goes on to add that 'recent writing obscures as much as it reveals' about this tension and 'nationalism remains poorly understood' (p.243). He notes that the idea of civic nationalisms is 'forward-looking', unlike ethnic nationalisms [which are] 'backward-looking' (p.245). Kymlicka thinks that civic

nationalisms require the deliberate promotion of a common language and a common sense of history, not instead of freedom and equality, but rather as a way of defining and unifying a particular society of free and equal citizens.

Preuss (2003) asserts that the world has become a 'global village' but a 'village of strangers'. The inhabitants of this world have become neighbours in terms of physical proximity and mutual communicative accessibility, but are not neighbours in cultural terms: We live in a village as strangers who do not understand each other and, out of mutual suspicion and fear, very frequently use violence against each other. It is neither possible nor desirable to aspire to metamorphose all the alien villagers to friends or neighbours who share the same world-view. But it is desirable to connect them in a way, which allows them to trust each other and to engage in mutual economic, social and cultural intercourse (p.16).

Heater (1992) highlights three major tensions in citizenship ideals and their educational implications. The first is the difference between the theory and practice of citizenship in the 'liberal' and 'republic' traditions, stated earlier. The second is the difference between the belief that citizenship can properly exist only in relation to the state and the alternative idea that an individual can hold multiple citizenships. The third question concerns the argument as to whether or not the role of citizenship is crucially important for the individual and the state. Heater points out that 'the tensions in these three pairs of contradictory aspects of citizenship emphasise the need for a personal sense of global duty and responsibility' (p. 27).

Hence, the tensions between competing views of citizenship are the site of much stimulating debate. This debate will remain an ongoing feature of the literature, though its form and nature will change over time under the influence of shifting local, national and global priorities. This analysis concludes that in the citizenship debate, the substantive meaning of a 'citizen' and the resulting concept of 'citizenship' remains fluid, flexible and situation-specific (Kerr and Cleaver, 2004).

As a result of this review of the concept of citizenship, it is possible to see that its traditional boundaries are being reshaped to meet the challenges posed by modern society. Discourses on citizenship that were originally connected to the polity/state have been shifting to a more global, international focus. Cogan and Derricott (2000: xiii) note that 'the more global our world, the more vital the search for identification'. However, all over the world including Bahrain, the essence of 'citizenship' is defined as membership of a political community and the mutual relationship between the members and the political community remains unchanged. In other words, the meaning of citizenship in our time is still evolving in different contexts and has yet to take a final shape.

Development of Citizenship in the Bahraini Curricula

Education since time immemorial has been viewed by thinkers and political leaders alike as a tool of citizenship. Bahrain, like other societies, both developed and developing, has viewed education as a means of political socialization by which the child is inducted into citizenship.

Citizenship education was first introduced in Bahrain in 1971. A national education textbook for the curricula of all schools is presented as part of humanities, with a stress on moral values along with loyalty to the state. In the early 1990s, the concept of citizenship education was incorporated in all subjects, at both primary and secondary stages, to achieve integration and unity of knowledge (Ministry of Education, 2004).

Citizenship education was introduced into both primary and secondary stages. At the secondary stage, its curricula cover a wide range of subjects and concepts that include the

dimensions of local and global citizenship. Other school subjects deal with other topics and concepts that contribute to getting acquainted with the national culture, values, and trends and different life skills that ultimately develop citizenship education (Alqatam *et al*., 2002). Recently, the political reforms led to educational reforms too. It is recognized that there is a need for enriching Bahrain's new curricula with citizenship and democratic concepts.

In Bahrain, research revealed deficiencies in civic preparedness of young people. Some studies show deficiencies in social studies textbooks at both Primary and Intermediate levels (Abdulatif 1991; Wehbe 1992) which have failed in helping to develop youth into knowledgeable, active and responsible citizens (Kadhim, 2003). There is a lack of civic values and skills that young people should have in order to be responsible citizens of a constitutional democracy (Eid, 2004). Hasan (2001) and Almanai *et al.* (2003) highlight the importance of citizenship education in schools in shaping the future lives of young Bahraini citizens. It has been emphasized that the main objective of education in Bahrain is to prepare the individual for the future (Ministry of Education, 2004).

Although Bahrain has progressed a considerable distance in enabling young people to gain the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required for a responsible and productive life in society (Ministry of Education, 2004), the young people have not yet learned these competencies. In the light of this challenge, Bahrain has endeavoured to rewrite the education objectives and functions to enhance and improve the quality of education, putting forward the necessity of enriching the new curricula with citizenship.

This study aims to accomplish several tasks necessary for the research field to move forward at this time. First and foremost, to my knowledge, there have been no studies which look at what the students themselves know and understand about citizenship in a democracy. This is of particular importance since research in this area is almost non-existent. It also comes at a time when the field needs to critically examine broad-based and largely untested assumptions about the status of citizenship education in the schools of Bahrain. It, therefore, sheds light on citizenship education in a democracy by identifying the knowledge and understanding of young people as a central concern, to enable policy-makers to propose strategies for change.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Research Design

The study presented here was a part of a wider research project, which aimed to examine whether young people graduating from high school in Bahrain are equipped with civic and political knowledge and understanding necessary to participate effectively as citizens in a democracy. It provides valuable insights that are firmly grounded in the contemporary institutional context of citizenship education, and meet the needs of the citizenship education that Bahrain requires at this preliminary stage. These insights have helped shape the conceptual framework for my study that is organized into three domains: citizenship, community and identity; rights, responsibilities and law; democracy, politics and government. This paper focuses on the first domain that is citizenship, community and identity.

Aim and Objectives

The main aim of the study is to examine whether young people graduating from high school (grade 12) in Bahrain are equipped with the civic knowledge and understandings necessary to participate effectively as citizens.

The specific objectives of the research are as follows:
a. To examine young people's conception of citizenship.
b. To identify young people's concerns about their community issues.
c. To explore how young people perceive their identity.

Research Hypotheses

The above issues were explored with reference to young people's background characteristics, i.e. gender and place of residence based on the following hypothesis: There is a statistically significant relationship at the $p<0.05$ level, between young people's background characteristics (i.e. gender and place of residence) and their
a. conceptions of citizenship
b. concerns about their community issues
c. perceptions of their identity
Each of these sets of relationships was explored further through the analysis of qualitative data gathered through in-depth interviews.

Mixed Methods Approach

In this study, the main source of the quantitative data came from a survey questionnaire and the qualitative data came from in-depth interviews. For the purpose of this study, a semi-structured interview schedule was formulated, and open-ended questions were focused around particular topics and was guided by some general questions. The main purpose of the interview in this study was to gain insights into students' knowledge and understanding of citizenship and to concentrate on the concrete details of the young people's present experience of citizenship, and their own understanding of their experience.

Selecting The Sample

Survey Sample

For the purpose of this study, a stratified random sampling approach was adopted because it increases the quality of the sample by reducing the likelihood of strata characteristics distorting the results (Gorard, 2001). The nature of this study required that the sample be 12th grade students at secondary level for three reasons: First, the study was to examine the background civic and political knowledge of students graduating from government schools of Bahrain to investigate the extent to which they had gained the knowledge, skills and values the national curriculum provides for Bahraini students. Second, to meet the aims of the research, it was necessary that the subjects had considerable experience of the Bahraini education system, and be able to complete a survey questionnaire, which contained high-level cognitive questions related to some aspects of citizenship. Third, the students were young people aged 18 years who had started to get their civic rights as adults and had begun to shape their attitudes and values as well. Therefore,

these secondary school students in grade-12 were deemed to be more appropriate for the study than those who were in the lower levels of schooling. In summary, this cohort of students was selected because they represented the outcome of the educational system in Bahrain, particularly in regard to citizenship education.

I aimed to obtain as representative a range of responses as possible to enable me to fulfil the objectives of my study and to provide answers to key questions. The target population consisted of 9191 students, aged 17-18 years, who were registered in grade-12. This included 4888 female students (53.2%) and 4303 male students (46.8%). Based on this number, I decided to choose five per cent from the total students' population for the study (5% of 9191 = 459.55). This was a manageable sample which still enabled me to generalise from the findings. Hence, 460 students from grade-12 were selected within one month. They were chosen randomly (by using a table of random numbers) from all secondary schools (12 Boys' and 14 Girls'). I then determined the number from each stratum to be sampled: Girls' (5% of 4888 = 244.40); Boys' (5% of 4303 = 215.15). Following this, permission to carry out the survey was obtained and the Girls' and Boys' schools were approached to administer the survey.

Thus, the sample of the study was a stratified sample of 460 (215 male and 245 female) Bahraini students in grade-12 in secondary third level, who had experienced the formal national curriculum implemented by the Bahraini Ministry of Education. The average age of the students was 18 years. All students were at the same level during the entire study year. The students came from socioeconomic backgrounds reflective of the social structure of the country. A sample of 54.5 per cent of students was from rural areas, and 45.4 per cent of students were from urban areas.

Table 1 - Sample needed for the survey drawn from each School

245 Female students = 16 girls from each school
                              15 schools
215 Male students   = 16 boys from each school
                              13 schools

There are five governorates in Bahrain. These are Middle, Capital, Muharraq, Northern, and Southern. In the sample, 38.5 per cent (20.9% male and 17.6% female) were from the Middle governorate; 22.4 per cent (14.6% male and 7.8% female) were from the Capital, Manama. 17.0 per cent (5.2% male and 11.7% female) were from Muharraq and 17 per cent (5.9% male and 11.1% female) were from the Northern governorate while only 5.2 per cent of female students were from the Southern governorate. Each school enrols students from a given catchment area, which contains families who originate from different areas of Bahrain. This diversity provided a range of students for the study in terms of their views and background knowledge of citizenship and politics.

The students came from families with varied backgrounds. Their parents had received education at different levels (i.e. 9.1 per cent of mothers were postgraduates, 29.1 per cent were graduates, 33.9 per cent had finished secondary education, and 23 per cent had finished elementary education while 4.8 per cent of mothers had no formal qualifications at all). The highest percentage of mothers was those who had received secondary education and who were undergraduates. Considering fathers, 4.6 per cent of fathers were postgraduates, 24.3 per cent were graduates, 33.7 per cent had completed secondary education, and 28 per cent had finished elementary education, while only 9.3 per cent of fathers had no formal qualifications. It can be observed that while students' parents were

relatively well qualified overall, a higher percentage of mothers was qualified compared to the fathers.

According to the Bahraini literature and my personal observations, gender and place of residence can have a profound influence on Bahraini young people's perceptions of citizenship. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, two crucial variables, i.e. 'Gender' and 'Place of Residence' were focussed on. There were two reasons for investigating students' background characteristics in such a way; first, to limit the research so that it focussed on how the students' background characteristics affected specific civic and political knowledge and understanding; second, to identify possible reasons for the current problems in the citizenship education curriculum and to find possible solutions for these problems.

Sample for In-depth Study

As noted above, the study sample was a stratified sample of 460 (215 male and 245 female) Bahraini students in grade-12 in secondary level and represented five per cent of the whole study population (9191). To be consistent with the survey study sample, the interview sample comprised 22 students, which was five per cent of the survey sample, twelve girls and ten boys. Moreover, half of these selected were from rural areas and the other half of them were from urban areas to examine a range of different experiences. Four Secondary Schools in Bahrain from the Middle governorate were used to conduct the interviews. Two schools (one boys' and one girls') were in rural areas and two schools (one boys' and one girls') were in urban areas.

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of Survey Data

Data analysis is conducted according to a predetermined set of criteria and hypotheses. The quantitative data, both nominal and ordinal, were obtained from the questionnaire and analysed by using descriptive statistics with the use of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The Chi-square test was used to allow for comparison of observed frequencies between the groups and indicates whether any found differences are statistically significant. In this case the null hypothesis is that the two factors are independent. If the calculated P-value is low ($P<0.05$), then the null hypothesis is rejected and the researcher accepts the alternative hypothesis that there is a relation between the two factors.

In addition to Chi-square, I used the Mann-Whitney U test to analyse the ordinal data that was generated through the questionnaires. The Mann-Whitney Test is one of the most powerful non-parametric tests for comparing two populations with ordinal-level variables. This test is used when members of two categories can be ranked in terms of their scores on the same variable.

Analysis of Interview Data

In the in-depth study, I was interested in exploring participants' perceptions of the concepts and themes, which were found to be important when studying their responses to the questions in the questionnaire. The semi-structured interview schedule enabled me to gather rich data.

Such qualitative data need to be sorted and managed into what is useful for the purpose of the study being undertaken. In this research, the data that was generated through semi-structured interviews was analysed manually. Since my qualitative research sample was small, and I had already decided on the themes which emerged from the survey questionnaire, I chose not to use a software package to code the qualitative data.

The tape recorded interviews were transcribed. Notes were taken during or after the interviews to record emotions and other reactions expressed by the interviewees during the interview. The transcripts were studied to explore responses about the key themes presented in the conceptual framework of the study. Further, the responses were examined to bring out the commonalities and the divergences in the young people's understanding of aspects related to citizenship. While performing this analysis, the responses of the interviewees were studied in relation to the research hypotheses and the conceptual and theoretical background of the study.

Triangulation of Survey and Interview Data

After they were analysed, the interview data was triangulated with the survey data. This was done by comparing interview transcripts with written documentation of the quantitative data from the questionnaire. This process helped to establish connections between data sub-sets. These two sources of data were integrated, discussed and interpreted. The data gathered by questionnaires and interviews was analysed.

PART III: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This part examines young people's conceptions of citizenship and their concerns about community issues, and sets out to gauge how they perceive their identity. Besides the statistical analysis of quantitative data, a range of quotations from the qualitative data are presented in the analysis below in order to provide an indication of the various ways in which young people conceptualise the term 'citizenship' and other themes related to it. It should, however, be borne in mind that the quotations are not representative of all responses to the questions, and thus are used solely for illustrative purposes.

Conception of Citizenship

As stated earlier, quantitative data was gathered from 460 young people to examine their conception of citizenship. The young people were asked to define the term 'citizenship' in the open-ended part of the questionnaire. The purpose of such an open-ended approach was to provide the young people with the opportunity to describe, in their own words, the understandings they currently held of the term citizenship. Given that 'citizenship' was not yet a statutory subject, it was probably unsurprising that 21.5 per cent (n=99) of 460 young people stated that they did not know what the term 'citizenship' meant. However, 78.5 per cent (n=361) of young people provided a definition of this concept, defining 'citizenship' in different ways as the following table shows.

Table 2 - Conceptions of 'Citizenship'

'Citizenship' means	Residence			Sig. (Res.)
	Rural	Urban	Total	
Do not know / no answer	12.4	9.1	21.5	
Feeling of love and affiliation	19.1	15.7	34.8	
Acquiring Rights and performing responsibilities	13.0	11.5	24.6	
Living in Bahrain	4.8	5.4	10.2	*
Participating in community	1.3	1.3	2.6	
Having Bahraini nationality/passport	2.8	2.4	5.2	
Getting Freedom	1.1	0.0	1.1	
Total	54.6	45.4	100.0	

* P<0.05

The Analysis revealed that there was no statistically significant gender difference between young people and their conception of citizenship. In contrast, a statistically significant difference existed at (x^2 =12.768, df=6, p=0.047) in young people's conception of citizenship on the basis of residence.

There were slight differences between both rural and urban young people's conceptions. However, to more rural young people, 'citizenship' meant affiliation and belonging, rights and responsibilities, nationality and freedom. On the other hand, citizenship to more urban young people denoted the status of 'living in country'.

As stated earlier, although not all young people knew what citizenship meant, those who were able to define it identified meanings and activities similar to the three interrelated strands of citizenship education as set out in the Crick Report (QCA, 1998); these are 'community involvement, social and moral responsibility, political literacy' (pp.11-13). Thus, for the purpose of this analysis, responses from young people were grouped into three thematic categories, which correspond to Crick's three strands. These categories were citizenship as: belonging and community involvement; rights and responsibilities; democratic values and political awareness. Details of young people's responses in each of these categories are outlined below.

Citizenship as Belonging and Community Involvement

As observed in the Table above, the majority of young people related citizenship to a sense of belonging to their nation-state. Citizenship was 'the feeling of love and affiliation towards a country'.
To me citizenship means combinations of sensations that tie individuals to their country. It means to me love, devotion, loyalty and sacrifice to my motherland. It means that we must be proud of being Bahraini (Raqia, rural female).
In the Crick report (QCA, 1998), as stated earlier in Chapter two, one of the three core strands at the heart of citizenship education involves young people 'learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities' (p.40). In this study, a few young Bahrainis related citizenship to 'participation in community'. The rural male quoted below had a clear community-orientation to the definition of citizenship, which indicates the importance of community involvement:
To me citizenship means participating in developing my country, serving my community in all fields and participating in my community's activities and events. It is how people work together to fulfil the goals of their nation (Hameed, rural male).
Therefore, it can be seen that for young Bahraini people having the feeling of belonging to a specific country and a commitment to community were important. Although

more urban young Bahrainis believed that 'citizenship' meant the status of 'living in a country', to rural young Bahrainis it meant 'holding a nationality'. Examples of such definitions included, 'citizenship means a formal membership to a country, which means having the Bahraini nationality and holding a Bahraini passport' (Khatoon, rural female), and 'living in the homeland and acquire citizenship rights and perform duties' (Khalid, urban male).

In interviews, the majority of young Bahrainis were aware of the fact that holding a particular nationality/passport was important, but for them helping to improve their nation-state and caring for their community was more significant.

To me citizenship means not only holding a Bahraini nationality, but it also means improving my community and caring about its people by guarding their rights and helping them to perform their duties (Mariam, rural female).

Citizenship as Rights and Responsibilities

Responsible citizens should have '…socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom; both towards those in authority and towards each other' (QCA, 1998: 11). In this study, young Bahrainis spoke of 'getting citizenship rights, taking responsibility, and carrying out duties' for themselves, their families, local communities, and the state at large. In regard to this, most young Bahrainis highlighted the importance of caring for and respecting others:

To me citizenship means having rights and being responsible for my family, my country, and myself; respecting the laws of the country... I feel that I have some of my rights, such as the right of education, the right of getting good health services, but I still do not have the right to vote or to participate in political life (Nadeen, urban female).

Others focused on the part that citizens should play in maintaining the welfare of their country:

I am responsible for serving my country, protecting its properties and its environment, and defending it from any danger. I should protect my community values and care about its reputation too (Razan, urban female).

As seen in the quotations above, young Bahrainis recognised that rights had to be matched by responsibilities. Hence, while being a citizen endows an individual with certain rights, it also means that individuals have to take on responsibility for protecting the rights of others, as is shown below:

Citizenship involves being aware of the rights of Bahraini people, which should be protected. Citizens have the right to live a decent and safe life; to be allowed to express their opinions, and to be offered good education because in doing so the country is receiving its rights in return (Fareed, rural male).

Citizenship as Democratic Values and Political Awareness

In the Crick Report (QCA, 1998), citizens are responsible for 'learning about and making themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values – which can be called political literacy' (p.13). In the survey, young Bahrainis related citizenship to democracy, some of them mentioned that citizenship meant 'participation in community affairs' and caring about people, and a few of them indicated that citizenship meant 'freedom'. Furthermore, in the interviews, a few young Bahrainis related citizenship to 'equality', which suggests that citizenship can contribute to the reduction of inequalities in society, such as class and racial discrimination:

Citizenship means freedom of expression; it means, also, equality and justice. It makes people equal (Fatma, rural female).
Also, Mooza, an urban female, said:
…I believe that citizens should live equally happily with their family and their community and in their country.

A number of interviewees highlighted citizenship as encompassing both political and democratic awareness. More particularly, young Bahrainis focused on the need for citizens to understand and participate in the democratic process in the nation state:
Citizenship means the freedom to vote in the elections, to have freedom to express our opinions and to choose our representatives (Salman, urban male).

Most importantly, interviewees recognised that voting in the elections and contributing to democracy was not simply about following government policy. Instead, they recognised the importance of full participation in the democratic process:
Since the citizen is a part of this country, his or her voice can make a big difference. It is very important for people to vote in the elections to choose their representatives, to exercise their political rights and to choose the best people for the national council (Khatoon, rural female).
Also:
Citizenship means knowing about politics and having our own view regarding political matters which should be heard and considered (Mustafa, rural male).

Qualities of a Good Bahraini Citizen

For young Bahrainis one will be considered as a competent and responsible citizen if they 'Tolerate others' opinions', 'Be proud to be Bahraini', Obey the laws; Be loyal to country's leaders; Struggle for democratic rules and principles.; Be interested in public affairs.; Follow what is happening in government and politics
When the young Bahrainis were interviewed, one said:
A good Bahraini citizen should care for others' feelings and tolerate them. A good citizen should also cooperate with others and care for individuals and for the country's needs as well (Rehab, rural female).
A large proportion of the young Bahrainis interviewed endorsed qualities related to the 'rights, responsibilities and the law' category of citizenship, as can be seen in the comment below:
As a citizen, I should call for my rights, perform my duties perfectly and should not break the law. I have to be, also, loyal to my motherland in order to become a righteous citizen (Ayat, rural female).

A large number of young Bahrainis interviewed said that they loved Bahrain, were loyal to its leaders and were proud of being Bahraini citizens, as this quotation by urban female shows:
I think in order to be a good Bahraini citizen, it is important that I love my country Bahrain, be proud of it, and be loyal to the king and other leaders. In fact, I feel that I belong to this homeland (Safa, urban female).

Furthermore, as seen in the following quotation a good citizen should believe in equality between people, the struggle for democratic rules and principles, and the practise of democratic values. One rural female said:

I think in order to be a good citizen, and fulfil my responsibilities such as to participate in developing Bahrain, and in trying to make changes in society, it is important that I live in a society which treats all its people equally (Fatma, rural female).

This suggests that young Bahrainis from rural areas are more involved in their community and interested in public affairs than young Bahrainis from urban areas. This is perhaps because some urban areas in Bahrain are new and people living there are not as close to each other as people from rural areas, who care about each other. When interviewed, Jaffer, a rural male, said:

Being a righteous citizen means that each individual should be positive, active, loyal, respectful and democratic in dealing with others and thinks of his country's needs in the same way as he thinks of his children's needs.

Young Bahrainis preferred to endorse the qualities that were important to them. For example, rural young Bahrainis were more likely to see that a good Bahraini citizen should 'avoid intolerance and fanaticism', 'participate in developing their country', and 'protect the welfare of their country'. To urban young Bahrainis, the person who 'helps in developing public awareness of citizenship' is a good citizen.

In contrast, the qualities that young Bahrainis considered as 'not at all important' for a good citizen are presented in the following table.

Table 3 - Five qualities not required for a good Bahraini citizens

Qualities not required for Bahraini citizens	Count	%
Contact a public official to express your views	94	20.4
Work or volunteer in a political campaign	76	16.5
Write an article or 'letter to the editor'	70	15.2
Join a political party	50	10.9

Although there was no statistically significant gender or residence difference between young Bahrainis and the qualities presented in table 4.4 above, the findings revealed that these qualities, which were obviously related to politics, were not required for Bahraini citizens. It appears that the young Bahrainis have less awareness of politics and its role in shaping their life in a democratic state.

YOUNG BAHRAINIS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Consider Self as Bahraini Citizens

In the survey, in order to examine young Bahrainis' sense of belonging to their nation-state, they were asked whether they considered themselves Bahraini citizens. A considerable number of young Bahrainis (17.6%, n=81) did not see themselves as Bahraini citizens. In contrast, more than three-quarters (82.4%, n= 379) of the young Bahrainis viewed themselves Bahraini citizens. Results are presented in the following table.

Table 4 - **Considering self as Bahraini citizens**

Considering self as Bahraini citizens	Male		Female		Sig. (Gen.)	Sig. (Res.)
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban		
Yes	82 (77.4%)	86 (78.9%)	116 (80.0%)	95 (95.0%)	*	*
No	24 (22.6%)	23 (21.1%)	29 (20.0%)	5 (5.0%)		
Total 460 (100%)	215 (100%)		245 (100%)			

*P<0.05

A statistically significant gender difference existed at (x^2 = 5.030, df=1, p=0.025), suggesting that young females were more likely to consider themselves as Bahraini citizens. In addition, a statistically significant residence difference existed at (x^2 =4.683, df=1, p=0.03), suggesting that urban young Bahrainis were more likely to see themselves as Bahraini citizens. The data was further examined to investigate the interaction between gender and place of residence.

This revealed that it was almost all (95 out of every 100) of the urban females who are significantly more likely to identify themselves as Bahraini, than any of the other groups of the rural males, urban males and rural females who consider themselves to be Bahraini with approximately the same proportion (roughly 80 out of 100).

The results indicated that the vast majority of young Bahrainis considered themselves Bahraini for reasons such as 'loving Bahrain and having a sense of belonging to their nation state', their belief about 'getting their rights' in their country, being 'born in Bahrain', 'living in Bahrain'; and 'holding Bahraini nationality'. This theme was elaborated further in interviews:

I am Bahraini and I am proud of that. I was born in this land and I live in it. I love Bahrain and I belong to it. When I travel away, I feel that I miss Bahrain and its people. I miss my family, my school, and my friends. I do not feel that I belong to any other place where the culture, language, and religion are different from mine (Nadeen, urban female).
Also:
I love Bahrain, this is my homeland; I acquire my rights and I perform my duties too. I would provide all that I have in order to develop my homeland (Mazin, urban male).

On the other hand, the reasons stated by those who did not consider themselves as Bahraini were 'not getting their civic rights', and facing 'discrimination', which made them 'feel like foreigners in spite of holding Bahraini nationality', as one said in the interview:
In Bahrain, we are not treated equally; people are demonstrating and protesting almost every day. There are some important issues that Bahraini citizens have are not resolved (Ali, rural male).

As we can see, these reasons correspond to their definitions of the term 'citizenship', which indicate that they believe that the feeling of belonging, and having rights and responsibilities are the most important reasons for being a citizen.

Young Bahrainis and National Anthem

The young Bahrainis were asked 'how often they sang the national anthem in their school'. The results are presented in the following table.

Table 6 - How often young Bahrainis sing the national anthem in their school

| Young Bahrainis sing the national anthem in their school	Percentage	Male %	Female %	Sig. Gen.
Daily	31.1	10.4	20.7	
Sometimes	39.6	15.9	23.7	***
Never	29.3	20.4	8.9	
Total	100	46.7	53.3	

***P<0.001

A statistically significant gender difference existed at (p=0.000; U=18378.5) showing that females were more likely to sing the national anthem and understand the importance of it as a national symbol while a large number of those who never sang the national anthem were males.

To investigate this issue further, young Bahrainis were asked to give reasons for singing or not singing the national anthem. More females as compared with males believed that their main reasons for singing the national anthem in their school were related to their 'love and affiliation to Bahrain' and their 'respect and appreciation for their country' and because it symbolised that 'Bahrain was an independent country'. Some of them stated that 'it was an obligation' and their 'duty' to do so.

On the other hand, some young Bahrainis gave reasons for not singing the national anthem. Some reasons related to their personal characteristics, and other reasons were related to their schools or to the national anthem itself. They are presented as follows.
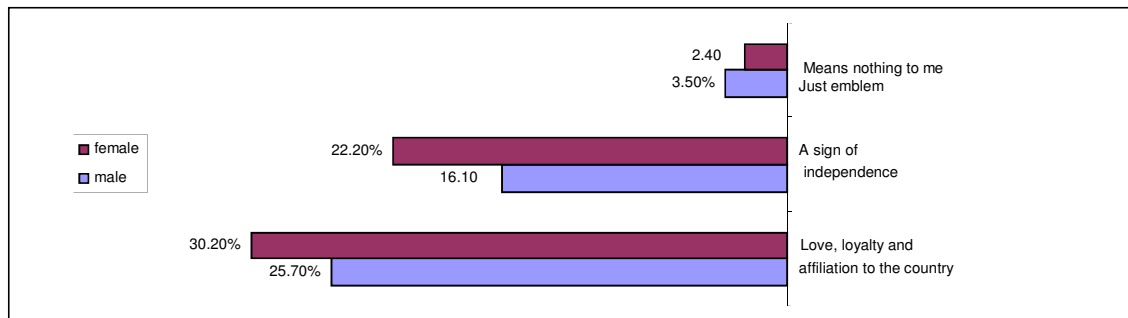
Figure 1 - Reasons for not singing the national anthem in their school
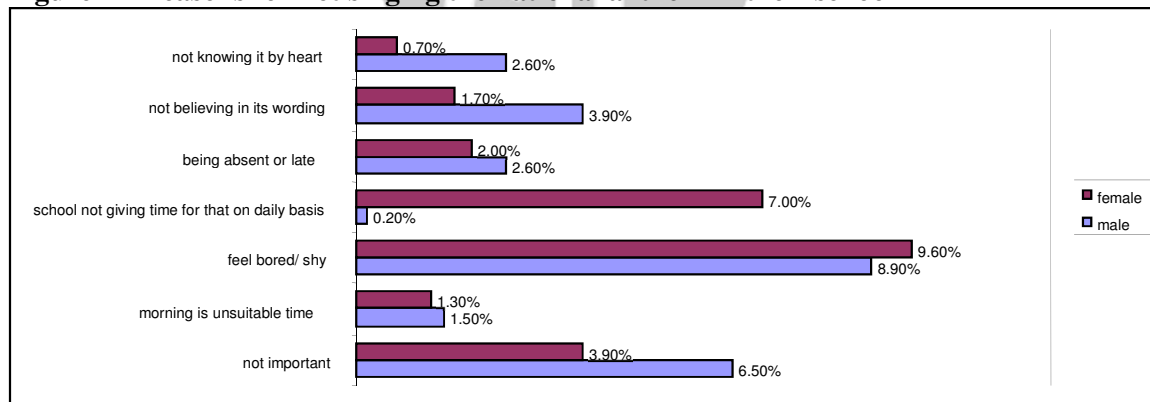
Young Bahrainis and Bahraini flag

Young Bahrainis were asked what the Bahraini flag meant to them. The following figure represents their answers.

Figure 2 - What the Bahraini flag meant to young Bahrainis?

The data analysis indicated that there was no statistically significant relationship between young Bahrainis' gender and/or their residence and their feeling towards the Bahraini flag. As seen in this figure, Bahraini flag signified 'love, loyalty and affiliation to country' to the majority of young Bahrainis. It was also considered a 'sign of independence'. Females were more likely to have positive attitudes towards the flag, while the few negative responses were given mainly by males who stated that the flag 'meant nothing' to them and it was 'just an emblem', i.e. a symbol for the country.

Identity and Self Image

In the interview, young Bahrainis were asked to introduce themselves and state their identity. The majority of them perceived themselves as Bahraini. They felt they were Bahraini because of their birthplace, nationality, their background, culture and religion. One said:
I am a Bahraini citizen who was born in Bahrain. My aim is to work to enhance the life of my nation (Ayat, a rural female).

Some young Bahrainis identified themselves as students because they were still receiving their secondary schooling. Some of them listed their participation in the school activities and their interests. The following quotation is from a young person who told us in detail his interests and his school level:
My name is Ahmed. I will graduate from secondary school with an average of more than 90%. I have a range of interests. I participate in numerous activities. I am a candidate for youth parliament and have conducted numerous cultural and social activities. I am head of the School Advisory Committee, member of The General Organization for Youth and Sport, a trainee of a leadership programme in the organization, and a trainee in leadership program for distinguished students in the Crown Prince Scheme (Ahmed, urban male).

Most of the young Bahrainis described their personalities either positively or negatively. Some of them projected a positive image about themselves when they said 'I am relatively generous, straight-forward, peaceful and forgiving' (Ali, rural male). 'I am social. I like volunteer work and I have an interest in knowing my community's programs and events (Mustafa, urban male). 'I am a human being. I like myself and I'm proud of it' (Hasan, a rural male). 'I am a precious thing that has been assigned by God to my parents' (Safa, urban female).

On the other hand, some young Bahrainis signalled negative parts of their personality along with the positive. For example, this rural female said:
I am a kind and simple person who gets fooled easily. Sometimes I'm a hot-tempered person. I like people and I don't like to offend others. I am very much interested in political issues (Raqia, rural female).

It is evident that the identity that these young Bahrainis have created for themselves is very much shaped by the way they perceive themselves.

Involvement in Community Affairs

Young Bahrainis and Community Problems

In order to identify how much young Bahrainis were involved in and aware of community issues, they were asked to mention the main problems in their community in an open-ended question. Thirty-two different problems were mentioned by them, which were classified into categories and sub-categories. They are shown in the following table:

Table 7 - Main problems in community perceived by young Bahrainis

Community Problems	Frequency	%
1. Economic problems	592	38.6
2. Political problems	518	33.8
3. Social problems	289	18.8
4. Religious problems	66	4.3
5. Educational Problems	53	3.5
6. Environmental problems	16	1.1
Total	1534	

As seen in this table, more than a third of the problems noted by young Bahrainis were economic problems. They were unemployment, poverty, low salaries, and increasing living costs. One-third of the problems mentioned were political problems, they were discrimination, oppression, demonstrations, lack of democracy, not getting their rights, lack of unity in society, and ineffective parliament. Some of the problems mentioned were social problems, such as drugs, crimes, robbery, housing, family problems, lack of entertainment programmes and places for youth. Other problems noted were educational problems, such as weak curricula, illiteracy, lack of counselling and lack of programmes directed towards developing citizens' knowledge and awareness. A few religious problems were stated such as not following the teachings of the Holy Quran and the existence of moral problems, such as drinking and adultery. Only a few mentioned environmental problems such as air pollution and sea pollution. In general, the results indicated that more females were aware of social problems and environmental problems in their community than males while males were more aware of religious and educational problems.

It also needs to be pointed out that there was an overlap between some of these classifications as some economic problems, for example, can also be seen as social or political problems. The following table shows the problems that were found statistically significant according to gender and place of residence:

Table 8 - Community problems that were found statistically significant.

Community Problems	Male		Female		Sig. (Gen.)	Sig. (Res.)
	rural	urban	rural	urban		
Unemployment	76 (35.3)	60 (27.9)	106 (43.3)	66 (26.9)	-	**
Lack of proper housing	12 (5.6)	4 (1.9)	20 (8.2)	6 (2.4)	-	**
Discrimination	54 (25.1)	34 (15.8)	51 (20.8)	31 (12.7)	-	*
Oppression	22 (10.2)	12 (5.6)	21 (8.6)	5 (2.0)	-	**
Demonstrations	2 (0.9)	3 (1.4)	5 (2.0)	13 (5.3)	*	*
The lack of civic and political awareness	5 (2.3)	2 (0.9)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)	*	-

***P<0.001   **P<0.01   * P<0.05

Significant statistical differences existed between some of the community problems noted above, and young Bahrainis' gender and/or place of residence. 'Unemployment' was one of the economic problems which was found to be statistically significant with a statistically significant residence difference at (x^2=7.701, df=1, p=0.006). Two-thirds of young Bahrainis believed that unemployment was a problem. Significantly, young Bahrainis from rural areas were more likely to be aware of the existence of unemployment. Another problem which was found statistically significant was the social problem of 'housing' with a statistically significant residence difference existed at (x^2=8.719, df=1, p=0.003). More rural young Bahrainis were aware of the problem of the 'lack of proper housing' in their community compared to urban young Bahrainis.

Regarding political problems, one-quarter of young Bahrainis indicated that 'discrimination' was a problem in the Bahraini community. A statistically significant residence difference (x^2=5.638, df=1, p=0.018) was found between young Bahrainis and the problem of 'discrimination'. Data analysis revealed that it was mostly rural young Bahrainis who indicated discrimination as a problem in the Bahraini community. Another political problem which was found statistically significant was 'oppression' with a statistically significant residence difference at (x^2=8.140, df=1, p=0.004). Data analysis revealed that rural young Bahrainis were more likely to view 'oppression' as a problem and believe that this problem existed in their community whilst more urban young Bahrainis thought the opposite. On the other hand, young Bahrainis indicated that 'demonstrations' were a problem too. A statistically significant gender difference (x^2=6.078, df=1, p=0.014) and a statistically significant residence difference (x^2=5.686, df=1, p=0.017) were found between young Bahrainis and demonstrations. Young females were more likely to find 'demonstrations' a problem and a great proportion of them were from the urban areas. Urban females believed 'demonstrations' were a problem in the Bahraini community.

In addition, very few young Bahrainis indicated that 'the lack of civic and political awareness' was a problem for Bahraini people. Although very few young Bahrainis mentioned it as a problem, it was considered to be an important point of discussion with an approaching statistically significant gender difference at (x^2=3.553, df=1, p=0.054). More

males mentioned the importance of developing programmes which were directed towards developing citizens' civic and political awareness, compared to females.

The following quotation illustrates young Bahrainis' perceptions of their community problems:

In our community, there is poverty, drug addiction, low standards of living, low income, people are calling for employment and some are calling for their rights. There are also conflicts between people and government, divorce is a family problem, and there are no counselling programmes (Jaffer, rural male).

Ability to Solve Problems and Help the Community

Young Bahrainis were asked if they considered themselves capable of solving the problems of their community. The following table shows the results:

Table 9 - Young Bahrainis' ability to solve community problems

Solving the problems of community	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	50	10.9
To some extent	226	49.1
Not at all	184	40.0
Total	460	100.0

No statistically significant differences were found between young Bahrainis' gender or residence and their ability to solve their community's problems. They believed that they 'had the ability to solve problems'; and to 'defend others' rights'. For young Bahrainis, it was 'a right' as well as 'a duty'.

For those who believed that they could help solve the problems of their community, the majority indicated that they could help 'to some extent' and that solving problems 'needed group work, unity and cooperation'. On the other hand, more than one-third of young Bahrainis thought that they could not solve their community problems for a variety of reasons. One of the reasons was their belief that they were 'not important' people. Another interesting reason was that some young Bahrainis thought that their 'opinions were not heard', so if they suggested a solution, their suggestions would not be taken into account. This indicates that young Bahrainis do not perceive a role for themselves in decision-making or even in suggesting solutions to their community problems.

Ability to Bring about Change in Bahrain

To investigate their previous responses further, young Bahrainis were asked in the interview if they could make their country a better place for their generation and for future generations. Almost all young Bahrainis indicated that they could participate in making changes in their country. In general, their responses focused on developing Bahrain in different ways. Mustafa, an urban male, said:
To make Bahrain a better place to live, we can create different programs to help youngsters in solving their problems, enrolling in political societies, and participating in numerous activities and events.

Some young Bahrainis indicated that they could help to make Bahrain a better place to live by improving the level of education, as mentioned earlier. This could be achieved if they worked hard and became good young Bahrainis. The young Bahrainis made a range of

comments concerning how to make Bahrain a better place to live, for example, 'we have to study, learn, work, give a good impression about Bahrain and enhance our country' (Hasan, rural male); 'as a student, I have to graduate first, to be assiduous in my studies and then work to help my community' (Nadeen, an urban female); 'as a student, I have to endeavour to develop my country and to specialize in a subject that is needed by the country' (Mazin, urban male).

Additionally, another student believed that she could make a difference by becoming a member of political or youth associations, she said:

> I can make changes by being a member of a political or youth association which cares about educating young Bahrainis about democracy and citizenship. They try to find solutions for youth problems and make the voice of youth heard. They prepare young Bahrainis for the future. For example, the 'Bahrain Youth Institution' has recently developed programmes like 'The Achieving Youth' and 'Youth parliament project', which prepares the youth to become future leaders (Fatma, a rural female).

Community and Crime

Young Bahrainis were asked to rank the main causes of crime, from (1-3), in order of significance and to add some reasons for their choices. The following table shows the major causes of crime that were chosen in the first place.

Table 10 - Causes of crime

Causes of Crime	Place of Residence			Sig.
	Rural %	Urban %	Total	
Do not know / no answer	2.0	1.3	3.3	-
Poverty	21.3	17.8	39.1	-
Oppression	19.6	11.1	30.7	*
Society	4.8	5.4	10.2	-
Family	3.5	3.0	6.5	-
Friends	1.5	3.3	4.8	-
Mass media	2.0	3.5	5.4	-
Total	54.6	45.4	100.0	

* $P < 0.05$

Although no statistically significant gender or residence differences existed regarding poverty, society, family, friends and mass media as causes for crime in Bahraini society, most of the young Bahrainis agreed that 'poverty' was the main cause of crime, and that 'mass media' was the least important cause of crime.

No statistically significant gender difference existed between young Bahrainis in terms of considering 'oppression' as a cause of crime in Bahrain, however a statistically significant residence difference existed at ($P=0.013$; $U=22981.5$). Rural young Bahrainis were more likely to believe that 'oppression' was a cause of crime in Bahrain compared to urban young Bahrainis. This result corresponds with the previous result when 'oppression' was considered one of the Bahraini community's problems mentioned by more rural young Bahrainis as well.

In addition, young Bahrainis mentioned other causes like unemployment, not having a strong faith and not following religious principles, the government's ignorance (not solving problems), psychological problems, drugs, and the Internet.

Criminals and Rights

The majority of young Bahrainis believed in the rights of criminals. The results are reported in the following table:

Table 11 - Criminals have rights

Criminals have rights	Count	Percentage
Yes	299	65
No	154	33.5
Not sure	7	1.5
Total	460	100%

No statistically significant gender or residence differences existed concerning young Bahrainis' awareness of human rights. Young Bahrainis stated, in answer to an open-ended question, the rights that criminals should have as, 'being respected and treated as humans', 'getting their citizenship rights', 'be defended by a lawyer', 'getting a just jury', 'getting good counselling and guidance', 'getting good and suitable training' and 'being able to contact the outside world'. On the other hand, a large proportion thought that criminals should not have rights because they 'broke the law' and did not respect it, and by doing so they 'offended other people's rights'.

Young Bahrainis and Terrorism

Young Bahrainis did not think crime was justified. The majority of them 'agreed' with this statement 'Terrorism is never justified'. This is made clearer in the following table:

Table 12 - Views on the justification of crime.

'Terrorism is never justified'	male	female	Sig. (Gen.)
Agree Disagree Not sure	129 (60%) 41 (19.1%) 45 (20.9%)	139 (56.7%) 31 (12.7%) 75 (30.6%)	*
Total 460 (100%)	215 (100%)	245 (100%)	

*P<0.05

Data analysis revealed that there was a statistically significant gender difference (x^2 =7.337, df=2, p=0.026) between young Bahrainis and the justification of crime and that more males 'agreed' with the above statement compared to females.

To sum up, findings of this section revealed that there was a statistically significant relationship at the p<0.05 level, between young Bahrainis' background characteristics (i.e. gender and place of residence) and their conceptions of citizenship, involvement in community affairs and perception of identity. To young Bahraini people in general 'Citizenship' signified 'belonging, rights and responsibilities', while it signified 'freedom' to young Bahrainis from rural areas. Most young Bahrainis considered themselves Bahraini, particularly the urban females who almost universally saw themselves as Bahraini citizens.

The most important problems of the Bahraini community, mentioned mainly by young rural young Bahrainis, were, for example, unemployment, poverty, discrimination, oppression, housing, etc. The majority of young Bahrainis believed that they had the ability to solve their community's problems 'to some extent'.

Young Bahrainis did not justify crimes. The main causes of crime were thought to be poverty, oppression, and social conditions. Rural young Bahrainis were more likely to believe that 'oppression' was a cause of crime than urban young Bahrainis.

PART IV: CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Young Bahrainis Conception of Citizenship

To test the first hypothesis, I examined young Bahrainis' conception of citizenship, their concerns about community issues, and explored their perceptions of their identity. The findings of the study revealed that there is a statistically significant relationship at the level of $p<0.05$ between young Bahrainis' gender and place of residence and their conceptions of citizenship, community and their perceptions of their identity.

Citizenship is defined in the literature (See for example, Commission on Citizenship 1990; QCA 1998; Patrick 1999; Cogan and Derricott 2000; Parekh 2000; Banks 2004; and Huddleston and Kerr 2006) as membership of a political community, which carries with it rights and responsibilities. It is sometimes referred to as nationality and often implies involvement in public life and affairs to improve life for all citizens.

Although not all young Bahrainis in the present study knew what citizenship meant, 'citizenship', as exemplified in their responses, was congruent with Crick's three constructs of community involvement; social and moral responsibility; and political literacy (QCA, 1998). As noted above, a statistically significant relationship is found between young Bahrainis' conception of citizenship and their place of residence. Young Bahrainis' conception of citizenship is characterised by a tendency to identify citizenship with love and loyalty to their nation state. One-third of the young Bahrainis, the majority of whom were from rural areas, referred to citizenship as a sense of belonging to a nation state and commitment to a community. This association is noted by Osler and Starkey (2003) when they argue that citizenship involves a sense of belonging. In addition, one-quarter of young Bahrainis, the majority of whom were from rural areas, referred to it as the rights of people and emphasised obligations to the country, as well.

Since 'a citizen is a member of a political community or state', and being a citizen 'depends upon different factors, for example place of birth, family ties or the duration of residence in a country' (Huddleston and Kerr, 2006: 2), the affective dimension of the young Bahraini citizens towards the political community is very important. It has taken-for granted value and contains special meaning for them. There was a tendency to mention the importance they placed on their status as Bahraini citizens. This emotional tie for such a status was common. Their feeling of belonging and affiliation with their motherland was generally evident in the survey and the interviews. This group thinks that holding Bahraini nationality or simply living in Bahrain, which more urban young Bahrainis reported as being important, is not enough to be considered a 'citizen'. They believe that it is the feeling of belonging, and love and affiliation to a country that are more important. A very small number of the young Bahrainis in both groups mentioned the importance of caring about other people in the community.

Such responses can be attributed to lack of a clear idea of citizenship in both groups and reveals a sense of uncertainty about their citizenship status. 'Different types of political

systems require a different type of citizen', i.e. the rights and responsibilities of individuals living in a democratic society differ significantly from those living under a totalitarian regime (Breslin and Dufour, 2006: 144). To be a citizen of a democratic state requires active citizenship, where citizens are willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life (QCA, 1998). This lack of clarity of the meaning of citizenship seems to persist even after the political reforms in Bahrain, which indicate that there is a need to broaden young Bahrainis' knowledge and understanding of the meaning of citizenship and the status of being a citizen.

Young Bahrainis' Identity

A statistically significant relationship was found at the level of $p<0.05$ between young Bahrainis' gender and place of residence and their perception of their identity. The literature suggests that citizenship is a civic identity (Habermas, 1998) in which people see themselves as citizens belonging to a particular group or nation-state (Isin and Wood 1999; Kymlicka 2001). Identities are labels, names and categories through which people shape their identities (Basit, 1997). With regard to perceptions of identity, this study shows that the vast majority of young Bahrainis perceived themselves as being Bahraini, an identity that included a sense of belonging and loyalty to their country, Bahrain.

Thus, there is a strong sense of a Bahraini identity among young Bahrainis. However, the urban females were significantly more likely to identify themselves as Bahraini than any of the other groups, were most likely to find 'demonstrations' as a problem in their community, and least likely to consider the teaching of politics as important. This revealed that this group is not interested in political issues and is not aware of what living in a democracy really means. They do not understand that there is a strong relationship between democracy and politics and that 'demonstrating' for example, is a legitimate practice in any democratic society. However, despite the indifference of a minority of young Bahrainis, the majority's emotional reaction to national symbols reveals the existence of an emotional affiliation with the Bahraini nation and the state. The findings of this study suggest that, for more females, the Bahraini flag and the national anthem produce feelings of love, affiliation, respect, and appreciation for Bahrain. More females express a sense of pride at being Bahraini and such emotions can be attributed to their strong affiliation to Bahrain.

Although some young Bahrainis are rather confused about their citizenship status and a few are indifferent to the national anthem, in general, their feelings about being Bahraini nationals are evident. In interviews, the vast majority of young Bahrainis chose Bahrain as their favourite country in the world and stated that they were proud and happy to belong to it, wanted to remain its citizens, and to continue to live there. They chose Bahrain because of their birthplace or nationality, or because of its history, culture and religion. Such emotions of loyalty for the motherland and a willingness to sacrifice their lives for it, also, show young Bahrainis' concern for the future of their motherland. Therefore, belonging seems to be a significant element in the social psyche of young Bahraini citizens. This strong sense of belonging shapes their civic identity. In short, there is a strong identification with their status of citizenship as well as strong emotional ties with such a status.

As the majority of young Bahrainis stress their strong affection for Bahrain, it can be argued that this is partially because of the special emphasis placed on the affective dimension in the school curriculum, which nurtures the feeling of love and loyalty to the country and the ruling family. These emotions are reflected in many topics in the curriculum, such as Bahrain's glorious history, traditions, language and culture. Those

topics are distributed across a range of different subjects in the school curriculum and across the different stages of schooling (Ministry of Education, 2004). One of the main objectives of the Bahraini educational reform, as stated by the Ministry of Education (2001) is:

> Affirmation of the integrated upbringing of the citizen, so as to deepen his/her faith in God, sense of belonging to the country, allegiance to the Amir, and respect for the cultural heritage, while developing the spirit of initiative to enable him/her to contribute to society's coherence, unity, solidity and development (p.37).

Another reason for this strong identification with their nation-state can be attributed to the rise of global competition among different nation-states. In a world influenced by globalisation, the Bahraini System of Education is also affected by these economic, political, and cultural influences. These influences create conflicts and dilemmas that lead the educational systems to enhance a national identity (Ministry of Education, 2004). In light of this, it is interesting that some young Bahrainis in this study mention that people should unite to counter external threats to their country. When people turn their attention towards external threats, such as a perceived Western threat to the Middle East, it is understandable that they become more tolerant of authoritarian rule at home.

Community Involvement

A statistically significant relationship was found at the level of $p<0.05$ between young Bahrainis' gender and place of residence and their concern about community issues. In this study, young Bahrainis' involvement in the community was explored by investigating their concern about community issues and their attitudes to participation in social services. This is based on the idea that community involvement can be measured by citizens' active participation (Banks, 2004).

The literature suggests that young Bahrainis who are involved in their communities tend to be more knowledgeable and better citizens and are more likely to stay involved throughout their lives. The young Bahrainis in this study, particularly those from rural areas, are involved in their community and have a wide knowledge of, and strong concern about, community issues. The problems in the community, as perceived by the young Bahrainis, are economic, political, social, religious, educational, and environmental. The problems, which were found to be statistically significant, are unemployment, discrimination, oppression, lack of housing, and a dearth of educational programmes to improve people's civic and political awareness. Since these problems are more pertinent to young Bahrainis living in rural areas, they are more cognisant of, and involved in, community issues.

In Bahrain, economic and political problems are becoming more widespread and serious. More rural young Bahrainis consider unemployment, lack of proper housing, discrimination, and oppression to be the most serious problems that Bahraini society faces today. Based on official studies (UNDP 1998; BCHR 2004), it is evident that the rate of poverty is increasing in Bahrain. The vast majority of the unemployed are Bahraini nationals, i.e. one unemployed Bahraini among every 10 employed foreigners (UNDP, 1998: 74). There are 20,000 unemployed Bahrainis now and it is worth mentioning that the unemployed and their dependents do not receive any financial support from the government, which is in contradiction to the provisions of the constitution. Around 44,000 low income families have been on the waiting list for government subsidised housing for up to 12 years or more and official statistics show that there are 6,000 ruined houses [in rural areas] (BCHR, 2004).

With regard to the problem of discrimination, it is evident, as stated earlier, that the young Bahrainis believe that a love of Bahrain is the most important reason for considering themselves as Bahraini citizens. In contrast, those who do not consider themselves as Bahraini citizens, the majority of whom are rural young Bahrainis, give one of the reasons as not getting their civic and political rights as citizens and their disappointment with discrimination in the country. This consequently generates negative feelings about national symbols in some young Bahrainis.

More males' lack of interest in the national anthem may be attributed to the fact that they do not sing it in school on a daily basis, and because they disagree with the lyrics, which praise the ruler, whom they feel has a role in the oppression and the discrimination that they face. In addition, a few males from urban areas reported that their favourite country was not Bahrain. The reasons that they gave were varied such as, the countries that they favoured were better at giving their citizens their rights, at respecting their citizens and fulfilling their needs, were safer, and the standard of living there was higher. This finding reflects what young Bahrainis feel they need from their state, including, importantly, citizenship rights.

These responses are consistent with a report about Bahrain, published by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour (BDHRL, 2006), which states that 'the Bahraini government places limitations on the exercise of rights' (Sec.2a). Even though Bahraini people live in a democratic state, as laid down by the constitution, the existence of perceived problems such as discrimination and oppression make them 'feel like foreigners' in their own country despite holding Bahraini nationality and consequently prevents them from having a sense of belonging and feeling like true citizens of their country.

Despite the political reforms, the old problems of Bahrain have not been eliminated. In addition to sectarian discrimination, there is protracted conflict between the government and the opposition, mounting unemployment, high rates of poverty, and a rising cost of living (Middle East Report, 2005). In the Bahraini context, educational, social, and municipal services, particularly in the villages, are inferior to those found in urban communities (BDHRL, 2006: Section 2c). Urban young Bahrainis are less likely to be aware of their community problems as these problems are less evident in big cities. Urban females consider 'demonstrations' as a problem in the Bahraini community, and urban males are against 'protesting even if it is peaceful and against any laws that people perceive as being unjust'. However, in a democracy people often carry out peaceful demonstrations to ask for their rights. A report by BDHRL (2006) states that in Bahrain 'there were public demonstrations over foreign policy, unemployment, personal status laws, housing shortages, human rights abuses, and other issues' (Section 2a).

By emphasizing the problems that Bahrain faces and young Bahrainis' dissatisfaction with their life situation, most young Bahrainis show a desire to solve the problems of their community. They want to participate in making changes in their country by getting involved in voluntary social services and feel an obligation to serve their community. A few young Bahrainis participate as volunteers in community centres serving people in need, doing charity work or joining youth associations. By doing so, they admit that they also want to develop their skills and gain useful experience. Despite wishing to do so, many young Bahrainis do not take part in such activities because of various constraints, such as time and resources. Many young Bahrainis have a heavy homework load and some have to do part time jobs in order to help their family, something they regard as a high priority.

There is general feeling that individual efforts can bring about changes within the community. However, more than one-third of the young Bahrainis perceive individual

young citizen as powerless to change the state-wide political reality. They are of the opinion that actions by individuals are useless and negative experiences in real life situations discourage them from active participation in citizenship. They have a negative view about the usefulness of political action and are wary of the power exercised by those in control. The disbelief that young Bahrainis can exert an influence to bring about change partially explains why they rank items related to participation in politics, such as struggle for democratic rule, being an active member of a community organization and working or volunteering in a political campaign, relatively low. This feeling of detachment in some young Bahrainis, as mentioned in the interviews, may be a defensive tactic to protect themselves from being viewed as troublemakers.

A general tone of powerlessness can also be discerned. The young Bahrainis feel they have to tolerate the fact that the rights of people are not being fully protected, despite the stipulation in the constitution, and they dare not take action to redress this injustice. Therefore, their negative views and attitudes towards the policies of their government, their lack of confidence and their apprehension and worries about the whole political reform movement is related to the political, social and economic problems that Bahraini society is encountering.

In conclusion, conception of citizenship is contextually bound. Young Bahrainis' understanding of their citizenship and their affective relationship with this status, are constrained and shaped by the conditions of citizenship within a specific historical, legal, political, socio-economic and cultural setting. Young Bahrainis' attitude to their real life experience of citizenship is the product of the interaction between these various elements. Furthermore, it is evident that young Bahrainis' conception of citizenship and their cognition of their status as citizens changes as the contexts change. The study reveals that in Bahrain, young people's experiences of citizenship resulting from the strategies and educational policies of the ruling elite are important factors in shaping their conceptions of their citizenship. The socialization of young citizens and the efforts to promote a national consciousness are having an impact. Citizenship values and norms, that the political elite have endorsed, are integrated into the school curriculum and seem to involve the subordination of individual interests to those of the nation-state, and patriotism has become an important value and norm for young citizens.

This study has provided evidence that the socialization process via citizenship education in its present form is contributing only partially to young Bahrainis' notions of citizenship. As citizenship education is currently relatively ineffective, it is understandable that young Bahrainis' conception of citizenship is influenced, developed and shaped by other equally important socializing agents such as the family, and the mass media.

Although there is a growing acceptance today that topics related to citizenship should be 'on the agenda', especially via citizenship education. It is evident that young Bahrainis' conception of citizenship is influenced by their life context, including the specific type of citizenship education they have been exposed to and their real life experiences.

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