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Exploring Patterns in Teachers' Conceptions of Citizenship and Political Participation: A Survey of Secondary School Teachers in Karachi, Pakistan

Karim Panah

Abstract: This paper examines patterns in teachers' understanding of conceptual and practical aspects of citizenship by analyzing survey data obtained from 320 teachers of public and private sector secondary schools in Karachi, Pakistan. The survey was conducted using a five-point-Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree through 'neutral' to 'strongly-agree' and open-ended questions on citizen participation in politics. The survey questionnaire included 28 items that reflected various aspects of citizen rights and responsibilities. Principal Component Analysis (PCA) showed several patterns in teacher's conceptions of citizenship with reference to democratization. The analysis demonstrates that teachers' conception of citizenship is shaped by confusions and contradictions in terms of their understanding of citizen rights and responsibilities wherein they conceptualized a passive and apolitical role for citizens. Nevertheless, the teachers also express dissatisfaction with quality of people's participation in politics in the contemporary context of Pakistan. The study offers insights into teachers' constructions of citizenship and highlight implications for the project of citizenship education in particular and democratization in general in the context of Pakistan.

Key words: citizenship, rights, responsibilities, participation, politics

Dewey (1916/2002) claimed that the standard and methods of education would depend on the prevailing social trends in a particular context that either promoted change or simply perpetuated the existing customs. A society deprived of a thrust for change and diversity could only provide experiences and influences that educate some into master and others into slaves (cited in Beane & Apple, 1999). In other words, a society striving to become democratic should promote open and free circulation of diverse ideas and experiences so that common interests are identified and decision-making is directed towards ensuring that common interest are guaranteed.

In Pakistan, education in general and civic education in particular has gone

through a series of inconsistent and contradictory phases whilst remaining highly centralized. Documentary analysis indicates that ‘civic education’ has not received sufficient attention as there is no explicit mention of such provision and the policy texts seem reluctant to use the term ‘citizen’ (GoP, 1992-2002). Studies conducted in Pakistani schools portrayed a situation highly pessimistic for the prospects of citizenship education. Nevertheless, researchers and practitioners continued believing in schools as potential sites to promote democratic citizenship (Dean, 2005; Fernandes, 2003; Mukobe, 2002; Jiwani, 1998). This paper intends to identify major patterns in secondary school teachers’ conception of citizenships and political participation that possibly shaped their classroom discourse and practice in the context of Pakistan.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Despite the candid claim of Barbalet (1988) that ‘there is still nothing which could be described as theory of citizenship’, scholars have focused on a mosaic of identities, duties and rights to understand the status of citizen (cited in Janoski, 1998 p. 3). Conventionally, we have Republican, Liberal and Marxist accounts of civic virtues, citizenship and civil society, explained in terms of individual and community rights and obligations. So far, the republican civic virtue that propagated primacy of public life over private and liberal citizenship that emphasised rights over responsibilities have been used as analytical frames in political theories (Davies, 2003; Janoski, 1998). However, there is a third framework that attempts to protect citizens from both state abuse and greed of the market and conceptualises citizen rights and responsibilities in a complex model of democratic communication (Lawson, 200; Janoski 1998; Habermas, 1996). Educational policies, practices and materials best reflect the type of citizenship a country envisions for its people.

A brief look at the chronology of educational policies in Pakistan reveals at least four major phases of reform initiatives. First, the ‘liberal market oriented reforms’ initiated by the military government of Ayub that emphasised technical and managerial aspects of an industry based society. Education policy was moulded to promote modernisation and a type of liberal Islam and also encouraged parental and community participation which led to the establishing of private schools. Secondly, the ‘socialist

inspired reforms' of Mr. Bhutto geared towards nationalisation through strong centralised education that promoted religiosity, nationalism, patriotism and loyalty to the state. Thirdly, General Zia's 'Islamization programme' resembled what Gandin and Apple describe as an "authoritarian populist" attempt to bring education "in line with the word of God" (2004, p. 174). The fourth national education policy (1992-2002/1998 - 2010) came as an extension of the one developed by General Zia emphasizing Islamization of the system, process and the outcomes. The document included 17 point conceptual framework and 15 policy objectives, dominated by the desire to "introduce Islamic Order in the society" and adherence to the principle of "equity, quality and efficiency" (p. 10 & 12). The document puts heavy emphasis on primary and higher education nevertheless, there is a mention of "Academic High Schools and Technical High Schools" while a separate chapter has been dedicated to "Religious and Moral Education" so that "an egalitarian Muslim society" is developed that emulates "the principles enshrined in the Holy Quran and Sunnah" (p. 13). The review indicated that historically, educational policy in Pakistan has not been consistent and has lacked a clear vision of citizenship.

Education for All Action Plan (EFA-PL) document developed by the government of Pakistan demonstrated the intention of "ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning, life skills and citizenship programme" (GoP, 2001 – 2015). One of the guiding principles of the policy articulates;

Education has been used as a change agent in all societies but the dilemma in our context is that we are inclined more to use education to perpetuate traditions. This is not to undermine our proud heritage of Islamic values to sharpen its philosophical concerns to fulfil the future needs. (chap 1, p.10)

The policy further recommends educational provision that prepares "the individual and society to cope with an uncertain future and complexities... meet(s) the demands of various groups with an emphasis on disadvantaged section of society". Under the framework of the national education policy, the Civic Curriculum document highlights concepts of flexibility, equality and respect for human dignity, tolerance of cultural and social values, national integration, cohesion and universal brotherhood, as some of the distinct features of the curriculum frame. It is expected that the civic curriculum (optional at secondary level) should encourage learners to be critical of things in the context of our own culture, society and

Islamic heritage reflected in the code of personal and social life. The curriculum is designed in a way that it will inculcate among the students the sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah, the feelings of national integrity, cohesion and self-reliance and also the sense of patronizing behavior patterns of national character. (GoP 2002, p. 4)

The document further articulates specific objectives in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes preferred under civic education (GoP 2002, p.5). According to the curriculum objectives, students are expected to acquire knowledge of the concepts of civic life (No. 1, 3 and 8), ideology of Pakistan as an Islamic Nation (No. 4, 5 & 7) and the disposition to be a good citizen in reference to Islamic society and nation (No.4, 6, 7 & 8). Moreover, the document encourages creativity, curiosity, observation, exploration and questioning as basic skills to be acquired by the learners (No. 1). However, a careful review of the document reveals a certain degree of contradiction and ambiguity in the list of objectives. It is claimed that the curriculum intends to eliminate “evil consequences of imperialism, colonialism” as “alien culture and ideology” through “critical appraisal”, however, aspires to “transmit the traditional values in consonance with the modernity”. The dual emphasis on the concept of Ummah, the universal application of being a community and the ideology of Pakistan as a sovereign nation state with a regional application further complicates the curriculum frame for citizenship education.

Moreover, a number of studies conducted in Pakistani schools show a grim picture of teaching and learning for citizenship with particular reference to teaching of Social Studies (Khan 2006; Issa 2006; Shamin 2005; Fernandes, 2003; Dean, 2000; Mukobe, 2002; Jiwani 1998) The studies report that Social Studies as a school subject is given less priority, teachers lack understanding of how to teach for citizenship, classroom practice is highly teacher centred and textbook oriented and there is a lack of reference material related to citizenship. The studies further report that textbooks lacked appropriate content relevant to teaching for citizenship. For example, with reference to citizens rights, only civil rights were discussed while other topics included the functioning of government and service providing institutions such as police, health department, education department and other such institutions. Similarly, it is reported that classroom teaching did not give sufficient attention to promoting the skills and attitudes

required to become citizens and in this regard the studies particularly mentioned that students were not encouraged to ask questions. Few studies suggested using inquiry methods of teaching, promoting critical thinking skills, provision of co-curricula activities and involving students in decision making at classroom and school levels, as measures to ensure that students are developed as active citizens (Fernandes, 2003; Dean, 2000; Mukobe, 2002; Jiwani, 1998). It is in this context that the author decided to explore patterns in secondary school teachers' conceptions of 'citizenship' so that a relationship can be established between teachers' understanding of the concepts and their teaching practices in the classroom.

Methods

The author believes that though quantitative and qualitative methods have distinct characteristics yet, without compromising their distinctiveness, we could adopt a methodology that best serves purpose of the research project. Therefore, the author adopted a "sequential transformative" model of multi-methods design for the purpose of "giving voice to diverse perspective" (Creswell, 2003, p. 216) of teachers on issues related to the concept of democracy and democratic education. Hence, the design included two phases of data collection and analysis, starting with a survey method and then expanding to the critical ethnographic methods (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998) on the initial findings. In this paper the author reports results of quantitative data obtained through a survey questionnaire (see appendix A) completed by 320 teachers from both government and private sector schools. The instruments is described in the following paragraphs.

Instrument

Data on teachers' conception of citizenship was collected using a five-point-Likert scale ranging from 'not at all important' through neutral to highly important'. Items were pooled through the review of conceptual and theoretical literature and adopted from previously used questionnaires with prior permission (Dean, 2005 & 2000; Kymlica, 2003; Shechtman, 2002; Hahn, 2001; Janoski, 1998). The process also included a group discussion with teachers from different schools of Karachi. The two subscales of the instrument (citizen rights and responsibility scale) included 28 items reflecting the

two aspects of citizenship. The instrument also included an open-ended question asking about teachers' assessment of the nature of citizen's participation in democratic processes in Pakistan.

Validity and Reliability

The questionnaire was taken through a lengthy and rigorous process of 'expert review', 'translation-retranslation' and 'pilot testing' to establish its validity. Tests of reliability produced a good overall alpha value of .864 for 28 items (Field, 2005; Rizvi & Elliot, 2005) and, similarly, all values of alpha if *item deleted* were around .8 and only three items showed an increase up to .833, which was not dramatic.

Sample of the Study

In this study, the questionnaire was administered to around 400 teachers selected equally from a randomised list of government and private sector secondary schools in Karachi. 320 teachers in total completed the questionnaire, an 80% rate of return, which is considerably high; of these 49.7% and 50.3%, respectively, represented government and private sector schools. The sample included 61.9% female and 38.1% male teachers and the majority of the respondents reported Urdu (78.7%) as their first language which is also the national language in Pakistan and 60% mentioned English as their second language.

Data Analysis

The Kaiser-Meyer-Okin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett's test of sphericity for two (2) sub-scales produced an acceptable range of .889 and .885 while correlation coefficients for variables remained zero. The results demonstrated that all variables were perfectly independent from one another and hence cases of 320 teachers offered an adequate sample size for factorization by using PCA as an elaborate descriptive procedure with varimax rotation.

The major aim of PCA was to identify patterns in teachers' conception of citizenship and any contradictions found in their personal theories about citizen rights and responsibilities. The following decisions guided factor extraction (Field, 2005; Rizvi &

Elliot, 2005):

1. Missing values were dealt with by replacing with mean.
2. Items holding eigenvalue greater than one were considered significant.
3. Scree plot was used to determine the number of factors to be extracted.
4. Items loaded on a factor with a value greater than or equal to .5 and contributed to the meaning of the factor were considered significant.
5. Items loaded on more than one factors were eliminated to get a clearer measure of teacher's conceptualization.
6. Items eliminated if these reduced the internal consistency (Reliability) of the items as measured by Cronbach's Alpha.

After factorization, factor loadings, mean score and standard deviation values were used for further interpretation of the outcomes. Responses to the open-ended questions were analysed using descriptive measures of frequency and percentages. The flowing paragraphs, outcomes of the analysis are displayed through graphs and tables for further interpretation and discussion.

RESULTS

In this section, the results are presented of the principle component analysis of citizen's rights and responsibility scales and a descriptive analysis of responses to an open-ended question that inquired about teachers' assessment of political participation in the context of Pakistan.

Analysis of Citizen Rights Scale

As demonstrated in table 1 the analysis of teachers' conception of citizen rights produced three factors. It is hard to follow this discussion without having the items in question – either in an appendix or as a figure in the text below. Factor 1 grouped five items showing mixed categories of 'civil, political and economic rights' and therefore, it

was difficult to give a particular title. However, since three out of five items reflected ‘civil rights’ with comparatively high levels of preference then it was decided to name it as ‘civil rights’. Factor 2 and 3 were given the titles ‘basic rights’ and ‘political rights’ because items grouped under the two factors quite clearly reflected the two categories.

Table 1. Patterns in teachers’ conception of citizen rights

Factors	Loadings	Mean	SD
Factor 1. Civil, (economic and political) rights			
Cr07. Workers and owners should share equally in the benefits (the profit).	.651	4.06	1.046
Cr08. Citizens should have the freedom of speech.	.627	4.43	.799
Cr09. Citizens should have the right to hold public office (MPs/President etc).	.664	4.10	1.030
Cr10. Citizens should have equal access to healthcare.	.688	4.50	.863
Cr11. Citizens should have access to information regarding the national policies.	.723	4.23	.903
Factor 2. Basic need (rights)			
Cr02. Citizens should have equal access to quality education	.573	4.46	.819
Cr06. Citizens should have the right to basic needs (food, clothing and shelter etc) met.	.780	4.39	.891
Factor 3. Political rights			
Cr01. Citizens should have equal rights to vote in national and local elections.	.544	4.45	.832
Cr03. Citizen should be free to form or join an organization association.	.813	3.71	1.229

Reliability test for factor 1 produced an acceptable value of alpha .738 while factor 2 produced alpha value .428 lower than the acceptable value. However, in factor 2 item Cr12 (Citizen should have freedom to spread own religion) if deleted in factor 2 improved alpha value up to .662 closer to the acceptable value and since this item was also logically not matching with the factor, it was deleted. Similarly, factor 3 produced a smaller alpha value of .428 and none of the item if deleted improved alpha value.

However, the factor was retained for interpretation because it was likely to contribute to the understanding of teachers' conception of citizen rights with respect to democracy.

All five items that grouped under Factor 1 titled as 'civil rights' produced high loading ranged between .627 and .723 indicating strong correlation with the factor. Analysis of mean score and SD value on each item indicated that teachers showed a high level of preference for 'civil rights' including 'equal access to health care, freedom of speech and 'access to information. The two items that reflected the right to an 'equal share in the economic benefits' and 'holding public office' were illogically grouped with items that reflected 'civil rights'. As a teacher, it is recalled that classroom discourse in our school hardly ever involved any discussion on citizen rights with reference to the categories as presented in literature on citizenship. The same is true in case of the textbooks that carry less of political, economic and categories other than civic and basic rights. Therefore, apparently factor 1 illustrated that teachers approached the 'citizen rights scale' with a general view that lacked specific understanding of economic and political rights as separate categories.

Factor 2 explained 'basic rights' in a group of two items; 'equal access to quality education' and 'basic needs' with loadings .573 and .780 to show strong correlation with the factor. The two items also showed high mean scores (4.56 and 4.39) and comparatively low SD values (.819 and .891) that showed lesser spread of ratings on each item from the mean, suggesting that teachers conceptualised these as important citizen rights. The most interesting aspect explained in factor 2 is mention of 'access to quality education' with basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter. This showed the level of importance teachers associated with 'education' rating it as a 'basic right' rather than putting it under civil rights.

Factor 3 represented 'political rights' in terms of 'equal right to vote in elections' and 'freedom to form or join an organization or party' with loadings .573 and .813 respectively. The right to vote in elections acquired a low loading but held a high mean score and a low SD value compared to 'freedom of association' suggesting that teachers assigned more importance to 'equal rights to cast vote' as a political right. However, another important aspect of factor 3 was that teachers did not include 'equal right to hold public office' as political rights rather grouped under factor 1 that reflected

civil rights. This apparently demonstrated that teachers did not recognize ‘contesting in the elections’ as a citizen right but reduced political rights to ‘cast vote in the election’ and show affiliation with certain political party.

Analysis of Citizen Responsibility Scale

As illustrated in table 2 the analysis of citizen responsibility scale identified three factors extracted with the help of a scree-plot. The factors labelled as ‘socio-religious duties’, ‘socio-participatory duties’ and ‘politico-communitarian duties’ produced alpha values .722, .621 and .526 respectively which were closer to the accepted value. Since, no item improved alpha value if deleted from any factor all items were retained for interpretation.

Table 2. Patterns in teachers' conception of citizen duties

Factors	Loadings	Mean	SD
Factor 1. Socio-religious duties			
Cd07. Individuals should practice his or her religion regularly.	.654	4.53	.703
Cd08. Individuals should love their country.	.694	4.70	.584
Cd09. Individuals should be willing to support people who are in need	.604	4.57	.659
Cd13. Individuals should pay taxes regularly.	.504	4.51	.708
Cd14. Individuals should pay Zakat (religious taxes) regularly.	.615	4.49	.829
Factor 2. Socio-participatory duties			
Cd01. Individuals should meet the basic needs of their own family.	.613	4.37	.784
Cd02. Individuals should work together to solve local problems (lack of parks, etc).	.678	4.16	.841
Cd05. Individuals should obey the traffic rules.	.584	4.61	.722
Cd06. Individuals should be	.539	4.20	.784

willing to volunteer in organizations such as, the Edhi Foundation.			
Factor 3. Politico-communitarian duties			
Cd03. Individuals should be willing to stand for public office (MP/president etc).	.587	3.38	1.246
Cd04. Individuals should serve own community (i.e. religious, or linguistic).	.683	3.45	1.302
Cd11. Individuals should be willing to serve in the military when the country is at war.	.523	4.12	1.012
Cd15. Individuals should take part in public rallies to promote a cause.	.625	3.03	1.252

Factor 1 included five items that loaded moderately higher than .6 except Cd13 (paying taxes regularly) loaded .504 and suggested strong correlation between items and the factor. Mean scores for all five items were high (above 4.49) and with SD value as low as between .584 and .829 showing less of a rating spread on each item from the mean. This demonstrated that teachers attached high importance with identified ‘socio-religious duties’ of citizens that reflected aspects of ‘sociability’ and ‘religiosity’ as conceptualised together. Items that represented ‘love for the country’ and ‘support for others’ carried more social value compared to practicing religion which in general is seen as a private obligation of individuals.

However, in the context of Pakistan, Islam presumably encompassed both private and social aspects of individual’s life and hence, influenced teachers’ conceptions. It is interesting to see that teachers grouped ‘paying tax’ and ‘paying Zakat’ as elements of the same factor whereas one carried purely social value while there is more a religious obligation but the aim is to establish social justice. Therefore, factor 1 apparently showed that teachers emphasised the importance of complementarity between

the social and religious responsibilities of individuals. However, it would be important to investigate whether ‘practicing religion’ was conceptualised with reference to Islam as the religion of the majority or extended to other religions as well.

Factor 2 grouped four items that reflected duties expressing ‘family care’, ‘working together to solve local problems’, ‘obeying the traffic rules’ and ‘willing to volunteer in welfare organization’. Moderate loadings ranged between .539 and .678 with high mean scores between 4.16 and 4.61 and low SD values ranging from .722 to .784. The results illustrated that items strongly correlated with the factor and teachers’ preference was high with all four items under the factor. Logically speaking, factor 2 did not carry any meaning different than factor 1 as both dealt with individual responsibilities in relation to others at local and national level. However, what is different is the implicit emphasis placed on ‘participation and working together’ to solve problems at family and local levels. The factor was named as ‘socio-participatory duties’ because in essence the individual was expected to fulfil social responsibilities in collaboration with others in the immediate locale. So, factor 2 suggested that teachers’ conceptualised ‘participation in social activities’ aiming at solving local problems, as an important responsibility of individuals.

Factor 3 included four items that reflected being ‘willing to hold public office’, ‘serve own community’, ‘serve in the military when the country is at war’ and ‘taking part in public rallies’ as preferred duties. Largely, factor 3 reflected political duties and ‘commitment to serve own community and the country’ bringing together aspects of politics and community and was, therefore, categorised as ‘politico-communitarian duties’. The range of loadings on individual items was between .523 and .687 indicating moderate correlation with the factor.

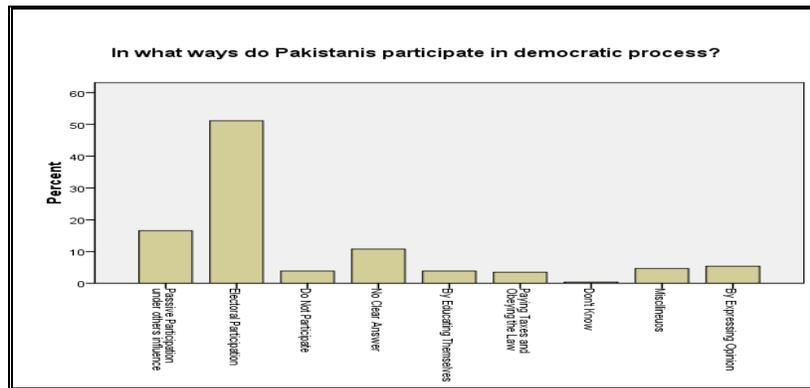
The factor also showed low mean scores of less than 4.12 and high SD values above 1.302 compared to the first two factors. This demonstrated that teachers assigned high importance to socio-religious and socio-participatory’ duties compared to ‘politico-communitarian duties. The only item that obtained comparatively high mean score (4.12) and comparatively low SD (1.012) was ‘serving in the military when the country is at war’ indicating that teachers assigned comparatively high importance to traditional

interpretation of patriotism as duty of citizens. Interesting in this factor is the mention of ‘willing to hold public office’ as political duty while it was not included in preferred category of ‘political rights’. This apparently indicated a lack of understanding or lack of seriousness in teachers’ attitudes towards the political role of citizens.

Analysis of Teachers’ Perception about Political Participation

One of the open-ended questions dealing with nature of participation scored a high response rate of 81.8 % (n= 260 out of 320). As demonstrated in figure 1 the highest percentage of teachers (41.6 %, n= 133) identified ‘casting vote in elections’ to elect representatives as the dominant form of citizen participation in democracy. However, a significant percentage, 13.4 % (n= 43), declared ‘casting vote in elections’ as a form of ‘passive or forced participation’ because in their opinion, the country lacks true democracy and powerful individuals use the voting system to strengthen their power. The group claimed that elections did not ensure the meaningful participation of people because results were rigged and powerful people used unfair means to acquire the majority of the votes.

Figure 1. Teachers’ assessment of Citizen’s political participation



A third group of 3.1 % (n= 10) teachers said that majority of people did not participate as they lacked confidence in the political leaders and political system. Some respondents in this group said that people perceive democracy as ugly and as promoting corruption and therefore, “don’t want to participate” considering democracy to be a ‘dust-bin system’.

Analysis of results demonstrated a narrower perception of democratic participation reflected in ‘casting vote in elections’ and the results clearly corresponded with analysis of teachers’ conception of ‘political rights’ and ‘principles of democracy’. Apparently, the teachers neglected ‘contesting elections for public office’ which theoretically is considered as an active form of political participation. The most important part of this conception is the claim that even electoral participation was forced and passive because people were not free to exercise their own choice. This demonstrated that in teachers’ perception people in Pakistan did not enjoy ‘freedom of choice’ rather their vote was used by powerful to strengthen their own control over politics.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The study illustrates two important aspects of teachers’ conception of citizen rights. First, their conception seems to be influenced by the way the discussion of rights is limited to the provisions of health care, education, free expression and access to information and other basic needs. This highlighted that teachers lacked a specific understanding of citizen rights as discussed in the theoretical and academic literature. Second, the teachers in their conception narrowed down political rights to merely ‘casting vote in elections’ and excluded the more active role of ‘contesting the elections’ to hold public office. Similarly, the analysis demonstrated that teachers’ conceptions apparently lack understanding and sensitivity towards the ‘economic rights’ of citizens. This illustrates that in their understanding ‘civil rights’ and ‘basic rights’ are more important categories of citizen rights compared to ‘political rights’ as this concept is limited to casting votes in elections.

Regarding teachers’ conceptions of the responsibilities of citizens, the study demonstrates a lack of logical understanding as identified factors overlapped in terms of the items grouped in each factor. The identified factors largely carry social and religious values reflected in civility, patriotism and submission as understood in the traditional meaning of the terms. The results demonstrate that teachers in their conception focused individuals’ private responsibilities as relevant to their immediate locality whilst a lesser degree of importance was given to responsibilities of a political nature to be performed in the public sphere (Kymlicka, 2003; Janoski, 1998). This also corresponds with the

emphasis in teachers' conceptions of citizen rights on civility and rights relating to private life. However, the most interesting aspect of the results is the contradiction in teachers' conception of 'political rights' wherein 'willing to hold public office and participating in rallies' emerge as citizen responsibilities while the two were not recognised as political rights. **This indicates that teachers either lacked understanding of 'political rights and responsibilities' or did not pay serious attention to the concept of citizenship**

Similarly, analysis of the responsibility scale showed higher levels of preference for being 'willing to hold public office and participating in rallies' as citizen responsibilities while these aspects were not part of the factor that explained political rights. This indicates that either the teachers lack understanding of 'political rights and responsibilities' or they do not pay serious attention to important aspects of the concept (Print, 2007). However, the researcher assumes that teachers' conceptions are highly influenced by general trends of politics and political discourse in Pakistan wherein people often talk about 'casting vote' rather than contesting elections. In other words the masses are considered only as voters in comparison with the powerful individuals and families who hold office (Print, 2007). This is also evident in teachers' expressed disappointment with 'electoral system and practice' as it did not ensure the genuine participation of the people. The results demonstrate that teachers' conceptions largely correspond with what is reported and discussed in media as the dysfunctions of 'electioneering' in Pakistan.

IMPLICATIONS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION

The study demonstrates that teachers' understanding of citizenship could be explained in terms of general categories of citizen rights and responsibilities, which show no direct relationship with democratization. Emphasis on civil rights, basic needs and responsibilities that carried elements of civility, and patriotism are largely seen as relevant to all kinds of political dispensations, which showed moderate relation to the concept of democracy. The study also demonstrates that the teachers are confused in their conception of political role of citizens as they mixed them with other categories of rights and responsibilities.

Therefore, it is important that Civic education in particular and education in

general at both policy and operational level need to offer more on citizenship and political literacy. Teachers need to understand citizenship in terms of being more than loyalty to the state as a subject rather it should be understood as active and equal membership of a sovereign state. Schooling should promote a balanced understanding of citizen's rights and responsibilities among students so that they grow to be moderate and responsible citizens of the country.

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